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ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

FOR

THE YEAR 1916

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I

WASHINGTON

1919



LETTER OF SUBMITTAL.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,
Washington, D. C., November 6, 1917.

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with the act of incorporation of the American Historical Association, approved January 4, 1889, I have the honor to submit to Congress the annual report of the association for the year 1916. I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

CHARLES D. WALCOTT, *Secretary.*

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, D. C., October 10, 1917.

SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith, as provided for by law, the Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1916. The report is in two volumes, the first of which contains the proceedings of the association during 1916 and certain of the papers read at the thirty-second annual meeting of the association held in Cincinnati in December, 1916. The second volume contains the twelfth report of the historical manuscripts commission, consisting of a large group of letters from the correspondence of Robert M. T. Hunter.

Very respectfully yours,

WALDO G. LELAND, *Secretary.*

THE SECRETARY OF THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,
Washington, D. C.

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VOLUME II.

Twelfth report of the historical manuscripts commission: Correspondence of Robert M. T. Hunter, 1826-1876, edited by Charles Henry Ambler.

CONSTITUTION.

I.

The name of this society shall be The American Historical Association.

II.

Its object shall be the promotion of historical studies.

III.

Any person approved by the executive council may become a member by paying \$3, and after the first year may continue a member by paying an annual fee of \$3. On payment of \$50 any person may become a life member, exempt from fees. Persons not resident in the United States may be elected as honorary or corresponding members and be exempt from the payment of fees.

IV.

The officers shall be a president, two vice presidents, a secretary, a secretary of the council, a curator, and a treasurer. These officers shall be elected by ballot at each regular annual meeting in the manner provided in the by-laws.

V.

There shall be an executive council constituted as follows:

1. The officers named in Article IV.
2. Elected members, eight in number, to be chosen annually in the same manner as the officers of the association.
3. The former presidents, but a former president shall be entitled to vote for the three years succeeding the expiration of his term as president, and no longer.

VI.

The executive council shall conduct the business, manage the property, and care for the general interests of the association. In the exercise of its proper functions, the council may appoint such committees, commissions, and boards as it may deem necessary. The

council shall make a full report of its activities to the annual meeting of the association. The association may by vote at any annual meeting instruct the executive council to discontinue or enter upon any activity, and may take such other action in directing the affairs of such amendment having been given at the previous annual meeting or the proposed amendment having received the approval of the executive council.

VII.

This constitution may be amended at any annual meeting, notice of such amendment having been given at the previous annual meeting or the proposed amendment having received the approval of the executive council.

BY-LAWS.

I.

The officers provided for by the constitution shall have the duties and perform the functions customarily attaching to their respective offices with such others as may from time to time be prescribed.

II.

A nomination committee of five members shall be chosen at each annual meeting in the manner hereafter provided for the election of officers of the association. At such convenient time prior to the 1st of October as it may determine it shall invite every member to express to it his preference regarding every office to be filled by election at the ensuing annual meeting and regarding the composition of the new nominating committee then to be chosen. It shall publish and mail to each member at least 20 days prior to the annual meeting such nominations as it may determine upon for each elective office and for the next nominating committee. It shall prepare for use at the annual meeting an official ballot containing, as candidates for each office or committee membership to be filled thereat, the names of its nominees and also the names of any other nominees which may be proposed to the chairman of the committee in writing by 20 or more members of the association at least five days before the annual meeting. The official ballot shall also provide, under each office, a blank space for voting for such further nominees as any member may present from the floor at the time of the election.

III.

The annual election of officers and the choice of a nominating committee for the ensuing year shall be conducted by the use of an official ballot prepared as described in by-law II.

IV.

The association authorizes the payment of traveling expenses incurred by the voting members of the council attending one meeting of that body a year, this meeting to be other than that held in connection with the annual meeting of the association.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

Organized at Saratoga, N. Y., September 10, 1884. Incorporated by Congress,
January 4, 1889.

OFFICERS ELECTED DECEMBER 28, 1916.

PRESIDENT :

WORTHINGTON C. FORD, A. M.,
Massachusetts Historical Society.

VICE PRESIDENTS :

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER,
Cambridge.

EDWARD CHANNING, PH. D.,
Harvard University.

SECRETARY :

WALDO GIFFORD LELAND, A. M.,
Carnegie Institution of Washington.

TREASURER :

CLARENCE WINTHROP BOWEN, PH. D.,
New York.

SECRETARY OF THE COUNCIL :

EVARTS BOUTELL GREENE, PH. D.,
University of Illinois.

CURATOR :

A. HOWARD CLARK, A. M.,
Smithsonian Institution.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL :

(In addition to the above-named officers.)
(Ex-Presidents)

ANDREW DICKSON WHITE, L. H. D., LL. D., D. C. L.,
Ithaca, N. Y.

HENRY ADAMS, LL. D.,
Washington, D. C.

JAMES SCHOULER, LL. D.,
Boston, Mass.

JAMES FORD RHODES, LL. D., D. LITT.,
Boston, Mass.

JOHN BACH McMASTER, A. M., PH. D., LITT. D., LL. D.,
University of Pennsylvania.

SIMEON E. BALDWIN, LL. D.,
New Haven, Conn.

JOHN FRANKLIN JAMESON, PH. D., LL. D., LITT. D.,
Carnegie Institution of Washington.

GEORGE BURTON ADAMS, PH. D., LITT. D.,
Yale University.

ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, PH. D., LL. D., LITT. D.,
Harvard University.

FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, PH. D., LL. D., LITT. D.,
Harvard University.

WILLIAM MILLIGAN SLOANE, PH. D., L. H. D., LL. D.,
Columbia University.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT, LL. D., D. C. L.,
Oyster Bay, N. Y.

WILLIAM ARCHIBALD DUNNING, PH. D., LL. D.,
Columbia University

ANDREW C McLAUGHLIN, A. M., LL. B.,
University of Chicago.

H. MORSE STEPHENS, M. A., LITT. D.,
University of California.

GEORGE LINCOLN BURR, LL. D., LITT. D.,
Cornell University.

(Elected Councillors.)

EUGENE C. BARKER, PH. D.,
University of Texas

GUY S. FORD, B. L., PH. D.,
University of Minnesota.

ULRICH B. PHILLIPS, PH. D.,
University of Michigan.

SAMUEL B. HARDING, PH. D.,
Indiana State University.

LUCY M. SALMON, A. M.,
Vassar College.

HENRY E. BOURNE, L. H. D.,
Western Reserve University.

CHARLES MOORE, PH. D.,
Detroit, Mich.

GEORGE M. WRONG, M. A.,
University of Toronto.

PACIFIC COAST BRANCH.

OFFICERS ELECTED DECEMBER 2, 1916.

PRESIDENT :

EDWARD B. KREHBIEL, PH. D.,
Stanford University.

VICE PRESIDENT :

LEVI E. YOUNG, B. S., A. M.,
University of Utah.

SECRETARY-TREASURER :

WILLIAM A. MORRIS, PH. D.,
University of California.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE :

(In addition to the above-named officers.)

OLIVER H. RICHARDSON, PH. D.,
University of Washington.

TULLY C. KNOLES, A. M.,
University of Southern California.

ALLEN M. KLINE, PH. D.,
University of the Pacific.

EFFIE I. HAWKINS,
Berkeley High School.

TERMS OF OFFICE.

(Deceased officers are marked thus : †.)

EX-PRESIDENTS :

ANDREW DICKSON WHITE, L H D, LL D, D C L, 1884-1885.
†GEORGE BANCROFT, LL D, 1885-1886.
†JUSTIN WINSOR, LL D, 1886-1887
†WILLIAM FREDERICK POOLE, LL D., 1887-1888.
†CHARLES KENDALL ADAMS, LL D, 1888-1889.
†JOHN JAY, LL D, 1889-1890
†WILLIAM WIRT HENRY, LL D., 1890-1891
†JAMES BURRILL ANGELL, LL D, 1891-1893.
HENRY ADAMS, LL D, 1893-1894
†GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR, LL D, 1895.
†RICHARD SALTER STORRS, D D., LL D, 1896.
JAMES SCHOUER, LL D, 1897
†GEORGE PARK FISHER, D D, LL D, 1898.
JAMES FORD RHODES, LL D, D Litt, 1899.
†EDWARD EGGLESTON, L. H. D, 1900
†CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL D, 1901
†ALFRED THAYER MAHAN, D C L, LL D, 1902.
†HENRY CHARLES LEA, LL D, 1903.
†GOLDWIN SMITH, D. C L, LL D, 1904
JOHN BACH McMASTER, PH D., Litt D, LL D., 1905.
SIMEON E. BALDWIN, LL D., 1906.
J. FRANKLIN JAMESON, PH D., LL D, Litt D, 1907
GEORGE BURTON ADAMS, PH. D, Litt D, 1908
ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, PH D, LL D, Litt D, 1909.
FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, PH D, LL D, Litt D, 1910.
WILLIAM MILLIGAN SLOANE, PH D, L H. D, LL D., 1911.
THEODORE ROOSEVELT, LL D, D C L, 1912.
WILLIAM ARCHIBALD DUNNING, PH D, LL D, 1913.
ANDREW C McLAUGHLIN, A. M., LL B, 1914
H. MORSE STEPHENS, M A, Litt D, 1915
GEORGE LINCOLN BURR, LL D, Litt. D, 1916.

EX-VICE PRESIDENTS :

†JUSTIN WINSOR, LL D, 1884-1886
†CHARLES KENDALL ADAMS, LL D., 1884-1888.
†WILLIAM FREDERICK POOLE, LL D., 1886-1887.
†JOHN JAY, LL D, 1887-1889
†WILLIAM WIRT HENRY, LL D, 1888-1890.
†JAMES BURRILL ANGELL, LL D, 1889-1891.
HENRY ADAMS, LL D., 1890-1893.
†EDWARD GAY MASON, A. M., 1891-1894.
†GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR, LL D., 1894.
†RICHARD SALTER STORRS, D D., LL D., 1895.
JAMES SCHOUER, LL D, 1895, 1896.
†GEORGE PARK FISHER, D D., LL D, 1896, 1897.
JAMES FORD RHODES, LL D, D. Litt, 1897, 1898.
†EDWARD EGGLESTON, L. H. D, 1898, 1899.
†MOSES COIT TYLER, L. H. D., LL D, 1899, 1900.
†CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL D., 1900.
†HERBERT BAXTER ADAMS, PH D., LL D., 1901.

†ALFRED THAYER MAHAN, D. C. L., LL D., 1901.
 †HENRY CHARLES LEA, LL D., 1902.
 †GOLDWIN SMITH, D. C. L., LL D., 1902, 1903.
 †EDWARD McCRADY, LL D., 1903
 JOHN BACH McMASTER, Ph. D., Litt. D., LL D., 1904.
 SIMEON E BALDWIN, LL D., 1904, 1905
 J FRANKLIN JAMESON, Ph. D., LL D., Litt. D., 1905, 1906.
 GEORGE BURTON ADAMS, Ph. D., Litt. D., 1906, 1907
 ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, Ph. D., LL D., Litt. D., 1907, 1908
 FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, Ph. D., LL D., Litt. D., 1908, 1909.
 WILLIAM MILLIGAN SLOANE, Ph. D., L. H. D., LL D., 1909, 1910.
 THEODORE ROOSEVELT, LL D., D. C. L., 1910, 1911
 WILLIAM ARCHIBALD DUNNING, Ph. D., LL D., 1911, 1912.
 ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN, A. M., LL B., 1912, 1913.
 H MORSE STEPHENS, M. A., Litt. D., 1913, 1914
 GEORGE LINCOLN BURR, LL D., Litt. D., 1914, 1915.
 WORTHINGTON C. FORD, A. M., 1915, 1916

SECRETARIES :

†HERBERT BAXTER ADAMS, Ph. D., LL D., 1884-1899.
 A. HOWARD CLARK, A. M., 1889-1908.
 CHARLES HOMER HASKINS, Ph. D., 1900-1913.
 WALDO GIFFORD LELAND, A. M., 1908—
 EVARTS BOUTELL GREENE, Ph. D., 1914—

TREASURER :

CLARENCE WINTHROP BOWEN, Ph. D., 1884—

CURATOR :

A. HOWARD CLARK, A. M., 1889—

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL :

†WILLIAM BABCOCK WEEDEN, A. M., 1884-1886.
 †CHARLES DEANE, LL D., 1884-1887.
 †MOSES COIT TYLER, L. H. D., LL D., 1884-1885
 EPHRAIM EMERTON, Ph. D., 1884-1885
 FRANKLIN BOWDITCH DEXTER, A. M., Litt. D., 1885-1887.
 †WILLIAM FRANCIS ALLEN, A. M., 1885-1887.
 †WILLIAM WIRT HENRY, LL D., 1886-1888.
 †RUTHERFORD BIRCHARD HAYES, LL D., 1887-1888.
 JOHN W. BURGESS, Ph. D., LL D., 1887-1891
 ARTHUR MARTIN WHEELER, A. M., LL D., 1887-1889.
 †GEORGE PARK FISHER, D. D., LL D., 1888-1891.
 †GEORGE BROWN GOODE, LL D., 1889-1896.
 JOHN GEORGE BOURINOT, C. M. G., D. C. L., LL D., 1889-1894.
 JOHN BACH McMASTER, Ph. D., Litt. D., LL D., 1891-1894
 GEORGE BURTON ADAMS, Ph. D., Litt. D., 1891-1897; 1898-1901.
 THEODORE ROOSEVELT, LL D., D. C. L., 1894-1895.
 †JABEZ LAMAR MONROE CURRY, LL D., 1894-1895.
 H MORSE STEPHENS, M. A., Litt. D., 1895-1899
 FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, Ph. D., LL D., Litt. D., 1895-1899; 1901-1904.
 EDWARD MINER GALLAUDET, Ph. D., LL D., 1896-1897.
 †MELVILLE WESTON FULLER, LL D., 1897-1900.
 ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, Ph. D., Litt. D., 1897-1900.
 ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN, A. M., LL B., 1898-1901; 1903-1906.
 WILLIAM ARCHIBALD DUNNING, Ph. D., LL D., 1899-1902
 †PETER WHITE, A. M., 1899-1902.
 J FRANKLIN JAMESON, Ph. D., LL D., Litt. D., 1900-1903.
 A. LAWRENCE LOWELL, Ph. D., LL D., 1900-1903.
 HERBERT PUTNAM, Litt. D., LL D., 1901-1904.
 GEORGE LINCOLN BURR, LL D., 1902-1905
 EDWARD POTTS CHEYNEY, LL D., 1902-1905.
 †EDWARD G. BOURNE, Ph. D., 1903-1906.

†GEORGE P. GARRISON, PH. D., 1904-1907.
 †REUBEN GOLD THWAITES, LL D, 1904-1907.
 CHARLES McLEAN ANDREWS, PH D., L. H D, 1905-1908.
 JAMES HARVEY ROBINSON, PH D, 1905-1908
 WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD, A. M, 1906-1909.
 WILLIAM MacDONALD, PH. D, LL D, 1906-1909.
 MAX FARRAND, PH. D., 1907-1910.
 FRANK HEYWOOD HODDER, PH M., 1907-1910.
 EVARTS BOUTELL GREENE, PH. D, 1908-1911.
 CHARLES HENRY HULL, PH. D, 1908-1911
 FRANKLIN LAFAYETTE RILEY, A. M, PH D, 1909-1912.
 EDWIN ERLE SPARKS, PH. D, LL D., 1909-1912.
 JAMES ALBERT WOODBURN, PH D., LL D, 1910-1913.
 FRED MORROW FLING, PH D, 1910-1913
 HERMAN VANDENBURG AMES, PH D., 1911-1914.
 DANA CARLETON MUNRO, A M, 1911-1914.
 ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE, PH. D., 1912-1914.
 JOHN MARTIN VINCENT, PH D., LL D, 1912-1915.
 FREDERIC BANCROFT, PH D, LL D, 1913-1915.
 CHARLES HOMER HASKINS, PH D, 1913-1916.
 EUGENE C. BARKER, PH D., 1914—
 GUY S. FORD, B L, PH. D., 1914—
 ULRICH B PHILLIPS, PH D., 1914—
 LUCY M. SALMON, A. M, 1915—
 SAMUEL B. HARDING, PH D, 1915—
 HENRY E. BOURNE, A B, B. D, L. H. D, 1916—
 CHARLES MOORE, PH D., 1916—
 GEORGE M. WRONG, M. A., 1916—

COMMITTEES APPOINTED DECEMBER 28, 1916.

Committee on program for the thirty-third annual meeting—John B. McMaster, chairman; Herman V. Ames, vice chairman; James H. Breasted, Walter L. Fleming, Howard L. Gray, Carlton J. H. Hayes, Albert E. McKinley, Dana C. Munro, Augustus H. Shearer (*ex officio*).

Committee on local arrangements.—George W. Pepper, chairman; William E. Lingelbach, vice chairman; Arthur C. Howland, Raymond W. Kelsey, J. J. Van Nostrand, jr.

Committee on nominations—Frank M. Anderson, Dartmouth College, chairman; Charles H. Ambler, Christopher B. Coleman, H. Barrett Learned, Andrew C. McLaughlin.

Editors of the American Historical Review—Edward P. Cheyney, chairman; Carl Becker, Ephraim Emerton, J. Franklin Jameson, James H. Robinson, Claude H. Van Tyne.

Historical manuscripts commission—Gaillard Hunt, Library of Congress, chairman; Dice R. Anderson, Mrs. Amos G. Draper, Charles H. Lincoln, Milo M. Quaife, Justin H. Smith.

Committee on Justin Winsor prize—Carl R. Fish, University of Wisconsin, chairman; Edward S. Corwin, Frank H. Hodder, Everett Kimball, Oswald G. Villard.

Committee on Herbert Baxter Adams prize.—Laurence M. Larson, University of Illinois, chairman; Sidney B. Fay, Robert H. Lord, Louis J. Paetow, Miss Ruth Putnam.

Public archives commission.—Victor H. Paltsits, chairman; Clarence W. Alvord, Solon J. Buck, John C. Fitzpatrick, George N. Fuller, George S. Godard, Peter Guilday, Thomas M. Owen.

Committee on bibliography.—George M. Dutcher, chairman; Herbert E. Bolton, William T. Laprade, Albert H. Lybyer, Wallace Notestein, William W. Rockwell, Augustus H. Shearer, William A. Slade, Bernard C. Steiner.

Committee on publications—H. Barrett Learned, Washington, chairman; and (*ex officio*) George M. Dutcher, Carl R. Fish, Evarts B. Greene, Gaillard Hunt, J. Franklin Jameson, Laurence M. Larson, Waldo G. Leland, Victor H. Paltsits.

Committee on membership.—William E. Lingelbach, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Robert P. Brooks, Miss Eloise Ellery, Robert H. George, Patrick J. Healy, Edward M. Hulme, Waldo G. Leland (*ex officio*), Charles R. Lingley, Miss Eleanor Lord, John P. McConnell, Albert E. McKinley, Frank E. Melvin, William A. Morris (*ex officio*), Miss Irene T. Myers, Paul F. Peck, R. C. Ballard Thruston, Royal B. Way.

Committee on a bibliography of modern English history.—Edward P. Cheyney, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Wilbur C. Abbott, Arthur L. Cross, Roger B. Merriman, Conyers Read.

Committee on history in schools.—Henry Johnson, Teachers College, chairman; Miss Victoria A. Adams, Henry E. Bourne, Henry L. Cannon, Philip Chase, Oliver M. Dickerson, Herbert D. Foster, Samuel B. Harding, Daniel C. Knowlton, August C. Krey, Robert A. Maurer, Nathaniel W. Stephenson, Rolla M. Tryon, William L. Westermann.

Conference of historical societies.—Augustus H Shearer, secretary.

Advisory board of the History Teacher's Magazine.—Henry Johnson, Teachers College, chairman; Frederic Duncalf, Miss Anna B. Thompson, O. H. Williams (these four hold over); Fred M. Fling, James Sullivan (elected for three years).

Committee on the military history prize.—Robert M. Johnston, Cambridge, chairman; Milledge L. Bonham, jr., Allen R. Boyd, Fred M. Fling, Albert Bushnell Hart.

Committee on cooperation with the National Highways Association.—Archer B. Hulbert.

ORGANIZATION AND ACTIVITIES.

The American Historical Association is the national organization of those persons interested in history and in the promotion of historical work and studies. It was founded in 1884 by a group of representative scholars, and in 1889 was incorporated by act of Congress, its national character being emphasized by fixing its principal office in Washington, and by providing for the governmental publication of its annual reports. Its present membership of 3,000 is drawn from every State of the Union, as well as from all the Territories and dependencies, from Canada and South America, and from 13 other foreign countries. The association should appeal through its meetings, publications, and other activities not only to the student, writer, or teacher of history, but to the librarian, the archivist, the editor, the man of letters, to all who have any interest in history, local, national, or general, and to those who believe that correct knowledge of the past is essential to a right understanding of the present.

The meetings of the association are held annually during the last week in December in cities so situated as best to accommodate in turn the members in different parts of the country. The average attendance at the meetings is about 400, representing generally 40 or more States and Canada, while from 75 to 100 members usually have an active part in the program. But it is the opportunity afforded for acquaintance and social intercourse quite as much as the formal sessions and conferences that makes the meetings so agreeable and profitable.

The annual report, usually in two volumes, is printed for the association by the Government and is distributed free to members. It contains the proceedings of the association and the more important papers read at the annual meetings, as well as valuable collections of documents, bibliographical contributions, reports on American archives, on the activities of historical societies, on the teaching of history, etc.

The American Historical Review is a quarterly journal of two hundred or more pages. Each issue contains at least five authoritative articles in different fields of history, as well as selected documents, critical reviews of all new works of any importance, and a section devoted to historical news of periodical and other publications, institutions, societies, and persons. The Review is recognized, both in this country and abroad, as the standard American journal devoted to history, and it easily takes rank with the leading European journals, such as the English Historical Review, the *Revue Historique*, and the *Historische Zeitschrift*. It is indispensable to all who desire to keep abreast with the historical work of the world, and of great value and interest to the general reader. The Review is distributed free to all members of the association.

The association also publishes the Prize Essays, a series of annual volumes comprising the essays to which are awarded in alternate years the Herbert Baxter Adams and the Justin Winsor prizes of \$200 each, for the best monographs in European and American history, respectively. These volumes are supplied to members at \$1 each and to nonmembers at \$1.50.

To the subject of history teaching the association has given much and consistent attention. Round table conferences have been held, committees have been appointed, investigations made, reports and papers read at nearly every annual meeting. The high standard of excellence in the teaching of history throughout the United States is due in no small degree to the association's activity in this direction. The Report of the Committee of Seven on history in the secondary schools, published in 1898 and supplemented in 1910, and the Report of the Committee of Eight on history in the elementary schools, published in 1909, form the basis of the present curriculum of history in most of the schools of the country. There is at present a standing committee on history in schools charged with the consideration of such questions as may come before it relative to the teaching of history. Furthermore, recognizing the importance of this phase of its work and its relation to the future citizenship of the Nation, the association in 1911 assumed a guiding interest in the *History Teacher's Magazine*, a monthly journal of the greatest practical value to the teacher of history. It is sent to members of the association at the special rate of \$1 a year.

Realizing the importance and value of the work of the many State and local historical societies, the association has from its earliest days maintained close relations with these kindred organizations. Since 1904 a conference of delegates of historical societies has been held in connection with the annual meetings of the association. At these conferences are considered the problems of historical societies—for example, the arousing of local interest in history, the marking of historic sites, the collection and publication of historical material, the maintenance of historical museums, etc.; cooperative enterprises, too great for any one society, but possible for several acting together, are also planned. The most important of these enterprises, the preparation of a catalogue of the documents in French archives relating to the history of the Mississippi Valley, is now nearing successful completion.

An important function of the association is the discovery and exploitation of the manuscript sources of American history. Thus, the historical manuscripts commission, created in 1895 as a standing committee, has published in the Annual Reports nearly 8,000 pages of historical documents, including such collections as the correspondence of John C. Calhoun; the papers of Salmon P. Chase; the dispatches of the French commissioners in the United States, 1791-1797; the correspondence of Clark and G  net, 1793-1794; the diplomatic correspondence of the Republic of Texas; the correspondence of Toombs, Stephens, and Cobb; the papers of James A. Bayard, etc.

Realizing that the public records, which constitute the principal source for the history of any country, were generally neglected in America, and that this neglect had caused, and must continue to cause, irreparable losses, the association created in 1899 the public archives commission, the function of which was to examine and report upon the general character, historical value, physical condition, and administration of the public records of the various States and of the smaller political divisions. The commission has now published reports on the archives of over 40 States, and has furthermore been instrumental in securing legislation providing for the proper care and administration of so valuable a class of historical material. Since 1909 the commission has held an annual conference of archivists, in connection with the meetings of the association, for the discussion of the more or less technical problems that confront the custodian of public records. The commission also has in preparation a manual or primer of archival practice and methods.

In the meantime the association is working actively to secure for the national archives at Washington a central building where the records of the

Federal Government may be properly housed and cared for, instead of being, as at present, scattered among several hundred offices, where they are too often in the gravest danger from fire or other destructive forces.

Bibliography, the indispensable tool of the historian and the guide of the layman, has not been neglected. The committee on bibliography has recently published *A Union List of Collections on European History in American Libraries* which has proved of the greatest value to librarians and students alike. A special committee is at present engaged in cooperation with a committee of English scholars, in the preparation of a descriptive and critical bibliography of modern English history. For some years now there has been prepared and published under the auspices of the association an annual bibliography of *Writings on American History*, which contains a practically complete list, in some 3,000 items, of all books and periodical articles appearing during the year. It is generally recognized as the most complete and usable of all the national bibliographies. Bibliographies on special subjects have been printed from time to time in the *Annual Reports*; especially should be noted a *Bibliography of American Historical Societies*, filling over 1,300 pages, which was printed in the *Annual Report* for 1905.

In 1904 a Pacific coast branch was organized, which, while an integral part of the association, elects local officers and holds separate annual meetings. Its proceedings are published in the *Annual Reports*. In 1914 headquarters of the association were established in London for the benefit of the many American students working there in the Public Record Office and in the British Museum. The association is enabled to share the building of the Royal Historical Society, 22 Russell Square. At the same time plans were on foot to establish an office in Paris, where the hospitality of the Ministry of Public Instruction had been offered to the association. The war unfortunately made it necessary to suspend this project, but it will be taken up again at a more propitious season. Doubtless offices or rooms will in time be opened in other European capitals as the demands of American students may seem to justify such action.

The association has from the first pursued the policy of inviting to its membership not only those professionally or otherwise actively engaged in historical work, but also those whose interest in history or in the advancement of historical science is such that they wish to ally themselves with the association in the furtherance of its various objects.

Membership in the association is obtained through election by the executive council, upon nomination by a member, or by direct application. The annual dues are \$3, there being no initiation fee. The life membership is \$50 dollars, and carries with it exemption from all annual dues.

All inquiries respecting the association, its work, publications, prizes, meetings, membership, etc., may be addressed to the Secretary of the American Historical Association, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C. To him also or to the secretary of the council, 315 Lincoln Hall, Urbana, Ill., should be directed all communications relative to gifts or bequests for the benefit of the association.

HISTORICAL PRIZES.

Winsor and Adams prizes.¹

For the encouragement of historical research the American Historical Association regularly offers two prizes, each of \$200—the Justin Winsor prize in American history and the Herbert Baxter Adams prize in European history. Each is awarded biennially (the Winsor prize in the even years and the Adams prize in the odd years) for the best unpublished monograph submitted to the committee of award on or before July 1 of the given year, e g., by July 1, 1919, for the Adams prize in European history, and by July 1, 1920, for the Winsor prize in American history. The conditions of award are as follows:

I. The prize is intended for writers who have not yet published any considerable work or obtained an established reputation.

II. A. *For the Justin Winsor prize.*—The monograph must be based upon independent and original investigation in American history, by which is meant the history of any of the British colonies in America to 1783, of other territories, continental or insular, which have since been acquired by the United States, of the United States, and of independent Latin America. It may deal with any aspect of that history—social, political, constitutional, religious, economic, ethnological, military, or biographical, though in the last three instances a treatment exclusively ethnological, military, or biographical would be unfavorably received.

B. *For the Herbert Baxter Adams prize.*—The monograph must be based upon independent and original investigation in European history, by which is meant the history of Europe, continental, insular, or colonial, excluding continental French America and British America before 1783. It may deal with any aspect of that history—social, political, constitutional, religious, economic, ethnological, military, or biographical, though in the last three instances a treatment exclusively ethnological, military, or biographical would be unfavorably received.

III. The monograph must present subject matter of more than personal or local interest, and must, as regards its conclusions, be a distinct contribution to knowledge. Its statements must be accurate, and the author in his treatment of the facts collected must show originality and power of interpretation.

IV. The monograph must conform to the accepted canons of historical research and criticism.

It must be presented in scientific form.

It must contain references to all authorities

It must be accompanied by a critical bibliography. Should the bibliography be omitted or should it consist of a list of titles without critical comments and valuations, the monograph will not be admitted to the competition.

¹ Superseded by regulations adopted in 1917.

V. The entire monograph, including text, notes, bibliography, and appendices, must not exceed 100,000 words in length. The manuscript should be typewritten, and must be neat, correct, and in form ready for the printer.

[In the typewriting of essays competitors are urged to use a strong, rather heavy paper, to have text and notes alike double spaced, and to number the notes consecutively for each chapter. In abbreviating the titles of works cited care should be taken to make the abbreviations clear and consistent. The typographical style as to capitalization, punctuation, spelling, etc., of the volumes already published in the series of Prize Essays should be followed.]

VI In addition to text, footnotes, and bibliography, the monograph must contain nothing except the name and address of the author and a short introduction setting forth the character of the material and the purpose of the work. After the award has been made the successful competitor may add such personal allusions as are customary in a printed work.

VII. In making the award the committee will consider not only research, accuracy, and originality, but also clearness of expression, logical arrangement, and especially literary form. The successful monograph must be written in good English. The prize will not be awarded unless the work submitted shall be of a high degree of excellence

VIII. The successful monograph shall be the property of the American Historical Association, which reserves to itself all rights of publication, translation, and sale, both in the United States and in foreign countries.

IX. The manuscript of the successful essay, when finally submitted for printing, must be in such form, typographically (see Rule V) and otherwise, as to require only a reasonable degree of editing in order to prepare it for the press. Such additional editorial work as may be necessary, including any copying of the manuscript, shall be at the expense of the author.

Galley and page proof will be sent to the author for revision, but, should changes be made by him exceeding in cost an aggregate of 10 cents per page, of the completed book, such excess shall be borne by him, and the amount will be deducted from the prize.

An adequate index must be provided by the author.

X. The amount of the prize, minus such deductions as may be made under Rule IX, will be paid to the author upon the publication of the essay.

XI The author shall be entitled to receive 10 bound copies of the printed volume, and to purchase further copies at the rate of \$1 per volume. Such unbound copies, with special title-page, as may be necessary for the fulfillment of thesis requirements, will be furnished at cost, but no copies of the volume will be furnished the author for private sale.

The Justin Winsor prize (which until 1906 was offered annually) has been awarded to the following.

1896. Herman V. Ames, "The proposed amendments to the Constitution of the United States."

1900. William A. Schaper, "Sectionalism and representation in South Carolina," with honorable mention of Mary S. Locke, "Anti-slavery sentiment before 1808"

1901. Ulrich B. Phillips, "Georgia and State rights," with honorable mention of M. Louise Greene, "The struggle for religious liberty in Connecticut."

1902. Charles McCarthy, "The Anti-Masonic Party," with honorable mention of W. Roy Smith, "South Carolina as a Royal Province."

1903. Louise Phelps Kellogg, "The American colonial charter; a study of its relation to English administration, chiefly after 1688"

1904. William R. Manning, "The Nootka Sound controversy," with honorable mention of C. O. Paullin, "The Navy of the American Revolution."

1906. Annie Heloise Abel, "The history of events resulting in Indian consolidation west of the Mississippi River."

1908. Clarence Edwin Carter, "Great Britain and the Illinois country, 1765-1774," with honorable mention of Charles Henry Ambler, "Sectionalism in Virginia, 1776-1861."

1910. Edward Raymond Turner, "The Negro in Pennsylvania—slavery, servitude, freedom, 1639-1861."

1912. Arthur Charles Cole, "The Whig Party in the South."

1914. Mary Wilhelmine Williams, "Anglo-American Isthmian diplomacy, 1815-1917."

1916. Richard J. Purcell, "Connecticut in transition, 1775-1818."

From 1897 to 1899 and in 1905 the Justin Winsor prize was not awarded.

The Herbert Baxter Adams prize has been awarded to:

1905. David S. Muzzey, "The Spiritual Franciscans," with honorable mention of Eloise Ellery, "Jean Pierre Brissot."

1907. In equal division, Edward B. Krehbiel, "The interdict: Its history and its operation, with special attention to the time of Pope Innocent III," and William S. Robertson, "Francisco de Miranda and the revolutionizing of Spanish America."

1909. Wallace Notestein, "A history of witchcraft in England from 1558 to 1718."

1911. Louise Fargo Brown, "The political activities of the Baptists and fifth-monarchy men in England during the interregnum."

1913. Violet Barbour "Henry Bennet, earl of Arlington."

1915. Theodore C. Pease, "The Leveller Movement," with honorable mention of F. C. Melvin, "Napoleon's system of Licensed Navigation, 1806-1814."

The essays of Messrs. Muzzey, Krehbiel, Carter, Notestein, Turner, Cole, Miss Brown, Miss Barbour, and Miss Williams have been published by the association in a series of separate volumes. The earlier Winsor prize essays were printed in the Annual Reports.

MILITARY HISTORY PRIZE.

A prize of \$250 is offered for the best approved essay on a subject in military history. The fields of study are not limited, but the Civil War is recommended as specially suitable. While the committee expects that the essays submitted will range from about 20,000 to 50,000 words, this is not intended as an absolute condition. All essays must be submitted in typewritten form, and sent to the chairman of the committee, Prof. R. M. Johnston, 275 Widener Hall, Cambridge, Mass., by August 31, 1918.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

Statistics of membership.

I. GENERAL, 1915 AND 1916.

	1915	1916		1915	1916
Total membership.....	2,926	2,739	Loss, total—Continued		
Life.....	120	117	Dropped.....	77	273
Annual.....	2,587	2,388	Gain, total.....	290	244
Institutions.....	219	234	Life.....		1
Total paid membership.....	2,374	2,378	Annual.....	277	235
Delinquent, total.....	552	361	Institutions.....	13	8
Loss, total.....	277	431	Total number of elections.....	273	183
Deaths.....	32	40	Net gain or loss.....	13	-187
Resignations.....	168	118			

II. MEMBERSHIP BY STATES, DEC 19, 1916

	Number of members	New members in 1916		Number of members	New members in 1916
Alabama.....	10	1	Nevada.....	5	
Alaska.....			New Hampshire.....	29	3
Arizona.....	2	1	New Jersey.....	84	12
Arkansas.....	4		New Mexico.....	6	
California.....	169	11	New York.....	383	29
Colorado.....	15	2	North Carolina.....	30	3
Connecticut.....	99	6	North Dakota.....	3	
Delaware.....	12	4	Ohio.....	110	8
District of Columbia.....	93	10	Oklahoma.....	8	1
Florida.....	5	1	Oregon.....	24	
Georgia.....	21	3	Pennsylvania.....	189	23
Hawaii.....	2		Philippine Islands.....	4	
Idaho.....	4		Porto Rico.....	2	
Illinois.....	208	17	Rhode Island.....	28	1
Indiana.....	61	13	South Carolina.....	28	3
Iowa.....	46	4	South Dakota.....	8	2
Kansas.....	28	3	Tennessee.....	31	5
Kentucky.....	21	2	Texas.....	33	1
Louisiana.....	19		Utah.....	10	2
Maine.....	24	4	Vermont.....	8	1
Maryland.....	55	8	Virginia.....	64	12
Massachusetts.....	295	18	Washington.....	30	1
Michigan.....	95	6	West Virginia.....	17	3
Minnesota.....	49	4	Wisconsin.....	84	6
Mississippi.....	6		Wyoming.....	6	
Missouri.....	49	7	Canada.....	34	2
Montana.....	9		Foreign.....	52	1
Nebraska.....	28				

I. REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRTY-SECOND
ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

CINCINNATI, OHIO, DECEMBER 27-30, 1916.

THE MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION AT CINCINNATI.¹

The thirty-second annual meeting of the American Historical Association was held at Cincinnati on Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, December 27-30, 1916. Besides the advantages and pleasures arising from Cincinnati's geographical position, its climate, its picturesque situation, and its pleasant spirit of hospitality, the convention had those which always arise from holding nearly all its sessions under one roof—in this case the comprehensive roof of the Hotel Sinton. The morning and afternoon sessions of one day were, however, held with great pleasure at the University of Cincinnati, where an agreeable luncheon was followed by entertaining speeches. For the highly successful arrangements which marked the sessions at every point, cordial thanks are due to the local committee of arrangements, and especially to its secretary, Prof. Isaac J. Cox. Mr. Charles P. Taft, chairman of that committee, and Mrs. Taft entertained the association at a reception and tea, made memorable not only by their kindness but by the extraordinary beauty of their collection of paintings.

Noteworthy among other social diversions was the "smoker" provided for the men of the association on one of the evenings, at the Hotel Gibson. In the rooms of the Auto Club, on the same evening, the women members had a subscription dinner. A reception following the exercises of one of the other evenings gave opportunity for general conversation and acquaintance, and, indeed, the meeting seems to have been particularly successful on the side of sociability. The rooms of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, Van Warner Library, were thrown open to members on the day of the visit to the university. The chief clubs of the city offered the privileges of their houses.

One feature of the social aspect of the convention deserves a special mention, for it is susceptible of much further extension and if so extended may bring many useful results. This was the plan of devoting one evening, purposely left free of public exercises, to various dinners of members interested in some special branch of historical study, at which informal conversations and discussions of its affairs may take place. Out of such dinners and discussions many valuable projects and suggestions may come, many steps in advance,

¹ This account is adapted from that in the *American Historical Review* for April, 1917.

for the promotion of this or that line of study in America—of modern German or medieval economic history, of the Protestant Reformation or the industrial revolution, of American diplomacy or American agriculture or American religion—or at the least much quickening of interest in advanced researches (which perhaps the association now does too little to foster), much interchange of opinion, much increase of helpful friendships. All that is necessary, in each such specialty, is to designate an energetic and judicious member to gather the appropriate company together at such dining place as the local committee may recommend. The undertaking is not more difficult than the organization of the breakfasts, of late somewhat frequent at the association's meetings, of those who have been graduate students at the same university—pleasant reunions, but not likely to be so fruitful for our sacred science or profession as dinners of the sort described—dinners of *Fachgenossen*.

A small beginning of such a practice was made at the time of the Washington meeting. At Cincinnati it was but slightly extended, but there was a successful and profitable dinner of those concerned with European history, and another of those interested in the founding of a journal of Latin-American history. The project was canvassed with considerable enthusiasm and a committee, of which Dr. James A. Robertson is chairman, was appointed to consider the matter further and, if the plan ultimately seems feasible, to devise machinery for bringing it into effect. Another conference, unaccompanied by a dinner, and perhaps for that reason less affirmative in its results—such is fallen man—had been called to consider the foundation of an American journal of European history, mainly in order to furnish larger opportunities for the publication of technical articles than can be afforded by a general historical journal or other existing means. The nature of the plan and its possibilities for the advancement of scientific research were set forth by Prof. George B. Adams and a committee was appointed, with Prof. Dana C. Munro as chairman, to give it further consideration. It is to be expected, as a sign of healthy progress of historical study in the United States, that, besides many good journals of local history, an increasing number of specialized historical journals should arise; indeed, several have already come into existence.

Still another informal conference, outside of those more formal meetings whose program had been arranged by the association, was that of members interested in the foundation in Washington of a center of university studies in history, political economy, and political science, which may do for those studies what the American schools of classical studies in Athens and Rome have done for those branches of learning, may furnish guidance to students in the three sciences named who come to Washington to avail themselves

of its surpassing opportunities for such studies, and may provide them with the incentive of fruitful companionship in a common place of residence. Respecting this project, which in the existing circumstances of the District of Columbia has rich possibilities, the committee appointed last spring submitted a printed report which appeared to meet with emphatic favor, and received the cordial endorsement of the executive council.

Three allied organizations, the American Political Science Association, the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, and the Ohio Valley Historical Association, met in Cincinnati in the same December days, and joint sessions were held in some cases, with common profit. The number of persons who registered at the headquarters of the American Historical Association was 325. Most of those attending came, as was to be expected, from places comparatively near at hand, yet the range of geographical distribution was wide: an exceptional number of members were present from the Pacific coast.

The program of the association's sessions, prepared by a committee of which Prof. Henry E. Bourne, of Western Reserve University, was chairman, deserved particular commendation for its breadth of range, and for the especial attention it assigned to recent periods and vital themes. History can not expect to be much regarded by the present-day world if it has nothing to say of present or recent affairs; and a society which has given such signal evidences of harmony and right feeling has surely no need to fear the divisive effects of discussion in fields in which historians are expected to have opinions, facts, and reasons, but in which they may also be expected—or our training is naught—to preserve good temper and the habit of seeing both sides. Sessions, therefore, devoted to recent phases of the European balance of power, to the great peace congresses of the nineteenth century, to the American period in the Philippines, and to the modern as well as the medieval portion of the history of Constantinople, and of China and Japan, did much to invest the whole meeting with exceptional interest and value. There was also a session for ancient history, one for general history (a nondescript miscellany of papers), one for English history, and two for American history, one of which was held as a joint session with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association.

Taken as a whole the program was impressive. It may even be called formidable. Seventeen formal sessions in three and a half days is too much. It may well be doubted whether it is ever desirable to have more than two sessions going on at the same time. On this present occasion, besides the sessions already mentioned for the reading of written papers on substantive portions of history, and the evening session in which the presidential addresses (of this

society and of the American Political Science Association) were delivered, and the business session, there were conferences of archivists, of State and local historical societies, and of patriotic hereditary societies, a conference for discussion of the field and method of the elementary course in college history, and a conference of teachers of history in secondary schools. For a registration of 325, this is a very extensive program; but it was agreed on all sides that it was well composed, and in most particulars the participants, chosen mostly from among the younger members of the association, carried it out with intelligence and excellent success.

By an arrangement not to be recommended for imitation in subsequent years, the presidential addresses were not delivered until the tenth of these 17 sessions. Indeed, as the annual business meeting had been the ninth, and as on that occasion the terms of officers had been defined as ending, each year, with the conclusion of that session, the odd situation was presented of the president of the American Historical Association reading his presidential address after he had technically gone out of office. After an address of welcome by Mr. Taft, who presided as chairman of the joint meeting, Prof. Jesse Macy, of Grinnell College, president of the American Political Science Association, delivered an address on the "Scientific spirit in politics."¹ The admirable address of Prof. George L. Burr, of Cornell University, president of the American Historical Association, on the "Freedom of History," was printed in the *American Historical Review* for January, 1917.

The conference of archivists, presided over by Dr. Solon J. Buck, was sadly interfered with by the failure of trains to arrive on time and only two of the four papers mentioned in the program were read. The one, entitled "Some considerations on the housing of archives," was by Mr. Louis A. Simon, of Washington, superintendent of the drafting division in the office of the Supervising Architect of the Treasury, who as such has prepared the plans for the proposed national archive building in Washington; the other, on the "Problem of archive centralization with reference to local conditions in a Middle Western State," was by Dr. Theodore C. Pease, of the University of Illinois.² Mr. Simon's suggestions related chiefly to the problems of a large, or national, archive building. All the varieties of plan now most in favor indicate a marked differentiation of the space devoted to administrative functions from the space assigned to actual storage of the records. The various forms by means of which this may be achieved, and through which the spaces devoted to administrative officials, to physical manipulation and cataloguing, and to purposes of study may be related to each other, were described in

¹ Printed in the *American Political Science Review* for February, 1917.

² Both are printed in the present volume, pp. 147-154.

outline. On the principle, however, that much the greater part of the space must be storage space, the main consideration was given to the forms and varieties of stacks.

Dr. Pease emphasized the thought that the problems of centralization of local archives must receive an independent solution in each State, in accordance with varying institutions and conditions, and professed to speak only, by way of example, of what was true in the single State of Illinois. His paper drew a distinction between centralization applied to records useless for public business, in order to preserve them for the use of the historian or the student of society, and centralization designed in the interests of economy, to bring together in central repositories, at the State capital or in several centers, records not of current use but having importance as legal monuments. Centralization in the latter sense will be the problem of the future. For centralization of the former variety, now sometimes a pressing problem, Dr. Pease advocated clear and uniform criteria for deciding on the separation, tact in reconciling local susceptibilities to it, and caution in removing papers from the neighborhood of other papers to which they stand related, and entered somewhat into consideration of classes appropriate for transfer. There was some general discussion of the destruction of useless papers, and of the defects of local, especially township, record keeping. Dr. Gaillard Hunt, upon request, described the methods used by his division of the Library of Congress in the repair of manuscripts.

In the conference of historical societies, the main topic of discussion was that of the federating and affiliating of local historical societies.¹ The chairman; Prof. Harlow Lindley, of the Indiana Historical Commission, adverted to the timely importance of the theme in a period when a considerable number of States are celebrating or are about to celebrate the centennial anniversaries of their entrance into the Union. Such commemorations, especially those organized by county committees, bring local historical societies into existence or into increased activity. The impulse ought not to be allowed to expire with the fireworks, and State historical societies or commissions should be able so to coordinate and supervise the activities of these societies that they may make definite and valuable contributions to the intellectual life of the State, with good results in enlightened citizenship. The modes in which such work is encouraged and correlated in various States were outlined by a succession of speakers, Mr. Thomas L. Montgomery, State librarian of Pennsylvania, describing the operations of the Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies; Mr. A. F. Hunter, of Toronto, that of the Ontario Historical Society; Dr. George N. Fuller, that of the

¹ The full report of this conference is to be found on pp. 213-236.

Michigan Historical Commission, of which he is secretary; Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, that of the Illinois State Historical Society; Mr. Nathaniel T. Kidder, that of the Bay State Historical League. Much information respecting such endeavors may be derived from the Michigan Historical Commission's bulletin entitled "Suggestions for local historical societies and writers in Michigan," which Mr. Fuller described, along with the relations between his commission and the State society, the county societies, the newspapers, the schools, and the women's clubs, and the procedure followed in bringing local societies into existence. In all the local work, special emphasis is laid on the collection and preservation of original materials.

The most important event in relation to this conference was the vote of the association, pursuant to a recommendation of the executive council, conferring upon the conference a semi-autonomous status and organization, with a definite membership, with funds of its own, obtained by small assessments upon member societies and commissions, with a program made by its appointees (their chairman to be *ex officio* a member of the association's program committee), and with definite obligations of annual report to the parent body. The secretary of the conference is to be appointed, as now, by the executive council of the association, its other officers to be elected by the conference itself. At the instance of the conference, and largely by the generosity of the Newberry Library, provision has been made for the continuance by supplement, from 1905 to 1915, of Mr. A. P. C. Griffin's Bibliography of American Historical Societies, printed as Volume II of the association's Annual Report for 1905.

The conference of the hereditary patriotic societies¹ was preceded by a luncheon of the representatives present, some fifty in number. The chairman of the meeting, Mr. Harry B. Mackoy, formerly presiding officer of two such societies in Ohio, set forth its purpose, which was to consider practical and desirable plans of closer co-operation between the historical associations of the country and the numerous hereditary patriotic societies. The latter are in part historical societies, with a membership of between 200,000 and 300,000, and constitute a great force for the development of historical interests in America. No one could listen to the reports of historical work made on the present occasion, especially from the women's societies, without being deeply impressed with the merit of their activities, the fine spirit of patriotism animating them, and the possibilities and prospects of their achievement in historical lines. Reports were made on behalf of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America, by Miss Cornelia B. Williams, their national historian; for the Daughters of the American Revolution, by Mrs. Thomas

¹ The proceedings of this conference are printed on pp. 249-268 of the present volume.

Kite, formerly vice president general of that society; for the Society of the Sons of the Revolution, by Mr. Jackson W. Sparrow, ex-president of the Ohio society; for the National Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, by Mr. R. C. Ballard Thruston, ex-president general; for the Society of Colonial Wars, by Mr. Elmer L. Foote, of the Ohio society. The last report was illustrated by stereopticon views of historical sites marked, monuments erected, and the like. A report from the National Society of the United States Daughters of 1812, prepared by its president national, Mrs. Robert H. Wiles, was also presented. The discussion which followed centered mainly about the report made to the council of the American Historical Association by Dr. Gaillard Hunt, as chairman of its Historical Manuscripts Commission, in which attention was called to the assistance that might be rendered by hereditary patriotic societies and their members in the collecting, preserving, and rendering accessible many private manuscripts of historical value. A plan for such co-operation was outlined.

Of the educational conferences, that which concerned the field and method of the elementary college course in history, presided over by Prof. Arley B. Show, of Stanford University, was much the more profitable.¹ Previous discussions of the subject at the annual meetings of 1896, 1905, and 1906 were summarized by the chairman, who held that the time was ripe for some further standardization of first-year work in college history. Three requisites of the ideal course were, he maintained, that it should contain the best teaching materials; that it should lie within the student's comprehension; and that it should prepare his mind for his later work in history. The method to be pursued, he thought, should be that which each teacher can do best, but it should be graded in such a manner as to fit into the higher work in history, and it should include some work in an historical laboratory and carefully supervised study.

Four papers dealing with the field of the elementary college course were read—by Prof. William A. Frayer, of the University of Michigan; Prof. James F. Baldwin, of Vassar College; Mr. Jesse E. Wrench, of the University of Missouri; and Mr. Milton R. Gutsch, of the University of Texas. The general opinion favored the maintenance of but one general introductory course for all students alike. Even students who have covered the given field in the work of the secondary school were said to benefit by traversing the same field in the introductory college course. There was substantial agreement among the speakers in holding that the field of the introductory course should be taken from European history, though there were differences as to what phase of European history should be treated.

¹ A complete report of this conference is printed in the *History Teacher's Magazine* for April, 1917.

The fields proposed were, in the order of choice, medieval and modern history, general history, medieval history, modern history, and English history.

In the discussion of the method to be pursued in this introductory course many interesting experiences were presented. The speakers were Messrs. Curtis H. Walker, of the University of Chicago; Clarence P. Gould, of the College of Wooster; Wilmer C. Harris, of Ohio State University; Carlton J. H. Hayes, of Columbia University; Donald L. McMurry, of Vanderbilt University; and James G. McDonald, of Indiana University. The general sentiment seemed to favor abolishing the formal lecture system, dividing the class into small groups of 25 or 30 students and placing each under the care of one competent teacher for the entire course. This method has been adopted at the University of Chicago, at Columbia University, and at some other institutions, but it is very expensive, and it is always hard to obtain competent men who will take the section work. Many institutions reported a combination of the lecture and the quiz system, by which one or two lectures a week are given to the entire class, and small sections for conference or recitation are held once or twice a week. Particular emphasis was placed upon an adequate system of notebooks and on the need of an intelligent study of historical geography. The use of sources was incidentally discussed, but was not strongly advocated for extensive use in the introductory course.

The conference of teachers of history in secondary schools (Dr. James Sullivan, of the New York State education department, chairman) had a much more miscellaneous program. Prof. Carl E. Pray, of the State Normal School at Ypsilanti, Mich., advocated a more intensive study of historical personalities in the high schools, and illustrated his thesis by details from the lives of prominent Americans. Mr. Glen L. Swiggett, of the United States Bureau of Education, made an extended plea for adequate preparation in the secondary schools for consular service and similar government positions. Dr. Frank P. Goodwin described the efforts made by the University of Cincinnati, in its elementary course in general history, to lay emphasis upon economic and industrial facts without failing to expound cultural values. Prof. Albert E. McKinley, of the University of Pennsylvania, showed some ways in which the teaching of history in the schools of France, Germany, and England had been influenced by the current war.¹ Prof. Samuel B. Harding, of Indiana University, pointed out the difficulties which the writer of historical textbooks has in maintaining an attitude of neutrality. He called attention to letters which had been received by his publishers

¹ See *History Teacher's Magazine*, May, 1917.

protesting against a proposed chapter of *Neueste Geschichte* added to one of his books in the process of preparing a new edition. The writers of these letters, from sentiments of nationality (not American nationality), threatened the boycott in their State not only of all the speaker's books but of all other educational publications issued by his publishers.

Theoretically the distinction between the sessions which have thus far been described and those which remain to be dealt with lies in the fact that the latter were sessions for the reading of formal papers, while the former were freer conferences, intended to be marked by a greater amount of informal discussion. But large as is the part played in professorial life by *ex tempore* discourse, not to say, in these days, by lively dispute, there seems to be a perpetual difficulty in composing our free conferences of anything but prepared papers. But at all events there is a distinction in that the papers now to be spoken of related to the substance of history rather than to its methods or organization. They covered a wide range, from ancient Mesopotamia to the Southern Confederacy. To the reader of these pages the order and method of their grouping at Cincinnati is a matter of indifference, and they may better be described in something approaching a chronological order.

In any such order of arrangement, the first place may naturally be given to an essay by Prof. Alfred T. Olmstead, of the University of Missouri, on "Mesopotamian politics and scholarship," though it touched the latest as well as the earliest dates. The present war having brought a cessation to scientific field work in western Asia there is a good occasion for retrospect. Ancient history in the Near East has during these 80 years of its modern development been largely studied and aided by those who have been making modern history in that same region, and its progress, as the speaker showed in detail, has been conditioned by the course of politics. Scholarship has been nationalistic in character, and its phases have followed those of political control. The French and German archaeological investigators, backed by their respective Governments, have had large success in appropriating the Mesopotamian field. The German policy of removing important finds to Berlin has been pushed to an unjustifiable extreme.

In the absence of its writer, a paper by Miss Ellen C. Semple, of Louisville, on "Climatic and geographic influences upon ancient Mediterranean agriculture," was presented only in outline, and its discussion by Prof. William L. Westermann, of the University of Wisconsin, was limited to a general criticism of the methods of reasoning employed by historical geographers working in ancient history, though upon sound data, of the insufficiency of their training in those rigorous methods of criticism of sources which have been developed

in ancient history, and of their failure to consider adequately the obvious variants from their general principles of the operation of constant geographic factors.

Prof. Herbert Wing, of Dickinson College, in a paper on "Tribute assessments in the Athenian Empire,"¹ rejected all notions that the frequent revolts in that empire were due to the tribute or to any constant economic cause; they resulted, rather, from the ineradicable Hellenic idea of independence of cities. His main conclusions from the *stelai* of payments of tribute were: That the number of cities in the empire did not approach the thousand mentioned by Aristophanes, but probably lay between 300 and 400 at the utmost; that the assessments were made for an indefinite period, and readjusted only on special occasions, most often in Panathenaic years for convenience, if at all, and at irregular intervals; and that estimates of the total amount, fixed in the beginning by Aristides at 460 talents, can be satisfactorily made only by careful study of individual years.

The transition from papers in ancient history to papers in medieval history was marked by a contribution from Prof. Paul van den Ven, formerly of the University of Brussels, now of Princeton, entitled "When did the Byzantine Empire and civilization come into being?"² His main object was to controvert such opinions as that of Bury, that all lines of demarcation which have been drawn between the Roman Empire and the Byzantine Empire are arbitrary, and that, great as were the changes undergone by the empire since antiquity, it never ceased to be the Roman Empire, and, changing gradually and continuously, offers no point at which one can properly give it a new name. Prof. van den Ven criticized such views of unity and continuity as justified only in political doctrine but contrary to historical facts. From the time of Arcadius and Honorius, East and West began to be in fact distinct; Italy and Rome were no longer the center around which the empire revolved; "Byzantine art," "Byzantine civilization," "Graeco-Roman law," are accepted terms, corresponding to admitted facts; a Christian, bureaucratic government, centering at Constantinople, a society increasingly Greek and Oriental in character, justify a new term.

The first of the papers lying distinctly in the field of medieval history was that of Prof. K. Asakawa, of Yale University, on the "Life of a monastic shō in Medieval Japan."³ He set forth at the outset the points wherein the Japanese shō of the twelfth century resembled the manor of medieval Europe and wherein it differed, and suggested that, after the entrance of the warrior into the shō, the latter came gradually to assume the aspects of the regular fief. He

¹ Printed below, pp. 289-297.

² Printed below, pp. 301-309.

³ Printed below, pp. 313-342.

then took up the history of the triple shō of Kōno-Makuni-Sarukawa under the Buddhist monastery of Mount Koya as typifying certain phases of this conversion. This shō, originating as it did in commendations of lands, at first included varied and changeable tenures. It also comprised two classes of men, "landholders," some of whom were armed, and "cultivators" below them. During the feudal years, especially between 1333 and 1600, the multiple tenures tended to be simplified into grants held in fief of the monastic seignior; at the same time, some "cultivators" seem to have risen in status and formed the bulk of the new rural population, on the same level with the old "landholders," who no longer appeared as half warriors. The warriors had been largely differentiated and become professional. By 1600 the triple shō had, in its institutional structure, been as nearly altered into a fief as a religious shō could be. Prof. Dana C. Munro, of Princeton, after the close of the paper, remarked upon the light that students of medieval feudalism in Europe might derive from the comparative study of Japanese feudalism, upon the meagerness of the western literature upon the subject, and upon the resemblance of the shō to the fief rather than the manor.

Upon the question, "Was there a Common Council before Parliament?" Prof. Albert B. White, of the University of Minnesota, argued against the view, exhibited in many reputable books, that the English assembly which came to be called Parliament was at some earlier time called the "common council," a view sometimes giving rise to notions of primitive democratic or national traits. A search of the English sources from the Conquest to about 1250 has brought to light some 175 cases of the phrase *commune consilium* (never *concilium*). In more than half of these the meaning is either "public opinion" or the general understanding, consent, or advice of groups more or less vague, often very small. In over 60 cases the "common counsel" came clearly from an assembly of considerable size, summoned for a definite purpose, but still the phrase means rather the result, action, or spirit of the group than the group itself. In five rather vague cases, from the reign of Henry III, the personification seems to lie in the direction of the council, but of the small council rather than the larger summoned assembly.

An interesting paper by Prof. Chalfant Robinson, of Princeton, entitled "History and pathology,"¹ presented a plea for a deeper study on the part of historians of the pathological aspects of human minds and characters in influential station, but was substantially a discussion of the individual case of Louis XI, based on the materials collected by Dr. A. Brachet in his privately printed monograph entitled "Pathologie mentale des Rois de France."

¹ Printed below, pp. 345-369.

Bridging the transition from medieval to modern history, the paper presented by Prof. Albert H. Lybyer, of the University of Illinois, on "Constantinople as capital of the Ottoman Empire,"¹ began with the time when the Turks under Mohammed II, acquiring a city that was not much more than an incomparable site covered with ruins, proceeded to rebuild it in their own way, with modest private residences but with substantial and sometimes magnificent public edifices. Their efforts to repopulate were also described, and the spontaneous processes by which, in a century and a half, a cosmopolitan city of 700,000 or 800,000 people was formed; likewise the avenues of commerce and the conditions of trade within the walls. In political life the strong central position of the city contributed to the durability of the Ottoman Government, established in the cluster of buildings at Seraglio Point. In religion Constantinople continued to be the metropolis of the orthodox church and became the seat of the Caliphate, the chief center of the Moslem faith, and the home of its principal university. The causes of its progressive decline and of its partial modernization in the nineteenth century were traced and the possibilities of its future development touched upon.

The beginnings of a military power of quite the opposite curve of development were narrated by Prof. Sidney B. Fay, of Smith College, in a paper on the "Beginnings of the standing army in Prussia."² The origins of the permanent active field army maintained by the Great Elector did not lie in the Thirty Years' War, but in the Northern War of 1655-1660, during which he was compelled to create an army on a basis largely independent of his provincial estates. The paper traced his subsequent expansion and development of this novel force.

A paper entitled "The Stuart period: Unsolved problems,"³ by Prof. Wallace Notestein, of the University of Minnesota, was limited by its author to the earlier half of the seventeenth century, and to parliamentary history. Despite the high merits and great extent of Gardiner's researches the speaker urged the need of more intensive study of the history of Parliament in this period, showing that a considerable body of new materials has come to light; that old materials, such as the Commons Journals and the widely copied manuscripts of speeches in the Commons, are less authoritative than Gardiner assumed; that the history of the Stuart Parliaments must be studied in the light, still imperfect, of earlier parliamentary development; and that there is a range of problems respecting Parliament which Gardiner left almost untouched—such matters, for

¹ Printed below, pp 373-388.

² Printed in the *American Historical Review*, July, 1917.

³ Prof. Notestein's paper and Prof. Usher's discussion of it are printed together in the present volume, pp. 391-404.

instance, as the electoral campaigns for the Parliaments of James and Charles, the deeper questions of the character of their membership, and the rise of the organized opposition to the king.

Prof. Notestein's paper was discussed by Prof. Roland G. Usher, of Washington University, St. Louis, who declared that the legal and institutional problems left unsolved by Gardiner were quite as numerous and significant as the parliamentary. Especially needed are studies of the growth and development of the administrative councils, the prerogative courts, and particularly of the courts of common law, instead of whose actual history in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries we have been content to study the views about its history which the judges of that time wrote down for us. A first-hand investigation must be made of the voluminous and scattered original records of all these bodies and of the materials bearing on their mutual relations. A critical edition of the first volume of the Commons Journals is also much needed. For researches so laborious, cooperative effort is required, and investigators in the earlier Stuart period, 1603-1640, are asked to communicate with Prof. Usher, or with Prof. A. P. Newton of the University of London, who desire to organize historical work in this period.

In a slightly later period, a paper by Prof. Guernsey Jones, of the University of Nebraska, entitled "Beginnings of the Oldest European Alliance"¹ treated of Anglo-Portuguese relations from 1640 to 1661. The treaty of 1654, Portugal's penalty for assisting the Stuarts and defying the regicides, was the source of Portugal's "commercial vassalage," commonly but erroneously attributed to the Methuen treaty of 1703. It secured every concession which the English merchants trading in Portugal saw fit to ask for, and was long regarded by them as the Magna Charta of their privileges and immunities. Charles II's marriage treaty of 1661, which determined the whole course of his foreign policy in a direction different from that of his original inclinations, was due at bottom to the desire of the English court to placate the commercial classes of London, by retaining Jamaica against the opposition of Spain, and by opening the way to the trade in India.

Another of the papers in English history, that of Prof. Arthur L. Cross, of Michigan, on "English criminal law and benefit of clergy during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries," is printed in the April issue of the *American Historical Review*, as is also that which was read by Prof. Jesse S. Reeves, of the same university, on "Two conceptions of the freedom of the seas."

In the same session as the latter, the session relating to conflicts concerning the European balance of power, Prof. William E. Lingel-

¹ Printed below, pp. 407-418.

bach, of the University of Pennsylvania, read an effective paper on "England and neutral trade in the Napoleonic and present wars."¹ With many interesting details derived from contemporaneous documents, he set forth the comparison between the English policy toward neutral trade in the Napoleonic wars and the efforts then made, through that policy, to preserve maritime ascendancy, and the policy and methods pursued toward the same ends in the present war. The seizures of neutral vessels in 1793, the parliamentary acts of 1795, and the crushing blows inflicted by and in consequence of the *Essex* decision and the Orders in Council of 1807 were exhibited as measures intended not only to protect Great Britain against the consequences of aggression and fraud, but to secure to her by the most extreme assertion of belligerent rights a complete commercial supremacy, not through the destruction of American and other neutral commerce, but through processes which compelled it to serve her own purposes. The system of licenses and its abuse were carefully described. After a century during which the world had been comparatively free from maritime warfare and during which its opinion tended strongly toward favor of neutral rights as against the claims of belligerents, a tendency in which England as well as the United States had participated, the situation of the neutral, so far as the doctrines of international law was concerned, was much better in 1914 than at the beginning of the century, but the exigencies of Great Britain's situation led her to develop a system of control of ocean commerce far beyond any which the framers of the old Orders in Council had devised. The Order in Council of August 20, 1914, followed by that of March 11, 1915, constituted, in the language of the American Government, "a practical assertion of unlimited belligerent rights over neutral commerce within the whole European area and an almost unqualified denial of the sovereign rights of the nations now at peace."

In a session specially devoted to the "great peace congresses of the nineteenth century," three cognate papers of high value were read on the congresses of Vienna, Paris, and Berlin, by Prof. Charles D. Hazen, of Columbia University; Mr. William R. Thayer, of Cambridge; and Prof. Robert H. Lord, of Harvard, respectively.² It was intended that the papers should treat of the organization and methods of procedure of these congresses and not of their problems or results. Thus, Mr. Hazen described the manner in which the congress of Vienna approached its problems, the character of its organization, if organization it can be called, when no plenary session was ever held; its method of procedure—merely that of ordinary diplomatic negotiations, save for the mutual proximity of

¹ Printed in the *Military Historian and Economist*, April, 1917.

² Published together by the Harvard University Press in a volume entitled *Three Peace Congresses of the Nineteenth Century*.

the negotiators—and the machinery of its committee of five. Similarly, Mr. Thayer described the convening, personnel, circumstances, mechanism, and operations of the congress of Paris; Mr. Lord those of the congress of Berlin, with a much larger degree of attention to its political events and results.

Prof. Charles Seymour, of Yale University, in a careful and comprehensive paper on the "Ententes and the isolation of Germany,"¹ essayed to determine whether the conflict of alliances marked by the crises of 1905, 1908, and 1911 was due to endeavors of the triple entente to encircle and isolate Germany, or indicated merely a defensive struggle on their part to maintain the balance of power. He first described the German interpretation of events, the theory of the *Einkreisungspolitik*, in accordance with which England was the center of a plot to isolate Germany and block her expansion. The Anglo-French entente of 1904, the Anglo-Russian convention of 1907, the Anglo-French and Anglo-Belgian military conversations, the Russian attitude toward Austria and Turkey, the course of these powers in respect to Albania, the check to Germany at the time of the Agadir episode, the Serbian intrigues against Austria, Russia's military preparations in 1913—all had received explanation in the light of this theory. The speaker held, however, that nothing in the agreements of 1904 and 1907 indicated an intention of isolating Germany, that the military conversations alluded to, and the British support of France in general, carried in them no evidence of any but a defensive policy, and that the lack of coordination in the diplomatic activities of the entente powers during 1912, 1913, and 1914, and the nature of British treaties made with Germany in the same period were inconsistent with the German theory. Prof. Bernadotte E. Schmitt, of Western Reserve University, in remarks after the paper, agreed with these views, partly on the basis of diplomatic documents, partly because of the obvious desire of the Asquith government to avoid trouble abroad in the interest of a domestic program of social reform.

Other papers dealing most interestingly with the most recent periods of history other than American were those of Prof. Archibald C. Coolidge, of Harvard University, on "Claims upon Constantinople, national, geographical, and historic"²; of Mr. Edward T. Williams, of the Department of State, on "Chinese social institutions as a foundation for republican government"; and of Dr. James A. Robertson on the "Philippine Islands since the inauguration of the Philippine assembly."³

¹ Printed in the *Yale Review*, April, 1917, under the title, "The Alleged Isolation of Germany"

² Included in the volume published by the Harvard University Press.

³ Printed in the *American Historical Review*, July, 1917.

Mr. Williams's paper¹ related mainly to present social institutions and to the present era of reform in China, which may be said to have begun in 1898, but he first described three earlier occasions on which large social reforms were undertaken: In 221 B. C., when the Emperor Shi Hwang-ti attempted to abolish the feudal system, at the beginning of the Christian era, when the Emperor Wang Mang tried to abolish slavery and private property in land; and in A. D. 1069, when the councilor Wang-shih entered on a similar program of drastic social legislation. In China of the present day most land is held in small parcels and cultivated by its owners; the family, not the individual, is the political unit. Such a system favors democracy, and experience in clan councils has been a valuable training for political association. Villages are practically autonomous. The guilds, which are as powerful as those of Europe in the Middle Ages, often constituting the real municipal government of the towns in which they are placed, are democratic in organization. Confucianism, in the opinion of the foremost native scholars, is not imperialistic in tendency, and Buddhism is distinctly democratic. The dense ignorance of the masses is the main obstacle to the success of republican institutions. The paper, however, which was replete with interesting historical examples, exhibited the remarkable progress made in the last four years of the Manchu régime in the establishment of representative government in city, province, and nation as strong evidence of capacity for self-government based on social institutions already existing and on long experience in their operation.

Prof. Kenneth S. Latourette, of Denison University, adverted to the hampering effects of particularism, the want of a truly national patriotism, but hoped that the civil service and the administrative machinery perfected during long years of monarchy might, as they had done in France, carry over into a republican period, and promote and fortify centralization. Dr. Stanley K. Hornbeck, of the University of Wisconsin, admitting the capacity of the Chinese and the value of their lower institutions as a basis for national self-government, commended the caution of the more conservative statesmen of recent years in view of the want of immediate readiness and the immensity of the task of transformation.

It remains to speak of the papers in American history, two of them relating to the Revolutionary period, two to the earlier portion of the nineteenth century, and five to the period converging on secession and the Civil War. There was also a paper by Mr. Augustus H. Shearer,² of the Newberry Library, on "American historical periodicals," in which their history and characteristics were compendiously treated under appropriate classifications.

¹ Printed below, pp. 421-443

² Printed below, pp. 471-476.

The paper of Prof. Arthur M. Schlesinger, of the Ohio State University, entitled "The Uprising against the East India Company,"¹ was an attempt to trace the actual execution of the boycott agreements of 1770 against duties on tea adopted in the leading Provinces of British America. From contemporary comments and official commercial statistics of the British Government it is apparent that these agreements were totally ignored in all places save New York and Philadelphia, which were the centers of tea smuggling in America. But this complaisant attitude toward duties on tea underwent an abrupt and radical change when a new act of Parliament, in May, 1773, provided that the East India Company might export tea directly to America—i. e., without passing it through the hands of the various middlemen as before. Eliminating most of the middlemen's profits, this new act enabled colonial consumers to buy the company's tea cheaper than either duties on tea privately imported or smuggled tea. Hence colonial tea merchants, whether dealing in the customs or in the contraband article, joined forces in fomenting popular opposition to the company, and this was enlarged by the fear of other merchants that the company might next proceed to extend its monopoly to other articles. Fear of mercantile monopoly, rather than of taxation without representation, was the mainspring of American opposition.

The other paper in the American Revolutionary period was a careful study, by Prof. James A. James, of Northwestern University, of "Spanish influence in the West during the American Revolution," dealing especially with the period before formal participation of Spain in the war against Great Britain.² The main matters described were the successful endeavors of the Virginia government to obtain powder and other supplies from New Orleans, the activities of Oliver Pollock as agent of that government, the additional activity displayed in assisting the colonies after the accession of Gov. Galvez, and the mutual dealings of Pollock and George Rogers Clark. The first paper relating to the ensuing period was one in which Mr. Charles L. Chandler, of Chattanooga, narrated the services which an American merchant captain and privateer, Charles Whiting Wooster, grandson of Gen. David Wooster, rendered as captain and rear admiral in the Chilean navy, 1817-1819 and 1822-1847.³

Dr. Reginald C. McGrane, of the University of Cincinnati, in a paper on the "Pennsylvania bribery case of 1836," gave an account of scandals which accompanied the effort of Nicholas Biddle and his associates to secure the passage of a bill granting a State charter to the Second United States Bank. Beginning their efforts soon

¹ Printed in the *Political Science Quarterly*, March, 1917.

² Printed in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, September, 1917.

³ Printed below, pp. 447-456.

after it became clear that a renewal of the national charter by Congress was not to be expected, the advocates of the bank set out to achieve their desired result in the State legislature by three methods: By the constant work of skilled lobbyists upon the appropriate committees in the two houses; by offering members of the legislature liberal grants for their respective counties in the form of projects of internal improvements to be carried out through applications of the bonus receivable from the bank; and by threatening the legislature that the act of incorporation should be secured from the legislatures of other States, in which case the advantages of the bank's capital would go elsewhere. The bill passed the House by means of Whig and anti-masonic votes under the able leadership of Thaddeus Stevens, and then the Senate. The most significant feature of the struggle was the dramatic disclosure by one of the Senators of efforts to secure his vote by bribery. Investigating committees of the two houses exonerated the bank men of direct attempts at bribery, and it is plain that they had preferred to offer grants in the form of schemes of internal improvement, rather than to use direct means. It seems not wholly certain whether the Senator involved in the scandal was their dupe or their tool. Yet it is known that \$400,000 was withdrawn from the bank under suspicious circumstances at the time of the recharter and that Biddle was willing to use this in case of dire necessity.

Lastly, five of the papers related to the period of or leading to the Civil War—those of Miss Laura A. White, professor in the University of Wyoming, on "Robert Barnwell Rhett and South Carolina, 1826-1852"; of Prof. Robert P. Brooks, of the University of Georgia, on "Howell Cobb and the Crisis of 1850"; of Prof. Ernest A. Smith, of Salt Lake City, on "The influence of the religious press of Cincinnati on the Northern border States"; of Prof. James R. Robertson, of Berea College, on "Sectionalism in Kentucky from 1855 to 1865"; and of Prof. Charles W. Ramsdell, of the University of Texas, on "The Confederate Government and the railroads."

Miss White traced the radical and independent course of R. B. Rhett and his influence on the politics of South Carolina from his entrance into the State legislature in 1826 and his action soon after in forcing Calhoun to bring forward his program of nullification. In Congress after 1837 he was prominent as a leader of the Calhoun faction. When Calhoun, defeated in the effort to obtain control of the Democratic nominating convention of 1844, decided to throw his full support to Polk, Rhett, intent on State action against the tariff, took the risk involved in opposing Calhoun and inaugurated the "Bluffton movement." Although Calhoun succeeded at the time in checking the movement for State interposition, the younger

generation had been initiated into a more advanced stage of South Carolina radicalism. After the Wilmot proviso, Rhett for five years devoted himself to a struggle for separate secession of the State, against those who would move only in cooperation with other States. His failure at the time and the course by which in the end his influence prevailed were clearly depicted.

Prof. Brooks's paper sought to establish the fact that Howell Cobb, known afterwards chiefly as an ardent advocate of secession and of extreme southern views, had before that time been a Democrat of strong nationalist tendencies. In support of this view he cited his speeches on the Texas question, the Mexican War, and the Oregon question, and especially his conduct in respect to the compromise of 1850, when he was Speaker of the National House of Representatives. He was one of the foremost advocates of that compromise, regarding it as the best obtainable adjustment of a dispute that looked ominous for the Union. Breaking with lifelong political associates, for most of its opponents in Georgia and in the South generally were Democrats, he brought the people of that pivotal State to acquiesce in it, definitely committing Georgia to the compromise by the successful canvass he made for the governorship in 1851 on the Union ticket. The remaining part of the paper treated of the disruption of the Union Party brought about by disagreement between the Whig and the Democratic elements over the preliminaries of the election of 1852. Cobb was left stranded with only a small following of Union Democrats. His course on the issues of 1850 had so completely alienated him from the Democratic majority that he never regained his former popularity.

In Prof. Robertson's paper¹ the close relation between the course of political parties in Kentucky during the decade 1855-1865 and the features of the State's physical geography was established and was displayed on a series of maps specially prepared from returns of elections, both State and National. Yet the period was one of transition, and there was much shifting of sectional political sentiment, concerned with the issues of State rights, union, secession, slavery, sound currency, internal improvements, and many minor interests.

Prof. Ramsdell's paper on the "Confederate government and railroads"² was a study in war administration. The first outstanding fact, the heaviest handicap of the South in waging war, was its lack of industrial development, which resulted not only in want of necessary supplies but also in the lack of sufficient men with training in industrial administration to organize and administer its resources. In 1861 the southern railroads were local short lines, light in both

¹ Printed in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, June, 1917.

² Printed in the *American Historical Review*, July, 1917.

track and rolling stock, unconnected, without coordination; and generally inadequate to the work suddenly imposed upon them. They could not themselves combine or coordinate, and confusion and congestion of traffic resulted; they were unable to obtain supplies, and rapid deterioration set in. The government was unable to aid them, partly because of constitutional scruples, partly through a failure to comprehend the nature of the problem. It granted loans to build certain connections and it sought relief from congestion by supervision of its own freights, but it never found a remedy for the breakdown of the roads themselves. The consequence was the paralysis of the whole system of transportation and distribution, the starvation and disintegration of the Confederate armies, and the collapse of the government.

The annual business meeting, presided over by Prof. Burr as president, differed from preceding business meetings in two important respects—the one a matter of procedure, the other a matter of substantial achievement, namely, the revision of the society's constitution. Votes respecting procedure passed a year before had provided that hereafter the annual reports of committees should not be read in the business meeting unless their reading should be called for by 10 members present or directed by the council. On the present occasion only two such reports were designated by the council to be read, and only these two were orally presented. The wholesale omission of the reports, with these two exceptions, was justified in this present year by the need to save time for due consideration of constitutional amendments and by-laws; but it may well be doubted whether at ordinary meetings the omission, which under the rule will usually take place, will be advantageous to the association. In ordinary years the doings of these committees are the most important activities of the association, yet under the practice now inaugurated it will not be long before most of the members will know little about them. The present healthy spirit of interest in all affairs of the society will be in danger of declining for want of known objects on which to expend itself, and the committees may miss much helpful cooperation which might come to them from interested members as a result of oral presentation of their problems, plans, and achievements.

The amendments to the constitution of the association which had been presented by the committee of nine at the business meeting a year before, and which, in accordance with the constitution, had been referred to the present meeting for action, were unanimously adopted, as also the by-laws then recommended by the same committee. The committee of five appointed to devise a plan for the taking over of the *American Historical Review* by the association brought in a report recommending—and the recommendations were

at once unanimously adopted—that the board of editors should execute an assignment to the association of all its right and title in its contract with the Macmillan Co. as publishers, together with a bill of sale of tangible property and good will, and that the affairs of the Review should for the present, and until other action of the association, remain in the hands of the board of editors under the same system as hitherto, except that they should make a detailed report of their accounts annually to the council and to the association. The special committee on finance, appointed at the last annual meeting, recommended a more complete application of the budget principle, the keeping of separate accounts for the publication fund and for the life-membership receipts, and a number of other improvements in the details of fiscal procedure.

The report of the committee on nominations was presented by its chairman, Prof. Frank M. Anderson, of Dartmouth College. The committee had received primary ballots from 291 members. In accordance with its recommendations Mr. Worthington C. Ford was elected president of the association for the ensuing year, Mr. William R. Thayer first vice president, Prof. Edward Channing second vice president, Mr. Waldo G. Leland, Dr. Clarence W. Bowen, Mr. A. Howard Clark, and Prof. Evarts B. Greene were reelected to their respective offices of secretary, treasurer, curator, and secretary of the council; and the following six members were elected members of the council: Prof. Eugene C. Barker, Guy S. Ford, Samuel B. Harding, Ulrich B. Phillips, Lucy M. Salmon, and George M. Wrong. The amended constitution now requiring the choice of eight elective councilors, Prof. Henry E. Bourne and Mr. Charles Moore were also elected. Messrs. Charles H. Ambler, Frank M. Anderson, Christopher B. Coleman, Henry B. Learned, and Andrew C. McLaughlin, all nominated from the floor, were chosen as a committee on nominations for the ensuing year; this committee has since chosen Prof. Anderson as its chairman.

Of other matters in the history of the association much the most important is the endeavor, set in motion at the final meeting of the council, to increase the endowment of the association from its present figure of about \$28,000 to that of \$50,000. The movement is due to the initiative of the treasurer, Dr. Bowen, to whom, during his long service of nearly 33 years in that office, the organization is already so much indebted.

All evidences, indeed, show convincingly that the American Historical Association is now in the most prosperous condition, with resources and activities increasing, and interest widespread.

**PROGRAM OF THE THIRTY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING OF THE
AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, HELD IN CINCINNATI,
OHIO, DECEMBER 27-30, 1916.**

Tuesday, December 26.

Bureau of registration, ninth-floor corridor, Hotel Sinton, open from 2 to 10 p. m. (Open on subsequent days from 8 a. m. to 6 p. m.)

Dinner of Mississippi Valley Historical Association at 7 p. m. in assembly room of Hotel Sinton, followed by business session.

Wednesday, December 27.

10 30 a. m.: Ancient history Parlor F. Chairman, William A. Oldfather, University of Illinois. "Mesopotamian politics and scholarship," Albert T. Olmstead, University of Missouri. "Climatic and geographic influences upon ancient Mediterranean agriculture," Ellen Churchill Semple, Louisville, Ky. "Tribute assessments in the Athenian Empire," Herbert Wing, Dickinson College. Discussion opened by W. L. Westermann, University of Wisconsin.

10 30 a. m.: American history. Ballroom, ninth floor. Chairman, Allen Johnson, Yale University. "The uprising against the East India Company," Arthur M. Schlesinger, Ohio State University. "Robert Barnwell Rhett and South Carolina, 1826-1852," Laura A. White, University of Wyoming. "Howell Cobb and the crisis of 1850," Robert P. Brooks, University of Georgia. "The Confederate Government and the railroads," Charles W. Ramsdell, University of Texas. Discussion opened by Arthur C. Cole, University of Illinois.

12 m.: Meeting of executive council. Parlor F.

1 p. m.: Subscription luncheon of members of hereditary patriotic societies in assembly room. The luncheon will be followed by a conference of hereditary patriotic societies. Assembly room. Chairman, Harry Brent Mackoy, Cincinnati. The National Society of Colonial Dames of America, Cornelia Bartow Williams, historian general; the National Society of Daughters of the Revolution, Mrs. Everett Menzies Raynor, president general; the National Society of the United States Daughters of 1812, Mrs. Robert Hall Wiles, president national; the Society of the Sons of the Revolution in the State of Ohio, Jackson Wolcott Sparrow, ex-president Ohio society; the National Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, R. C. Ballard Thruston, ex-president; Daughters of the American Revolution in the State of Ohio, Mrs. Thomas Kite, ex-vice president general, Miss Elizabeth Burckhardt; the Society of Colonial Wars in the State of Ohio, Elmer L. Foote. Discussion.

3 p. m.: Conference of archivists. Parlor F, second floor. Chairman, Victor Hugo Paltsits, New York Public Library. Remarks by the chairman. "Rules and regulations for the administration of archives," Thomas M. Owen, department of archives and history of Alabama. Discussion: (a) "The custodian's point of view," Milo M. Quaife, State Historical Society of Wisconsin; (b) "The student's point of view," Rev. Peter Guilday, Catholic University of America. "The housing of archives," Louis A. Simon, Office of the Supervising Architect, United States Treasury Department. Discussion. "Binding, repairing, and restoration of archives," William Berwick, Government Printing Office. Discussion, opened by Clarence W. Alvord, University of Illinois. "The problem of archive centralization with reference to local conditions in a middle western State," Theodore C. Pease, University of Illinois.

3 p. m. Discussion of the field and method of the elementary course in college history. Ball room. Chairman, Arley B. Show, Leland Stanford Junior

University (a) The Field Should the same field be offered as a first course for all students?—If only one, what field should be chosen?—If more than one, what alternatives should be allowed? Discussion opened by William A. Frayer, University of Michigan; followed by James F. Baldwin, Vassar College; Jesse E. Wrench, University of Missouri; Herbert D. Foster, Dartmouth College; Milton R. Gutsch, University of Texas. (b) Method: The lecture system—The text-book and quiz section—Reference, reading and written work—The historical laboratory. Discussion opened by Robert H. George, Yale University, and Curtis H. Walker, University of Chicago; followed by Laurence B. Packard, University of Rochester, Henry R. Shipman, Princeton University; William K. Boyd, Trinity College, N. C., Clarence P. Gould, College of Wooster; Wilmer C. Harris, Ohio State University; Carlton J. H. Hayes, Columbia University; Donald L. McMurtry, Vanderbilt University; James G. McDonald, University of Indiana; H. Morse Stephens, University of California. General discussion.

[NOTE.—Leaders of the discussion will be limited to 10 minutes each; those who follow, to 5 minutes; and those who take part in the general discussion, to 3 minutes.]

5 p. m.: Conference of representatives of university departments of history, political science, and economics on establishment of a university center in Washington. For place of meeting and further information, inquire at bureau of registration.

6 p. m.: Subscription dinner for the women of the various associations at the Auto Club, Hotel Gibson.

8 p. m.: Recent phases of European balance of power. Ball room. Chairman, Wilbur H. Siebert, Ohio State University. "The ententes and the isolation of Germany," Charles Seymour, Yale University; "Two conceptions of the freedom of the seas," Jesse S. Reeves, University of Michigan; "England and neutral trade in the Napoleonic and present wars," William E. Lingelbach, University of Pennsylvania; discussion opened by Bernadotte E. Schmitt, Western Reserve University.

10 p. m.: Smoker for the men of the various associations, Fountain Room, Hotel Gibson.

Thursday, December 23.

The American Historical Association and the American Political Science Association will hold their morning and afternoon sessions at the University of Cincinnati.

The rooms of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, Van Warner Library, will be open to visitors during the day.

10 a. m.: Conference of historical societies. Room 37, McMicken Hall. Chairman, Harlow Lindley, Indiana Historical Commission; secretary, Augustus H. Shearer, Newberry Library, Chicago. Remarks by the chairman. Report of the secretary. General subject, Federating and affiliating local historical societies. The Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies, Thomas L. Montgomery, Pennsylvania State Library, Harrisburg; The Ontario Historical Society, A. F. Hunter, Toronto, Canada; The Michigan Historical Commission, George N. Fuller, Lansing, Mich.; The Illinois State Historical Society, Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, Springfield, Ill.; The Bay State Historical League, Nathaniel T. Kidder, Milton, Mass. Discussion of report of committee on organization and activities of the conference.

10 a. m.: Conference of teachers of history in secondary schools, room 23, McMicken Hall. Chairman, A. C. Thomas, State superintendent of education,

Lincoln, Nebr. "Personality in the teaching of history," Carl E. Pray, State Normal School, Ypsilanti, Mich.; Discussion, Victoria A. Adams, Chicago; "How may the teaching of history in schools be made more effective in preparing for business and the consular service?" Glen Levin Swiggett, United States Bureau of Education; Discussion, Frank P. Goodwin, Cincinnati; "The teaching of history as affected by the present war," discussion opened by Albert E. McKinley, University of Pennsylvania; Samuel B. Harding, Indiana State University; and Shirley Farr, University of Chicago. Tentative report of committee on history in schools, William S. Ferguson, chairman, Harvard University.

10 a. m. History of China and Japan. Auditorium, McMicken Hall. Chairman, Payson J. Treat, Leland Stanford Junior University. "The Life of a monastic Shō in medieval Japan," by K. Asakawa, Yale University; "Chinese social institutions as a foundation for republican government," Edward T. Williams, Department of State, Washington, D. C. Discussion opened by Dana C. Munro, Princeton University, followed by Kenneth S. Latourette, Denison University; Stanley K. Hornbeck, University of Wisconsin; W. F. Willoughby, Institute for Government Research, Washington, D. C.

12 30 p. m. : Luncheon will be served at the university. Guests of both associations are requested to group themselves by regions, assembling for that purpose in separate rooms a few minutes before the luncheon. Brief addresses will follow the luncheon.

3 p. m. : Annual business meeting. Auditorium, McMicken Hall. Reports of officers and committees. Votes on by-laws and amendments to the constitution. Report of committee on transfer of American Historical Review. Election of officers. For complete docket, inquire at bureau of registration.

8 p. m. : Presidential address. Ball room, Hotel Sinton. Joint meeting with the Political Science Association. Chairman, Charles P. Taft, Cincinnati. Address of welcome. "The scientific spirit in politics," Jesse Macy, Grinnell College, president of the American Political Science Association. "The freedom of history," George L. Burr, Cornell University, president of the American Historical Association.

10 p. m. : General reception tendered to the men and women attending the meetings of the various associations and to invited guests.

Friday, December 29.

10 a. m. : Great peace congresses of the nineteenth century. Assembly room, Hotel Gibson. Chairman, George M. Dutcher, Wesleyan University. "The congress of Vienna," Charles D. Hazen, Columbia University; "The congress of Paris," William R. Thayer, Cambridge, Mass.; "The congress of Berlin," Robert H. Lord, Harvard University. Discussion.

10 a. m. : English history. Parlor F, Hotel Sinton. Chairman, Frances G. Davenport, Carnegie Institution of Washington. "Was there a 'Common Council' before parliament?" Albert B. White, University of Minnesota; "Beginnings of the oldest European alliance," Guernsey Jones, University of Nebraska; "The Stuart period: unsolved problems," Wallace Notestein, University of Minnesota; "The English criminal law and benefit of clergy in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries," Arthur L. Cross, University of Michigan. Discussion opened by Roland G. Usher, Washington University.

10 a. m. : General history. Library, Hotel Sinton. Chairman, Merrick Whitcomb, University of Cincinnati. "The beginnings of the standing army in

Prussia," Sidney B. Fay, Smith College; "History and pathology," Chalfant Robinson, Princeton University; "Admiral Charles Whiting Wooster in Chile," Charles Lyon Chandler, Chattanooga, Tenn.; "American historical periodicals," Augustus H. Shearer, Newberry Library, Chicago. Discussion opened by J. Franklin Jameson, Carnegie Institution of Washington, and Clarence W. Alvord, University of Illinois.

1 p. m.: Luncheon conferences of committees for 1917. Inquire at bureau of registration.

2.30 p. m.: American history. Library. Joint meeting with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. Chairman, Frederic L. Paxson, president of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. "Spanish influence in the west during the American revolution," James A. James, Northwestern University; "The Pennsylvania bribery bill of 1836," Reginald C. McGrane, University of Cincinnati; "Sectionalism in Kentucky from 1855 to 1865," James R. Robertson, Berea College; "The influence of the religious press of Cincinnati on the northern border States," Ernest A. Smith, Salt Lake City. Discussion, Charles E. Chapman, University of California; Homer J. Webster, University of Pittsburgh; David Y. Thomas, University of Arkansas; E. M. Coulter, University of Wisconsin.

4.30 p. m.: Reception and tea to the members of both associations by Mr. and Mrs. Charles P. Taft at their residence, 316 Pike Street.

6 p. m.: Arrangements will be made for groups interested in various fields of work to dine together and to hold informal conferences which may be prolonged into the evening. One of these groups will consist of those interested in the establishment of an Ibero-American historical review. Other subjects suggested or planned for are: "The development of science in the Middle Ages," "The Revolutionary and Napoleonic period," "Archival and manuscript sources of American history," "Problems of the teacher of history in the normal school and teacher's college," etc. For list of dinners and for bookings, inquire at bureau of registration.

8 p. m.: Public session of American Political Science Association. Papers by former United States Senator Theodore E. Burton on Reforms in Administration and by Hon. Carl Vrooman, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, on The Expansion of the Work of the Department of Agriculture.

Saturday, December 30.

10 a. m.: American colonial policy in the Philippines. Assembly room, Hotel Gibson. Joint meeting with the American Political Science Association. Chairman, George L. Burr, president of the American Historical Association. "The Philippine Islands since the inauguration of the Philippine Assembly," James A. Robertson, Washington, D. C.; "The education of the Philippine people," Frank L. Crone, Kendallville, Ind. Discussion opened by N. Dwight Harris, Northwestern University.

10 a. m.: Medieval and modern Constantinople. Parlor F, Hotel Sinton. Chairman, Andrew C. McLaughlin, University of Chicago. "When did the Byzantine Empire and civilization come into being?", Paul van den Ven, University of Louvain; "Constantinople as capital of the Ottoman Empire," Albert H. Lybyer, University of Illinois; "Claims upon Constantinople—national, geographical, and historic," Archibald Cary Coolidge, Harvard University. Discussion opened by Edwin A. Grosvenor, Amherst College.

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION HELD IN THE AUDITORIUM OF McMICKEN HALL, UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI, CINCINNATI, OHIO, DECEMBER 28, 1916.

The meeting was called to order at 2.15 p. m., President George L. Burr presiding

The secretary of the association presented his annual report The total membership of the association on December 19, 1916, was stated to be 2,739, showing a net loss during the year of 187 The number of new members admitted during the year was 244 The total loss during the year was 431—40 by death, 118 by resignation, 273 for nonpayment of dues The secretary explained that the new rule respecting membership adopted at the last meeting had operated to clear the rolls of a large number of members whose dues had remained unpaid for a year or more. The secretary emphasized the need of a quarterly bulletin devoted to the interests of the association as an organization.

It was voted that the report of the secretary be received and placed on file

In the absence of the treasurer the secretary presented the treasurer's report, which had been printed and distributed to those present. By unanimous consent the reading of the report was omitted.

It was voted that the president appoint a committee to audit the treasurer's report and to report thereon at the next business meeting of the association.

The president appointed Messrs. Allen Johnson and S. B. Fay a committee to audit the treasurer's report.

The secretary of the council presented a report for the executive council. In accordance with the vote of the association at its last meeting the reports of the various committees and commissions were summarized by the secretary of the council, who stated that the council had voted to call for the presentation in full, by their respective chairmen, of the reports of the Justin Winsor prize committee and of the board of editors of the American Historical Review. He also called especial attention to certain votes of the executive council as set forth in the minutes of that body, namely, the appropriation of \$200 for the support of the History Teacher's Magazine, the vote authorizing the committee on finance of the council to transfer credits from one item to another in the budget, the vote providing for the continuation of the Bibliography of American Historical Societies published in the Annual Report for 1905, and the vote providing for the publication of a quarterly bulletin.

Recommendations of the council respecting the place of meeting in 1917, the fixing of a registration fee, the organization of the Conference of Historical Societies, and the terms of office of officers and members of the council were presented by the secretary of the council for action by the association.

These recommendations being duly moved and seconded were voted as follows:

1. Voted: That the annual meeting of the association of 1917 be held in Philadelphia

2. Voted: That at future meetings of the association, beginning with 1917, a registration fee of 50 cents be charged to cover the expenses incurred by the association in connection with such annual meetings.

3. Voted: That the Conference of Historical Societies be organized on the basis of the following provisions:

(1) That the Conference of Historical Societies be recognized as a semi-independent organization under the auspices of the American Historical Association.

(2) That its secretary be appointed by the council of the association, and have the rank and functions of a committee chairman, reporting annually to the association.

(3) That the conference appoint such other officers and committees as it may find expedient

(4) That the conference be supported by an annual assessment upon each society that becomes a member of it, such assessments to be upon the basis of 1 cent for each member of such societies, but no society to be assessed more than \$10 nor less than 25 cents. Commissions, State departments, surveys, etc., not organized as societies to pay an annual fee of \$5.

(5) That the conference have control of its own funds, but shall furnish an annual report of its expenditures and receipts to the association.

(6) That the chairman of its program committee or such officer as may be charged with the preparation of its program, shall be ex officio a member of the program committee of the association.

(7) That the conference prepare, as soon as possible after the annual meeting of each year, a report of its proceedings, together with such bibliographical and statistical information as it may collect.

(8) That all publications of the conference be passed upon by the association's committee on publications and be issued under the auspices of the association.

(9) That, finally, an appropriation of \$50 for 1917 be made for the incidental expenses connected with the reorganization of the conference. (Such an item was included in the budget for 1917)

4 Voted. That the terms of office of the officers of the association and of the members of the executive council chosen at any given annual meeting be for the year terminating with the close of the next annual business meeting of the association.

Remarks respecting the proposed quarterly bulletin were made by the secretary of the association, by Mr. G. S. Ford, of the executive council; and by Mr. James Sullivan. By unanimous consent subscription cards were distributed to those present and the sum of \$185.75 was pledged as a guaranty fund to meet the expenses of publishing the proposed bulletin in case the said expenses should be of such an amount as to involve the treasury of the association in a deficit.

The report of the Pacific coast branch was presented by Mr. Edward Krehbiel, president of the branch and its delegate to the annual meeting. He stated that the branch had held its thirteenth annual meeting on December 1 and 2, at San Diego, Cal. At its business meeting the branch voted to appoint a committee to investigate the feasibility of preparing a bibliography of the history of the Pacific Coast States and adopted the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association does hereby indorse the excellent work already accomplished and the plan of work outlined for the future by the California Historical Survey Commission.

Furthermore, that the association most earnestly urges the continued support of this great project for calendaring the scattered records of our history, and that the association impress upon the California public the fact that what has been done will never attain the good end desired unless through the action of our legislature provision be made to have the results of the survey commission's work published.

Officers of the branch were elected as follows: President, Edward Krehbiel; vice president, Levi E. Young, secretary-treasurer, William A. Morris; council (in addition to the above), Oliver H. Richardson, Tully C. Knoles, Allen M. Kline, Effie I. Hawkins.

The reports of the historical manuscripts commission and of the public archives commission were read by title, their full reading not having been directed by the executive council nor being called for from the floor.

The report of the committee on the Justin Winsor prize was presented by the chairman, Mr. Carl Russell Fish, who stated that the committee had voted to award the Winsor prize of 1916 to Richard J. Purcell, for his monograph entitled "Connecticut in Transition, 1775-1818."

The report of the board of editors of the American Historical Review was presented by Mr. Carl Becker. The board reported that it had cooperated with

the special committee appointed at the last meeting to make recommendations respecting the procedure of transfer of the American Historical Review to the association; that it had considered various informal suggestions respecting means of publishing more articles in European history, and that, while it was in entire sympathy with any plan to encourage the publication of scholarly articles in that field of history, it thought it worth while to point out that during the last 10 years more than half the contents of the Review had lain in the field of European history; that increased cost of production had prevented the accumulation of any surplus during the past year, thus rendering impossible any payment to the treasury of the association; that, contrary to the somewhat prevalent impression, the board did not discourage the offering of articles by young or unknown writers, but welcomed such articles, their publication depending entirely upon their merits; that no discrimination was made against any particular field of history, it being the desire of the board to have all fields represented, and, finally, that the board had considered the question of devoting more attention to the analysis or description of doctors' theses in history, but had found no practicable means of fulfilling this end in the Review itself; it was understood, however, that this object was in a fair way of being achieved by another means.

The reports of the following committees were read by title, their full reading not having been directed by the executive council nor being called for from the floor: Board of advisory editors of the History Teacher's Magazine, committee on bibliography, committee on publications, general committee, editor of reprints of original narratives, committee on history in schools, committee to cooperate with the National Highways Association.

The amendments to the constitution which had been presented by the committee of nine at the last business meeting, and which had been by vote of the association referred to the present meeting for action, were read by the president and, being voted upon separately, were unanimously adopted as follows:

For Article IV substitute the following:

ART. IV The officers shall be a president, two vice presidents, a secretary, a secretary of the council, a curator, and a treasurer. These officers shall be elected by ballot at each regular annual meeting in the manner provided in the by-laws.

For Article V substitute the following:

ART. V. There shall be an executive council constituted as follows:

1. The officers named in Article IV.
2. Elected members, eight in number, to be chosen annually in the same manner as the officers of the association.
3. The former presidents, but a former president shall be entitled to vote for the three years succeeding the expiration of his term as president, and no longer.

Incorporate a new article, to be numbered VI, as follows:

ART. VI. The executive council shall conduct the business, manage the property, and care for the general interests of the association. In the exercise of its proper functions the council may appoint such committees, commissions, and boards as it may deem necessary. The council shall make a full report of its activities to the annual meeting of the association. The association may by vote at any annual meeting instruct the executive council to discontinue or enter upon any activity, and may take such other action in directing the affairs of the association as it may deem necessary and proper.

Change the number of Article VI to Article VII.

The by-laws proposed by the committee of nine at the last annual meeting and by vote of the association referred to the present meeting for action were read by the president.

The first by-law was read, as follows:

1. The officers provided for by the constitution shall have the duties and perform the functions customarily attaching to their respective offices, with such others as may from time to time be prescribed.

After brief discussion from the floor, it was voted that it be adopted.

The second by-law was read, as follows:

2. A nomination committee of five members shall be chosen at each annual meeting in the manner hereafter provided for the election of officers of the association. At such convenient time prior to the 1st of October as it may determine it shall invite every member to express to it his preference regarding every office to be filled by election at the ensuing annual meeting and regarding the composition of the new nominating committee then to be chosen. It shall publish and mail to each member at least 20 days prior to the annual meeting such nominations as it may determine upon for each elective office and for the next nominating committee. It shall prepare for use at the annual meeting an official ballot containing, as candidates for each office or committee membership to be filled thereat, the names of its nominees and also the names of any other nominees which may be proposed to the chairman of the committee in writing by 20 or more members of the association at least five days before the annual meeting. The official ballot shall also provide, under each office, a blank space for voting for such further nominees as any member may present from the floor at the time of the election.

Mr. F. M. Anderson moved to amend the by-law by striking out the first sentence as read and substituting therefor the following:

The committee on nominations, except the first committee chosen, shall consist of five members, none of whom shall serve more than two years in succession; two members shall be selected by the retiring committee on nominations from its own membership; three members shall be selected by ballot at the annual meeting of the association from a list presented by the retiring committee on nominations, it being understood that nominations may also be made from the floor or by petition.

After discussion of the amendment it was voted to lay it on the table.

It was voted to adopt the by-law as read.

The third by-law was read as follows:

3. The annual election of officers and the choice of a nominating committee for the ensuing year shall be conducted by the use of an official ballot prepared as described in by-law 2.

It was voted that the by-law be adopted as read.

The fourth by-law was read as follows:

4. The association authorizes the payment of traveling expenses incurred by the voting members of the council attending one meeting of that body a year, this meeting to be other than that held in connection with the annual meeting of the association.

It was voted that it be adopted as read.

President Burr called ex-President William A. Dunning to take the chair.

The report of the special committee on the transfer of the American Historical Review was presented by Mr. G. L. Burr, chairman of the committee.

The first recommendation of the special committee being put before the meeting for action thereon, was read by the presiding officer as follows:

1. That the council be instructed to seek from the editors of the American Historical Review an assignment to the American Historical Association of all their right and title in the contract with the Macmillan Co. for the publication of that Review, together with a bill of sale of such tangible property as may be vested in them as editors of that Review and of the good will thereto appertaining. And we recommend that on the back of the aforesaid contract with the publishers, if there be free space, this assignment of their said title and interest therein be typewritten and signed by the editors, and that the consent thereto of the Macmillan Co., publishers, signed by that company, be

appended. We recommend, further, that the aforesaid bill of sale be, so far as possible, an itemized bill, and that a consideration of some sort (such as the usual "one dollar") be named as a part of the transaction and duly paid to the said editors.

Mr. Edward Krehbiel moved that it be amended by striking out the words "a consideration of some sort (such as the usual 'one dollar')." and substituting therefor the words "the usual consideration of one dollar."

It was voted that the amendment be adopted.

It was then voted that the recommendation be adopted in its amended form as follows:

1. That the council be instructed to seek from the editors of the American Historical Review an assignment to the American Historical Association of all their right and title in the contract with the Macmillan Co. for the publication of that Review, together with a bill of sale of such tangible property as may be vested in them as editors of that Review and of the good will thereto appertaining. And we recommend that on the back of the aforesaid contract with the publishers, if there be free space, this assignment of their said title and interest therein be typewritten and signed by the editors, and that the consent thereto of the Macmillan Co., publishers, signed by that company, be appended. We recommend, further, that the aforesaid bill of sale be, so far as possible, an itemized bill, and that the usual consideration of one dollar be named as a part of the transaction and duly paid to the said editors.

The second and final recommendation of the special committee being put before the meeting for action thereon was read by the presiding officer as follows:

2 In order that the said transfer may be made at any time and that the management of the Review may be provided for from its date to the next subsequent meeting of this association, we recommend that, until the next subsequent meeting of this association and till directed otherwise by this association, the present board of editors retain their functions in all respects as hitherto; that they continue to cause their accounts to be kept by a treasurer of the board, a detailed report to be made by him to the council at its November meeting and to the association at its annual business meeting; that they retain in his hands, as a working capital, such funds as are in his hands at the time of the transfer; and that they continue to receive as hitherto the monthly subvention paid by the publishers for the editing of the Review and the share hitherto paid to the editors of the Review's yearly profits. We recommend also that, till such further action, they retain the administration of these funds and of such other funds as may at any time be appropriated by the association or its council to the uses of the Review, and that the editorial purposes to which these funds shall be devoted, including the payment, at their discretion, of traveling expenses of the members of the board, be entirely within the control of the board; and we recommend that, till further action by this association, the members of the board be elected by the council as at present, and for the same term of six years; and that, until such further action, they retain the power to elect their own managing editor and their other officers.

It was voted that the recommendation be adopted as read.

The report of the special committee on finance was presented by Mr. Cheesman A. Herrick, chairman of the committee. The report having been printed and distributed, the reading of the report was, by unanimous consent, dispensed with.

It was voted that the thanks of the association be extended to the special committee on finance and that its recommendations be carried out as soon as practicable.

The recommendations of the special committee may be summarized as follows:

1 That the practice of having the routine clerical work of the secretary and treasurer done in one office, under the supervision of the secretary, be continued.

2. That the budget principle be more completely applied, and that to this end committee chairmen and officers present annually to the council, at its November meeting, estimates of the needs of the work under their charge, and that these

estimates be reviewed by the council with regard to the probable income of the association, and that a budget of appropriations safely within the income of the association be presented by the council for adoption at the annual meeting.

3 That balances remaining to the credit of any appropriation at the end of the fiscal year be made available for the payment of any bills incurred during the same fiscal year and chargeable to the said appropriation.

4. That in the event of any appropriation being overdrawn, that fact be reported to the annual meeting for a deficiency appropriation or such other action as may be taken.

5. That the amount now to the credit of the committee on publications be made available as capital for the operations of the committee, and that distinct book records and a separate bank account be kept for the publications of the association.

6. That the financial records of the association be kept in the form of (a) a standard cash book, (b) a ledger for appropriations, (c) a ledger for investments and other assets.

7. That a form of voucher check be employed which duly indorsed, shall constitute a receipt for payments made.

8 That checks be drawn by the secretary only on receipt of a bill duly approved by the committee chairman or other person responsible for the expenditure, and that no check be signed by the treasurer until it has been duly drawn and signed as above by the secretary.

9. That for all expenditures formal bills be presented stating explicitly the purpose for which the expenditure is made.

10. That all life membership dues be invested, and that a separate bank account for the same be kept.

11. That the funds of the association be invested in real estate mortgages, guaranteed by some reputable commercial organization.

The report of the committee on nominations was presented by Mr. F. M. Anderson, chairman of the committee. He stated that 291 members had returned primary ballots indicating their preferences for the various officers and that returns had clearly indicated that it was the desire of the association to adhere to the practice of advancing the vice presidents and of reelecting members of the council who have served less than three years. The nominations presented by the committee were as follows:

President, Worthington C. Ford.

First vice president, William Roscoe Thayer.

Second vice president, Edward Channing.

Secretary, Waldo G. Leland.

Treasurer, Clarence W. Bowen.

Curator, A. Howard Clark.

Secretary of the council, Evarts B. Greene.

Members of the council, Eugene C. Barker, Guy Stanton Ford, Ulrich B. Phillips, Lucy M. Salmon, Samuel B. Harding, George M. Wrong.

The question being raised as to whether eight members of the council should be elected, in accordance with the constitution as amended at the present meeting, or six members, in accordance with the constitution prior to amendment, it was voted that the committee on nominations present two further nominations for membership in the executive council.

The committee on nominations, through its chairman, placed the names of Messrs. Henry E. Bourne and Herbert E. Bolton in nomination for membership in the executive council.

Nominations from the floor being called for, Mr. Charles Moore and Mr. Justin H. Smith were nominated for election to the executive council.

Mr. Henry A. Sill nominated Mr. Edward Channing for the office of first vice president and Mr. Edward P. Cheyney for the office of second vice president.

After remarks from the floor Mr. Sill withdrew his nominations.

No further nominations being offered the presiding officer appointed Messrs. S. J. Buck, C. O. Paullin, R. H. George, and G. S. Godard as tellers, and ballots were distributed.

While the ballots were being counted it was voted that nominations for members of the committee on nominations be called for from the floor.

The following were nominated as members of the committee on nominations: Messrs. A. C. McLaughlin, H. B. Learned, C. H. Ambler, C. B. Coleman, F. M. Anderson.

No further nominations being offered it was voted that the secretary be instructed, by unanimous consent, to cast the ballot of the association for the gentlemen nominated for membership in the committee on nominations. The ballot was accordingly cast and they were declared duly elected.

It was voted that the committee on nominations be instructed to select one of its number as chairman.

[At a meeting of the committee on nominations held after the adjournment of the business meeting, Mr. F. M. Anderson was selected as chairman.]

The result of the balloting was reported by Mr. S. J. Buck, chairman of the tellers.

He stated that 67 ballots had been cast as follows:

President, Worthington C. Ford, 66

First vice president, William R. Thayer, 55; scattering, 4.

Second vice president, Edward Channing, 58; scattering, 3.

Secretary, Waldo G. Leland, 64.

Treasurer, Clarence W. Bowen, 64.

Secretary of the council, Evarts B. Greene, 63.

Curator, A. Howard Clark, 64.

Members of the executive council, Eugene C. Barker, 65; Guy Stanton Ford, 65; Ulrich B. Phillips, 62; Lucy M. Salmon, 65; Samuel B. Harding, 66; George M. Wrong, 57; Henry E. Bourne, 50; Charles Moore, 27; Herbert E. Bolton, 26; Justin Smith, 24.

The following having received a majority of the votes cast were declared duly elected:

President, Worthington C. Ford.

First vice president, William R. Thayer.

Second vice president, Edward Channing.

Secretary, Waldo G. Leland.

Treasurer, Clarence W. Bowen.

Secretary of the council, Evarts B. Greene.

Curator, A. Howard Clark.

Members of the executive council, Eugene C. Barker, Guy Stanton Ford, Ulrich B. Phillips, Lucy M. Salmon, Samuel B. Harding, George M. Wrong, Henry E. Bourne.

No one having received a majority for the eighth member of the council, it was voted that the secretary of the association be instructed by unanimous consent to cast the ballot of the association for that one of the three nominees who had received the highest vote.

The ballot of the association was accordingly cast for Mr. Charles Moore, and he was declared duly elected.

The meeting then adjourned.

WALDO G. LELAND, *Secretary.*

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY TO THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

CINCINNATI, OHIO, *December 28, 1916.*

1. *Membership.*—The membership of the association on December 19, 1916, stood at 2,739—a lower figure than in several years. The net loss of members during the year has been 187, as compared with the net gain last year of 13. There are 117 life members, 2,388 annual members, and 234 institutions. The total number of members admitted during the year has been 244, as compared with 290 during 1915. The losses have been as follows: By death, 40; by resignation, 118; dropped for nonpayment of dues, 273. The number of members whose dues are paid to date is 2,378—a larger number than at any time since 1913. The total number of delinquents is 361, which is the smallest number of delinquents at the time of the annual meeting in the last five years.

It will be noted that the decrease in membership is more apparent than real. It is due mainly to the operation of the rule which was adopted at the last annual meeting and which provided that members whose dues remained unpaid on June 1st should no longer be carried on the roll. This has served to weed out a considerable number of members who were being carried on the roll though their dues had not been paid for a considerable period. The association must expect each year to lose between 200 and 300 members, and this loss is normally more than made up by the addition of new members. I wish to emphasize the importance of this matter of the welfare of the association. Experience has shown that the most effective way of securing new members is through the efforts on the part of those who are already members.

2. *Publications.*—A year ago the functions of editor were transferred from the office of the secretary to the chairman of the committee on publications. The present arrangement leaves to the secretary the collection of the material for the annual report and the preparation of the proceedings of the meeting. All other work, editorial and otherwise, is performed by the chairman of the committee on publications, who has during the past year devoted a large amount of his time to the arduous labors that have devolved upon him.

The need of a list of members, or, better still, a quarterly bulletin which would include such a list, is more and more felt not only by the office of the secretary but by the members of the association in general. The last list was published in 1911 and is now, of course, hopelessly out of date. The list of members of this association is practically a directory of the historical profession in America and is considerably in demand by members of that profession. The continued failure to publish a list will inevitably result in considerable detriment to the association.

3. *Expenditures.*—The expenditures of the offices of the secretary and treasurer for last year are set forth in the treasurer's report and need not be repeated here. It should be noted, however, that the totals given in that report are very much increased by the fact that the annual meeting last year, which was held in Washington, made it necessary to charge against those offices a number of expenditures which ordinarily would not have been charged against them. An appropriation of \$1,600 is asked for next year, which probably represents the normal needs of the two offices.

4. *Invitations.*—During the year invitations have been received to be represented by delegates at the annual meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, at the meeting of the League to Enforce Peace, at the American Congress of Bibliography and History at Buenos Aires in July, at the celebration of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of

Newark, and at the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the founding of Rutgers College. The president, acting under authority conferred upon him by the council, appointed Mr. William Roscoe Thayer as delegate to the Rutgers celebration; Prof. Herman V. Ames, Prof. William I. Hull, and Prof. Robert M. McElroy as delegates to the meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Science; and Prof. William M. Sloane as delegate to the Newark celebration. Unfortunately it was impossible to find anyone who could attend the congress at Buenos Aires, but an official letter of greeting and congratulation was sent to the secretary of the congress on behalf of the association.

5. *Doubtful enterprises.*—The secretary feels constrained to issue a warning with regard to certain organizations styling themselves historical societies which have taken names closely resembling that of our association, but the purposes of which appear to be purely commercial. Numbers of people throughout the country have been led to confound those organizations with the American Historical Association, and it is desirable that everywhere members of the historical profession should be on their guard and should warn others.

6. *Deaths.*—During the year the association has lost by death some of its most distinguished and active members. The list is as follows:

Joseph Anderson, James B. Angell, Ferdinand Berger, Oliver W. Best, Francis E. Blake, James B. Book, John B. Cannon, Adolpho P. Carranza, Charles H. Conover, Junius Davis, Henry S. Dean, W. J. De Renne, Russell S. Devol, Jeptha Garrard, Ernest F. Gay, Clayton C. Hall, Richard Hudson, Elizabeth Hughes, Edson Jones, James M. Lamberton, George T. Little, Seth Low, Arthur T. Lyman, John James McCook, Mrs. Donald McLean, William N. Merriam, Anson D. Morse, Clarence S. Paine, Samuel W. Pennypacker, John A. Patten, William B. Rawle, William Savidge, Charles E. Slocum, Elliott T. Slocum, Mary Elsie Thalheimer, Francis McGee Thompson, Mrs. Herbert Tuttle, Mrs. Ellen H. Walworth, William T. White, William C. Wilcox.

The family of Ex-President Angell have requested the secretary to express to the association their appreciation of the letters of sympathy which were sent to them at the time of President Angell's death.

7. *Registration.*—The registration at the present meeting now stands at 290. Last year 403 registered at the Washington meeting and 400 members registered in Chicago.

Respectfully submitted,

W. G. LELAND, *Secretary.*

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

Balance on hand, Dec. 21, 1915.....	\$2,654.08
Receipts to date:	
Annual dues.....	\$7,825.79
Life membership dues.....	50.00
Dividend on bank stock.....	200.00
Interest on bond and mortgage.....	900.00
Loan, C. W. Bowen.....	1,000.00
Publications—	
Prize essays.....	\$404.73
Papers and reports.....	63.05
Writings on American history.....	44.50
Church history papers.....	1.00
Royalties.....	202.64
Miscellaneous.....	.80
	<hr/>
	718.72

Receipts to date—Continued.

Rebates—

Committee on local arrangement.....	17.30
Offices of secretary and treasurer.....	39.91
Committee on history in schools.....	10.00

\$67.21

Gift for London headquarters.....	150.00
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Miscellaneous	8.90
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\$10,918.62

Total receipts to date.....	13,572.70
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Total disbursements to date.....	10,353.06
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Balance on hand, Dec. 19, 1916.....	3,219.64
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DISBURSEMENTS, DEC. 21, 1915, TO DEC. 19, 1916.

Expense of administration:

Secretary and treasurer—

Salary of assistant.....	\$520.00
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Additional assistance and services of all kinds...	120.40
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Postage	117.17
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Telegrams, messenger service, express, money orders, fees, notary fees.....	28.29
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Stationery and supplies.....	190.66
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Furnishings	118.75
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Printing and duplicating.....	241.45
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Lantern slides, prints, etc., for National Archive meeting, December, 1915.....	153.75
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Miscellaneous	9.20
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1,499.67

Special account:

Secretary and treasurer—

Salary of assistant.....	\$875.00
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Additional assistance and services of all kinds...	115.85
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Postage	179.11
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Telegrams messenger service, express money-order fees, notary fees.....	20.26
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Stationery and supplies.....	12.22
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Printing and duplicating.....	11.00
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713.44

Payment of loan.....	1,000.00
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Secretary of the council:

Printing	9.25
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Stationery	12.39
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21.64

Executive council:

Reporting council meetings of Dec. 27 and 28, 1915...	69.45
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Printing	25.00
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Expense incurred in travel to attend meeting of council of Dec. 2, 1916—	
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G. S. Ford.....	75.20
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E. B. Greene.....	53.00
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S. B. Harding.....	52.52
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W. G. Leland.....	12.67
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U. B. Phillips.....	18.90
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C. H. Haskins.....	10.50
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J. F. Jameson.....	6.31
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323.55

Committee on nominations:

Telegrams	17.60
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Printing	7.40
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25.00

Miscellaneous expenses:

Secretary and treasurer—		
Auditing treasurer's report-----	\$20 00	
Postage -----	17 40	
Express, messenger service, money-order fees----	1 88	
Supplies -----	3 00	
Life membership certificate-----	.75	
Collection charges-----	10 08	
Pacific coast branch:		
Postage, express, printing, services-----	24 65	
Committee on nominations, 1915, printing-----	21 10	
Committee on nominations, 1916, printing-----	15 00	
Committee on bibliography, printing and binding----	24 93	
Adams prize committee, express-----	4 28	
		\$143. 02

Annual meetings:

Committee on program, 1915, printing-----	19 10	
Committee on program, 1916—		
Services -----	13 45	
Postage -----	35 00	
Stationery-----	8 72	
Conference of historical societies—		
Telegrams and postage-----	2 22	
Printing and duplicating-----	8 50	
		86. 99

Publications:

Committee on publications—		
Printing and binding-----	612 03	
Wrapping and mailing-----	14 07	
Postage and express-----	46 86	
Storage and insurance-----	95 18	
Advertising -----	17 75	
Stationery -----	3 72	
Editorial work -----	95 55	
		885. 16
American Historical Review-----		4, 504. 00

Standing committees:

Public archives commission—		
Postage and express-----	3 86	
Services -----	6 00	
Stationery -----	5 62	
Expense of preparing report on California archives	50 00	
Expense of preparing report on Vermont archives--	5 32	
General committee—		
Postage and services-----	23 04	
Stationery -----	28 28	
Printing -----	20 00	
Committee on bibliography—		
Stationery -----	6 19	
Printing and binding-----	18 81	
Committee on history in schools—		
Stationery -----	6 19	
Services -----	9 50	
		182. 81

Prizes and subventions:

Winsor prize committee—		
Stationery -----	3 72	
Printing -----	5 50	
Amount of prize after deductions-----	136 20	
Writings on American history—Appropriations for 1916	200 00	
History Teacher's Magazine—Appropriation for 1916--	400 00	
		745. 42

Expenses of committee of nine:

Printing-----	\$28. 00
Expense incurred in attending meeting of committee of nine, Oct 9 and 10, 1915—	
W. G. Leland-----	18. 60
I. J. Cox-----	45. 61
A. C. McLaughlin-----	61. 20
W. T. Root-----	68 95
	<u>\$222. 36</u>
	<u>10, 353. 06</u>

Net receipts, 1916-----	9, 918 62
Net disbursements, 1916-----	9, 353. 06

Excess of receipts over disbursements-----	565. 56
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The assets of the association are:

Bond and mortgage on real estate at No. 24 East Ninety-fifth Street, New York, N. Y.-----	20, 000. 00
Accrued interest on above from Sept 29 to Dec 19, 1916-----	201. 87
20 shares American Exchange National Bank stock, at \$230-----	4, 600. 00
Cash on hand-----	3, 219 64

	28, 021. 51
Assets at last annual report-----	27, 062. 15

An increase during the year of-----	959 36
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Among the assets of the association should be included:

Publications in stock, estimate-----	5, 800. 00
Furniture, office equipment, etc., estimate-----	250 00
	<u>6, 050 00</u>

REPORT OF THE AUDIT CO. OF AMERICA

CLARENCE W. BOWEN, Esq.,

*Treasurer of American Historical Association,**5 East Sixty-third Street, New York City.*

SIR: In accordance with your request we have examined the books and records of your association from December 21, 1915, to December 19, 1916, in so far as they relate to your cash receipts and disbursements, and the assets on hand, for the purpose of determining the accuracy of the transactions for the period under review. The result of our examination is set forth in the following exhibits:

Exhibit A: Comparative statement of financial condition for the years 1914, 1915, 1916.

Exhibit B: Condensed statement of income and expenditures from December 21, 1915, to December 19, 1916.

Commentary—The cash receipts were verified and were found to have been deposited in the bank. The cash disbursements were all verified with properly approved and receipted vouchers. The balance on deposit in the National Park Bank was reconciled with the balance as shown by your check book and as contained in Exhibit A. The bond and mortgage on real estate, together with all necessary papers connected therewith, were found to be on deposit with the Union Trust Co. of New York, Fifth Avenue and Sixtieth Street, and were examined. Two stock certificates of the American Exchange National Bank, of 10 shares each, were also on deposit with the Union Trust Co. and were shown to us. The items of "Publications in stock" and "Furniture and office equipment" are shown as valued by you in your statement of assets. All

of the books and records submitted for our examination were complete and in excellent order.

Certification: We take pleasure in certifying that the statement of the treasurer showing the cash receipts and disbursements is in agreement with the books and records of the association, and in our opinion represents a true and correct accounting therefor. We also certify that the attached exhibits represent the true financial condition of the association as at December 19, 1916, and the true income for the period December 21, 1915, to December 19, 1916, with such qualifications as are contained in the body of this text.

Respectfully submitted,

THE AUDIT COMPANY OF AMERICA,

MITCHELL LEVENTHAL,

Supervising Accountant

NEW YORK, December 26, 1916.

EXHIBIT A.

Comparative statement of financial condition, 1914, 1915, 1916, American Historical Association.

Assets	Dec 19, 1916.	Dec 21, 1915	Dec. 23, 1914.
Bond and mortgage on real estate 24 East Ninety-fifth Street, New York.....	\$20,000.00	\$20,000 00	\$20,000.00
Accrued interest on above from Sept 29	201.87	208 07	214.52
Bank stock, 20 shares, American Exchange National Bank.....	4,600.00	4,200.00	4,200.00
Cash in bank, National Park Bank.....	3,219 64	2,654 08	2,382.96
Publications in stock, estimated valuation.....	5,800 00	5,800.00	5,800 00
Furniture, office equipment, etc.....	250 00	250 00	250.00
Total assets.....	34,071 51	33,112.15	32,847.48

EXHIBIT B

Condensed statement of income and expenditures, Dec. 21, 1915, to Dec. 19, 1916, American Historical Association.

Analysis	Items	Items	Totals.
INCOME.			
Dues.....		\$7,875 79	
Investments.....			
Interest on mortgage (\$20,000, at 4½ per cent).....	1 \$893 80		
Dividend (5 per cent, 20 shares American Exchange National Bank).....	200 00		
Publications.....		1,093 80	
Miscellaneous.....		716.72	
		226.11	
Total income.....			\$9,912.42
EXPENDITURES			
Administrative.....		2,012.88	
Annual meetings.....		86.99	
Publications.....		885.16	
American Historical Review.....		4,504.00	
Standing committees.....		182.81	
Prizes and subventions.....		745.42	
Committee of mine.....		222.36	
Special account.....		713.44	
Total expenditures.....			9,353.06
Net income.....			559.36
Appreciation in market value of securities.....			400.00
Total increase.....			959.36

¹ The auditors included only earned interest to Dec. 19, whereas the treasurer's report includes interest received. That accounts for the discrepancy of \$620 between the total income as indicated in the former and the total income as indicated in the latter.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF THE COUNCIL.

DECEMBER 28, 1916.

The American Historical Association.

GENTLEMEN: The formal business of the executive council has been transacted this year at two meetings, the first held as usual in New York on the Saturday following Thanksgiving Day and the second at Cincinnati on Wednesday, December 27.

At the New York meeting a considerable portion of the time was required for the reception and consideration of reports from the various committees. In the past such reports have also been presented orally to the association at its annual meeting. By vote of the association last year, however, the presentation of these reports at the annual meeting is now limited to those specifically directed by the council or specifically called for by 10 members of the association. In consequence of this change in practice, it becomes necessary to extend the scope of this report in order to indicate some of the more important activities of the various committees. In view, however, of the crowded condition of the docket this survey will be made as brief as possible.

The Historical Manuscripts Commission has had in hand the preparation for the press of the R. M. T. Hunter papers, which have been collected and edited by Prof. C H Ambler, and which it is proposed to include in the annual report of the association for 1916. The commission is now planning, with the approval of the council, a systematic effort to draw out the manuscripts of the American Revolution now in private hands. In the carrying out of these plans the commission is depending largely on the cooperation of the patriotic societies formed to commemorate the achievements of the Revolutionary generation. In some instances definite assurances of such cooperation have already been given, and there is every reason to expect an equally cordial response elsewhere. In this connection I desire, on behalf of the council, to acknowledge the generosity of Mr. Justin H. Smith, of Boston, a member of this commission, who has contributed \$150 for the furtherance of its work.

One of the oldest and most useful of our committees is the Public Archives Commission. By the publication of a series of reports on the archives of the several States the commission has not only furnished information to students but has stimulated to a marked degree public interest in the more adequate care and more effective organization of State records. The last of these reports are those on California and Vermont, which are to be included in the published report of the commission in 1915. The commission has also taken an active part in the movement for a Federal archives building in Washington, but its chief present undertaking is the preparation of a manual for archivists or "Primer of archival economy." It is expected that this manual will be ready for the press by the close of the present year.

Of the prize committees, that on the Adams prize has had no award to make this year. The award of the Winsor prize will be announced by the chairman of that committee. At the New York meeting the council considered an interesting proposal from the publications committee looking toward a radically different use of the funds now set apart for these two prizes, with a view to stimulating productive scholarship in some other form than that of the doctoral dissertations to which these prizes have for the most part been awarded. The proposal was laid over for consideration at the November meeting of 1917. The chairman of the publications committee was also able to report a marked improvement in the format of the prize essays, as illustrated in the new volume by Mr. T. C. Pease on the Leveller Movement.

The committee on bibliography, which for several years rendered such excellent service under the chairmanship of Mr. Richardson, is now much cramped by lack of funds. There are two enterprises now taking definite form under the directions of this committee, one a bibliography of American travel, in the special charge of Mr. B. C. Steiner, and the other a list of historical serials in preparation by Mr. Shearer. In close relation to the work of the committee on bibliography is the publication of the "Writings on American history," whose continuation has been made possible largely through the public spirit of the Yale University Press. The council has authorized a continuance of the association subsidy for the coming year to the amount of \$200.

The index of the papers and reports of the association, which has been prepared by Mr. D. M. Matteson, is now approaching completion, and is expected to go to press in 1917. The appropriation for this purpose has made difficult demands on the budget of the association, but the work when completed will add immensely to the usefulness of our publications.

The European war has naturally interfered seriously with the cooperation of historical scholars and continues to prevent progress on the "Bibliography of modern English history." It is a pleasure, however, to be able to record that through the generosity of Mr. Dwight W. Morrow, of New York, the association will be able to continue its grant to the London headquarters.

The association has always recognized its responsibility for advancing the standard not only of historical scholarship but of historical teaching. Tangible results of this interest have appeared in the well-known reports of the committee of five, the committee of seven, and the committee of eight, dealing with the problems of secondary and elementary schools. Two years ago a new standing committee on "history in schools" was organized. The immediate impulse for this action came from a request of the college entrance examination board for a more exact definition of the requirements in various fields of history. The committee has interpreted its functions broadly, and is now hard at work on the preparation of an outline to which contributions have been made by teachers in all sections of the country.

It will be generally recognized that one of the most effective agencies now at work for the guidance and stimulus of teachers is the History Teacher's Magazine, edited by Mr. A. E. McKinley, and supervised, for this association, by a board of advisory editors. The magazine has now received for several years a subsidy of \$400 from the association, in consideration of which members of the association have been entitled to receive a reduction of \$1 in the subscription price. During the past year there has been a highly encouraging increase in the subscription list, with the prospect that the magazine may in the near future become definitely self-supporting. For the coming year the council has voted to grant the reduced subsidy of \$200.

The importance of the work represented by the committee on history in schools and the History Teacher's Magazine is just now emphasized by the publication of a report by a committee of the National Education Association proposing a radical reconstruction of the elementary and secondary school programs in the social sciences. The whole position of history as a school subject may be vitally affected, for better or for worse, by the extent to which the historical scholarship of the country, as represented by this association, can be effectively brought to bear on these educational problems.

The action taken by the council at its formal meetings are set forth in the printed minutes, including the committee assignments and the estimate of expenditures for 1917. Attention is called to the votes taken in connection with

the budget, empowering the council committee on finance to authorize transfers from one item of the budget to another and excluding all changes without such authority. This arrangement makes possible a certain flexibility which is quite essential, and at the same time provides an orderly method of securing that result. The council has under consideration various plans for increasing the resources of the association, but at present is able to make no definite report except as to one or two details which will be noted below.

Considerable attention has been given to the problem of securing a more effective organization of council business, including the formation of certain standing committees to relieve the council meetings of unnecessary detail and provide for urgent matters arising in the intervals between council meetings. The nucleus of such an organization already exists in the council committees on finance and on appointments. A careful memoir on this subject has been prepared by the secretary of the association and will be discussed at a meeting of the council this week.

Two years ago the Conference of Historical Societies requested the council to provide for a systematic survey of historical agencies, including a continuation of the Bibliography of American Historical Societies published by the association in the annual report of 1905. As indicated in the minutes, the council has been enabled, through the generous cooperation of the Newberry Library of Chicago, to take steps toward the proposed continuation of the bibliography to 1915. There is also under consideration a plan for the issue of a handbook of historical agencies.

The council presents the following recommendations for adoption by the association:

1. That in acceptance of an invitation received from the University of Pennsylvania the annual meeting of the association for 1917 be held in Philadelphia.

- 2 That at future meetings of the association, beginning with 1917, a registration fee of 50 cents be charged to cover the charges incurred by the association in connection with such annual meetings.

3. That the following action be taken respecting the organization of the Conference of Historical Societies:

- (1) That the Conference of Historical Societies be recognized as a semi-independent organization under the auspices of the American Historical Association.

- (2) That its secretary be appointed by the council of the association and have the rank and functions of a committee chairman, reporting annually to the association.

- (3) That the conference appoint such other officers and committees as it may find expedient.

- (4) That the conference be supported by an annual assessment upon each society that becomes a member of it; such assessments to be upon the basis of 1 cent for each member of such societies, but no society to be assessed more than \$10 nor less than 25 cents; commissions, State departments, surveys, etc., not organized as societies to pay an annual fee of \$5.

- (5) That the conference have control of its own funds, but shall furnish an annual report of its expenditures and receipts to the association.

- (6) That the chairman of its program committee, or such officer as may be charged with the preparation of its program, shall be ex officio a member of the program committee of the association.

- (7) That the conference prepare, as soon as possible after the annual meeting of each year, a report of its proceedings, together with such bibliographical and statistical information as it may collect.

- (8) That all publications of the conference be passed upon by the association's committee on publications and be issued under the auspices of the association.

- (9) That, finally, an appropriation of \$50 for 1917 be made for the incidental expenses connected with the reorganization of the conference. (Such an item was included in the budget for 1917.)

The Conference of Historical Societies was first held, in accordance with a vote of the executive council, at the meeting of the association in Chicago in 1904, and has since been a regular feature of the annual program. Its relations with the association have never been clearly defined and the resolutions now reported were adopted on the recommendation of a committee consisting of the secretary of the association and the secretary of the conference as the result of their experience with the work of the conference.

4. That the terms of office of the officers of the association and of the members of the executive council chosen at any given annual meeting be for the year terminating with the close of the next annual business meeting of the association.

The following vote was adopted by the council :

Resolved, That the executive council report to the association that, in view of the desirability of a quarterly bulletin, the council is prepared to proceed with this, provided it may be done without involving an excess of the association's expenditures over its revenues in the coming year. The council suggests that an immediate effort be made to raise for the purpose a guarantee fund of \$800.

A statement regarding this recommendation will be made by the secretary of the association.

Respectfully submitted,

EVARTS B. GREENE,
Secretary of the Council.

REPORT OF THE DELEGATE OF THE PACIFIC COAST BRANCH.

The thirteenth annual meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association was held in San Diego on Friday and Saturday, December 1 and 2, 1916. With this session the branch reached the last important center of the Pacific coast proper, having previously met in San Francisco, Berkeley, Los Angeles, Portland, Seattle, and Stanford University. Considering the position of San Diego—it is off the common routes of travel and over 18 hours by the best trains from San Francisco—the meeting was well attended and was certainly representative, there being present members from Portland, the universities of Oregon, Utah, Nevada, and California, the University of Southern California, Stanford University, and Pomona College, to mention but a few.

As the branch serves a limited clientele, its members are thrown into a personal touch which has developed a group spirit highly desirable in view of the scattered locations of western institutions and which makes the maintenance of the branch well worth while.

There were three literary sessions—the general session, the organization session, and the teachers' session. The chief interest centered in the organizations session, at which a report on "The work of the California Historical Survey Commission" was presented by Owen C. Coy, secretary and archivist of the commission.

Prof. Henry Morse Stephens presided at the annual dinner, at which the president of the branch, Prof. Joseph Schafer, of the University of Oregon, read his stimulating address on "Historic ideals in recent politics." There were the usual after-dinner remarks by representatives of various institutions and organizations.

The annual business meeting, held on Saturday morning, heard and adopted the reports of the secretary and the various committees. The following resolution deserves to be presented here:

Resolved, That the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association does hereby indorse the excellent work already accomplished and the plan

of work outlined for the future by the California Historical Survey Commission.

Furthermore, that the association most earnestly urges the continued support of this great project for calendaring the scattered records of our history, and that the association impress upon the California public the fact that what has been done will never attain the good end desired unless, through the action of our legislature, provision be made to have the results of the survey commission's work published.

Prof. Wier, of the University of Nevada, moved the appointment of a committee to investigate the feasibility of preparing a bibliography of the history of the Pacific Coast States. The motion was carried, and the committee subsequently appointed by the president was as follows: Prof. H. E. Bolton, chairman; Profs. H. Morse Stephens, Levi E. Young, Jeanne E. Wier, Edmond S. Meany, Rockwell D. Hunt, Mr. George H. Himes, and Father Joseph M. Gleason.

The nominating committee, Prof. H. E. Bolton, chairman, proposed the following names, which were approved by election: President, Edward Krehbiel; vice president, Levi E. Young, secretary-treasurer, William A. Morris; council (in addition to above), Oliver H. Richardson, Tully C. Knoles, Allen M. Kline, Effie I. Hawkins. The council was instructed to select the place of the next session, and the undersigned was named delegate to the meeting of the parent association in Cincinnati.

Respectfully submitted,

EDWARD KREHBIEL, *Delegate.*

REPORT OF THE HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION.

The correspondence of Robert M. T. Hunter, collected and edited by Charles Henry Ambler, professor of history at Randolph-Macon College, Virginia, has been made ready for the press. This work was begun three years ago and is the twelfth report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, of which the members were Worthington C. Ford, chairman, Clarence W. Alvord, Herbert E. Bolton, Julian P. Bretz, Archer B. Hulbert, and William O. Scroggs. The enterprise goes to the credit of that commission and not to the commission which is now reporting.

At the meeting of the council of the association last December it was thought that the Hunter correspondence might become a part of the publications of the proceedings for 1915; but, as that seems to be impossible, it is now submitted, in the hope that the council will direct that it be printed as a part of the proceedings for 1916.

The commission now lays before the council another project upon which it requests an expression of opinion.

It has seemed to us that the association would be performing a service to historical science if it succeeded in drawing out from individual owners those documents which have historical value and which are now inaccessible. The owners whom we have in mind are not those collectors of autograph documents whose possessions are reasonably well known and are either accessible or inaccessible, according to the varying dispositions of the collectors, but the single documents, or small groups of documents, in the possession of the descendants of the man who wrote them. These descendants may have an interest in history and a knowledge of it, or they may not have either. Their occupations and surroundings may be such that they are not brought into contact with the scholarly movements of the country. It has seemed to the commission that it would be an interesting experiment systematically to endeavor to ascertain what historical material now lies hidden in their hands. The experiment could best be begun, the commission thinks, with the descendants

of the participants in the American Revolution, not only because of the importance of that period of our history, but because a large proportion of the descendants have organized themselves into associations for patriotic purposes and can be reached through their societies. Accordingly, the chairman of the commission communicated informally with James Mortimer Montgomery, president general of the Sons of the Revolution, to ascertain tentatively whether that organization felt disposed to lend its assistance in collecting historical documents. Mr. Montgomery replied in favorable terms, and the secretary of the Sons of the Revolution in the State of New York, Mr. Henry Russell Drowne, sent the chairman certain copies of letters and documents, which he had received in reply to a circular which had been sent out by the society two years before in consequence of an effort of the War Department to obtain records of the Revolution. It should be said in passing that the plan of the War Department was abandoned, for want of sufficient funds to carry it out, and that its revival does not seem to be probable; but, even if it should be revised, it would be limited to a publication of the military records of the Revolution. The papers which Mr. Drowne sent the chairman of the commission included the following:

An orderly book of Asahel Clark, ensign in the Continental Army, containing orders of Generals Putnam and Washington; John Paul Schott's account of his services in the Continental Army; a collection of Franklin, Genet, John Paul Jones, and of Revolutionary letters, in the possession of a banker in New York, who offered to allow copies to be made of them; letters of General Schuyler; a diary of Captain John Barnard, Third Connecticut Regiment, 1780, along the Hudson River; an account, by J. F. Caldwell, of the killing of his mother by the British at Elizabethtown; letters of Alexander Hamilton, as aide de camp, 1780; of General Washington, John Hancock, Aaron Burr, 1777, as aide de camp; and "The Drowne Papers," letters dated 1774, 1775, 1776, 1777, and 1778, being Revolutionary material of unusual interest.

These papers are from one society in one State. It seems certain that an appeal to the members of all the Revolutionary societies will result in a collection of documents having considerable historical value. The work of editing these papers could be done by this commission or by some one designated by the association. If the plan seems feasible to the council authority for the purpose of inviting the cooperation of the Society of the Sons of the Revolution and the Sons of the American Revolution is the only measure needed.

If such authority is given it is suggested that a small appropriation be made to pay for copying the documents. Probably \$150 would be sufficient.

GAILLARD HUNT, *Chairman*.
JUSTIN H. SMITH.
CHARLES H. AMBLER.
M. M. QUAIFFE.

REPORT OF THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES COMMISSION.

[The complete report of the Public Archives Commission, with appendices, is printed on pp. 133-209 of the present volume.]

REPORT OF THE BOARD OF EDITORS OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW.

The board of editors of the Review beg leave to report to the association on the following five points:

First. In accordance with the statement at the last annual meeting of its readiness to do anything in its power to meet the wishes of the association in regard to the vesting in the association of ownership and control of the Review, and at the request of the committee appointed to bring about such a

transfer, the board laid before that committee suggestions for accomplishing the desired result. Such points in these suggestions as commended themselves to that committee will doubtless be laid before the association in its report.

Second. The board has discussed repeatedly, though without definite result, informal suggestions for the increase of the size of the Review, or for greater frequency of appearance, or other means of giving facilities for the publication of more articles in the special field of European history. The board wishes hereby to express its entire sympathy with any plan to encourage the production and publication of scholarly articles in that field of history and its desire to be of service to that end. At the same time, to prevent misconception, it is well to mention that, on a computation covering the last 10 years, more than half the contents of the Review has laid in the field of European history, less than half in that of American history.

Third. The increased price of paper and expense of labor in printing the Review has prevented the accumulation of any surplus during the year. The board of editors has therefore found it impossible to make any payment to the association as has been done in recent years.

Fourth. Communications made to the board seem to indicate that there is a somewhat prevalent impression that the editors do not desire articles prepared by comparatively young or unknown writers and prefer to publish articles by historians of established reputation. This is an entire misconception and not at all the policy of the editors of the Review. The managing editor and the other members of the board of editors are anxious to correct any such misapprehension. They welcome articles from any contributors, and, in deciding which articles should be published, the merits of articles are alone considered—the age or youth of the contributor makes no difference.

The same is true concerning the field of history. It has never been the practice of the board of editors to select articles from one field rather than another, and it is their desire to have all fields of history represented without discrimination.

Fifth. The question of devoting more attention in the Review to the analysis or description of doctors' theses in history has been under consideration, but no practicable means of fulfilling this end in the Review has presented itself. This object, however, is understood to be in a fair way of being achieved by other means.

Respectfully submitted,

EDWARD P. CHEYNEY, *Chairman.*

REPORT OF THE ADVISORY BOARD OF EDITORS OF THE HISTORY TEACHER'S MAGAZINE.

In the report of the History Teacher's Magazine made to the council last year there was a slight note of discouragement. A net loss of eight subscriptions in the period from November 25, 1914, to November 10, 1915, seemed to indicate that the limit of circulation had been reached and that the existence of the magazine could be guaranteed only by a subsidy indefinitely continued or by a cut in the cost of production so substantial as to impair the usefulness of the magazine. Happily, that cloud has now been lifted. In the period from November 10, 1915, to November 9, 1916, the magazine fell short by only \$19.92 of being self-supporting. The circulation increased from a total of 1,964 to a total of 3,263, and the receipts from a total of \$4,400.32 to a total of \$5,287.27. The net publisher's profits in 1915 were \$340.53. For 1916 the net profits are \$980.06, a gain of \$639.53.

The magazine could, therefore, apparently continue publication without any subsidy whatever. It does not, however, seem either wise or just to withdraw at this time all outside support. Dr. McKinley conducted the magazine for some time at a financial loss, and since the renewal of publication has rendered a service to the cause of history teaching far beyond his annual allowance of \$600. It is doubtful if any other man in the country of equal ability could have been prevailed upon to give the time and energy which Dr. McKinley has given. He himself has not complained, but to those of us who are aware of the sacrifices which he has made, it seems a fair arrangement to continue in part existing subsidies.

There is every reason to expect that the Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland and the New England History Teachers' Association will each appropriate, as heretofore, \$100. If the American Historical Association can appropriate \$200 it will be entirely safe to drop altogether the individual guarantee fund. This would mean a reduction of \$600 in the total of existing subsidies, an amount, it will be observed, about equal to the gain in the earning power of the magazine during the current year. In making the request for an appropriation of \$200 from the American Historical Association it is proper to state that 668 members of this association are at present receiving the magazine at the reduced rate of \$1 per annum.

The only change in editorial policy to be reported at this time is a larger recognition of the elementary field and of the new junior high school. It is hoped early in 1917 to begin publication of a series of 14 articles dealing specifically with the problems, materials, and methods of teaching adapted to these stages of instruction. The articles are to be contributed by the chairman of this committee.

A detailed statement of receipts, expenditures, and subscriptions is appended to this report.

Respectfully submitted,

HENRY JOHNSON, *Chairman.*

NOVEMBER 29, 1916

FINANCIAL STATEMENT OF THE HISTORY TEACHER'S MAGAZINE.

Receipts Nov. 10, 1915, to Nov. 9, 1916:

Subscriptions—

789 at \$2.00	\$1,578.00
587 at \$1.70	997.90
1,175 at \$1.00	1,175.00
.9 at sundry	16.58
	<hr/> \$3,767.48

Advertising	391.30
Sundries (back numbers, etc.)	128.49
American Historical Association appropriation	400.00
Guarantee fund (individual)	400.00
Middle States Association	100.00
New England Association	100.00
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Total receipts	5,287.27
Total expenses	4,307.21
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Balance	980.06
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Expenditures Nov. 10, 1915, to Nov. 9, 1916:

Printing and mailing magazine	2,146.55
Printing circulars, etc.	218.00
Clerical help, postage, books, sundries, mailing machine	682.66
Advertising	200.00
Editorial expense for contributions	460.00
A. E. McKinley	600.00
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Total expenses	4,307.21
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CIRCULATION STATEMENT OF THE HISTORY TEACHER'S MAGAZINE.

Subscription list:

Subscriptions—

At \$2.00.....	\$1,065	
At \$1.70.....	720	
At \$1.00.....	1,312	
Total paid subscriptions.....	3,097	\$3,097
Guarantors		77
Exchanges, etc.....		89

Total mailing list..... 3,263.

Expirals:

Of the paid subscribers there are arrearages of—

\$2.00 subscriptions.....	420
\$1.70 subscriptions.....	176
\$1.00 subscriptions.....	291
	887

\$2.00—

3 months arrears.....	327
2 months arrears.....	72
1 month arrears.....	21

\$1.70—

3 months arrears.....	93
2 months arrears.....	53
1 month arrears.....	30

\$1.00—

3 months arrears.....	162
2 months arrears.....	82
1 month arrears.....	47

Membership subscriptions:

Members of American Historical Association.....	668
Members of other history or teachers' associations.....	644

CIRCULATION OF THE HISTORY TEACHER'S MAGAZINE BY STATES.

State.	Number of subscrip- tions.	State	Number of subscrip- tions
New York.....	258	Georgia.....	32
Illinois.....	231	North Carolina.....	32
Pennsylvania.....	196	New Hampshire.....	31
California.....	180	Alabama.....	26
Massachusetts.....	175	South Dakota.....	26
Ohio.....	168	Maine.....	26
Missouri.....	154	Louisiana.....	25
Michigan.....	128	West Virginia.....	19
New Jersey.....	123	South Carolina.....	18
Texas.....	123	North Dakota.....	18
Wisconsin.....	120	Mississippi.....	18
Minnesota.....	116	District of Columbia.....	17
Iowa.....	98	Montana.....	17
Washington.....	94	Florida.....	16
Kansas.....	81	Idaho.....	16
Indiana.....	77	Rhode Island.....	14
Nebraska.....	59	Vermont.....	12
Connecticut.....	55	Arkansas.....	11
Maryland.....	52	Utah.....	11
Colorado.....	48	Wyoming.....	9
Tennessee.....	46	Nevada.....	9
Virginia.....	43	Arizona.....	6
Oregon.....	39	Delaware.....	4
Kentucky.....	34	New Mexico.....	2
Oklahoma.....	32	Foreign.....	80

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON BIBLIOGRAPHY.

The appropriation for the committee for the past year was \$25, which has permitted no expenditure beyond the cost of the necessary stationery and correspondence.

Each of the members of the committee has been personally interested in the work of historical bibliography and at the beginning of the year was engaged in some specific task in that line. During the year each has made some progress with his undertaking. At the beginning of the year no one had his particular piece of work sufficiently advanced to consider publication, even had the appropriation for the committee permitted it. During the year two members of the committee have advanced their work so that the problem of publication should be met in the coming year. The work of the several members of the committee will now be described, following an alphabetical order.

Prof. Laprade has for some time been engaged on a bibliography of English publications from about 1770 to about 1806, the period of the American War for Independence and of the early years of the United States. At least two other members of the committee are also interested to some extent in this field of work, and no doubt will be able to cooperate with Prof. Laprade if his work should develop in such a way as to make it desirable for the committee to undertake its publication at some future date.

Prof. Lybyer has likewise been engaged for a considerable time on a bibliography of the history of the Ottoman Empire, on which he is making steady progress. While this work is, perhaps, likely to be published under other auspices than this committee, its importance must not be overlooked.

Prof. Lybyer has also outlined a plan for a comprehensive bibliography of the present great war, a copy of which is appended to this report. There are very strong reasons which may be advanced for the desirability of such an undertaking, which would require a considerable amount of funds and much work for its completion. More or less satisfactory lists of publications in England, France, and Germany have appeared or are in process of publication. A comprehensive publication would combine all these, supplement them in their own field, and then, what is more important, add the works in other European languages, for which proper bibliographical aids are not available. Prof. Lybyer argues rightly that the very best time to begin the work on such an enterprise is the present. The first installment of the work would include publications to the end of 1915, and additional parts would cover successive later periods of publication. The committee on bibliography can not consider this undertaking unless adequate funds can be placed at its disposal, but if such funds were forthcoming the committee would stand ready to organize the project.

Prof. Notestein is interested in a bibliography of English parliamentary materials, 1603-1689, which would not be without value to the students of American history.

Prof. Rockwell has published in the course of the year a "List of Books on the Assyrian or Nestorian Christian" as Appendix A to his pamphlet on "The Pitiful Plight of The Assyrian Christians in Persia and Kurdistan" (New York, American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief, 1916, pp. 62-66), and Armenia—A List of Books and Articles, With Annotations" (ibid., pp. 8), which may be mentioned as the work of a member of the committee, though not published under the auspices of the committee.

Prof. Rockwell also has in press a list of books on the German Reformation which he has prepared in association with Mr. G. L. Kieffer and Mr. O. H. Pankoke in view of the quadricentennial of the Reformation, in 1917.

Prof. Rockwell has long been interested in the bibliography of American church history. The late Prof. Samuel Macauley Jackson published, in the twelfth volume of the American Church History Series (New York, 1894), "A Bibliography of American Church History, 1820-1893" (pp. 441-513). This was a select bibliography, and a considerable number of additional slips prepared by Prof. Jackson is now the property of Union Theological Seminary. Prof. Rockwell suggests three undertakings in this connection: First, the publication of a supplement of Prof. Jackson's work for later publications, which might bear some such title as "Bibliography of American Church History, 1893-1918"; the second is the completion of Prof. Jackson's work for the period 1820-1893; the third is the extension of the work backward to cover the period prior to 1820. Prof. Rockwell suggests that the celebration in 1920 of the tercentenary of the landing of the Pilgrims might fittingly be commemorated by the publication of a complete "Bibliography of American Church History, 1620-1920." Such an enterprise is certainly commendable and might well be accomplished through the cooperation of this committee with the American Church History Society and other organizations. It is to be hoped that genuine progress on this undertaking may be reported a year hence.

Mr. Slade, of the Library of Congress, is making a study of the sources for the debates in the First Congress.

Dr. Shearer, who has been a member of the committee for some time, was engaged under the former chairman of this committee in cooperation with another former member of the committee in the preparation of a bibliography and location list of historical periodicals. Dr. Shearer was assigned the section on American periodicals, while the other section was assigned to his co-worker. Dr. Shearer has practically completed his part of the undertaking and is prepared to publish it in cooperation with the other two persons concerned if that should still find favor, or perhaps, with the generous assistance of the Newberry Library, of whose staff he is a member. The present committee has been ready to welcome the cooperation of all former members and has been ready to cooperate in every practicable way in any effort to advance research and publication in the field of historical bibliography. The matter of giving credit to the committee on bibliography for any specific piece of publication is of trivial account provided useful work gets done and published. Dr. Shearer will present at the Cincinnati meeting a paper on "American historical periodicals," which will show some of the results of his work. The chairman of the committee wishes to express his appreciation of the generous spirit displayed by Dr. Shearer in the somewhat difficult situation which has developed with regard to his work.

Dr. Steiner has in hand the bibliography of American travel, which was transferred from a special committee to this committee some years since. He and Mr. Louis H. Dielman have secured from the Library of Congress a complete set of its cards relating to the subject, and also have arranged with the Library of Congress for the printing of a considerable number of additional cards for titles in other libraries. They have also included all titles from their own libraries, the Peabody Institute, and the Pratt Library in Baltimore, and have added other titles from second-hand catalogues and other sources. Dr. Steiner and Mr. Dielman feel that the time has come to print a title-a-line list for circulation to other libraries to secure the addition of other titles, and possibly information of the location of copies, especially of the rarer works, in the various libraries. The chairman and Dr. Steiner are investigating methods and costs for such publication. On the basis of a rough estimate, the chairman included in his report to the council of the association at the Thanksgiving meeting a request for the appropriation of \$500

to cover the cost of the necessary clerical work in preparation of material and for the printing of such a preliminary list. Unless the council is able to provide such an appropriation, it seems that an effort to obtain the needed funds from private subscription should be made. Further delay in this undertaking is undesirable in itself, and, furthermore, this project should be completed as soon as possible, so as to give right of way to other projects, such as the ones suggested by the several members of the committee, especially the one proposed by Prof. Rockwell.

The chairman of the committee has for some years contributed certain bibliographical notes to the quarterly issues of the American Historical Review, and his humble bibliographical contributions have thus been published during the past year.

The chairman wishes to express his appreciation of the work done by the other members of the committee during the year, and to express his hope that the day is not far distant when the American Historical Association will be able to place at the disposal of this committee, in common with others, a reasonable annual appropriation which should afford to workers in historical bibliography the encouragement and incentive of a suitable channel for publication.

Respectfully submitted,

GEORGE M. DUTCHER, *Chairman.*

PROJECT FOR A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE GREAT WAR.

Inasmuch as an immense amount of material on the great war, in many languages, is appearing and will continue to appear, a great deal of which, while possessing much value, is in small editions and unbound, and whereas the one nation which is at the same time great, wealthy, intellectually active, and neutral would seem to be best suited to sustain such a project, it is proposed that the committee on bibliography of the American Historical Association undertake the task of preparing as complete as practicable a bibliography of the great war.

The following general plan is suggested:

1. The bibliography shall contain all ascertainable separately printed pieces of material—books, booklets, pamphlets—which are produced in connection with the war.

2. Only such newspapers and periodicals shall be included as grow directly out of the war, and these shall not be analyzed. The classification of general periodical articles and reviews shall not be attempted.

3. The languages included shall be English, French, German, Italian, Russian, and possibly all other European languages. It may be desirable, furthermore, to prepare separate annexes (which would probably in no case be very large) for some non-European languages, such as Japanese, Chinese, Turkish, and Arabic.

4. The work of collecting titles shall be apportioned among a number of persons, ordinarily one language to each. English may be subdivided into material produced in England, Scotland, Ireland, the separate British colonies, and the United States. Special campaigns and phases may be assigned to individuals.

5. One principal volume shall be prepared of material between August 1, 1914, and December 31, 1915, one for each subsequent year of the war, and later volumes as may seem desirable. An initial volume may be prepared on the preliminaries and antecedents of the war.

6. A small directing committee shall be chosen which shall perfect the plan and supervise the entire work.

7. The financing may be arranged with the help of the American Historical Association, the universities and libraries of the United States, other associations, and individual subscribers and contributors in America and abroad.

8. An edition of at least 1,000 copies shall be prepared, on durable paper, in plain, durable binding.

9. Since much of the literature can most easily be located at the time of its first appearance, the project should be entered upon immediately.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS.

On behalf of the publication committee I beg to submit this report covering the year 1916. As chairman of the committee I have had oversight of the following:

1. The twelfth report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission.
2. The annual reports in part for 1914 and 1915, respectively.
3. The Herbert Baxter Adams prize essay of 1915, "The Leveller Movement," by Dr. Theodore Calvin Pease, now associate in history in the University of Illinois.

These three tasks have involved me in a considerable amount of correspondence and have absorbed at least three full months of time. Of the special appropriation of \$200 made at your annual meeting in Washington last December, I have used in necessary ways—chiefly for assistance in proof reading—the sum of \$95.55, leaving on December 19 a balance of \$104.45. Generally speaking, then, the publication committee, so far as editorial functions are concerned, have expended about one-half of the special appropriation. Permit me to comment briefly on the three tasks.

1. Although dated December 30, 1914, the twelfth report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission did not come into my hands until January, 1916. It consists of the "Correspondence and papers (1826-1885) of Robert M. T. Hunter," and has been edited by Prof. Charles H. Ambler, of Randolph-Macon College, Ashland, Va. An examination of the material, the editorial apparatus, and in particular the introductory narrative by the editor, led me to recommend a delay in publication until Mr. Ambler could make it more nearly complete. Accordingly, with the consent of the present chairman of the commission, Dr. Gaillard Hunt, the editor was requested to enrich the material if possible, to reconsider and rewrite the introductory narrative, and to make consistent and careful the explanatory notes. The manuscript has only very recently been returned to Dr. Hunt. It can now be readily prepared for printing. But because of the delay, it would seem best that it should appear as part of the annual report of the association for 1916—a suggestion, I may add, which Dr. Hunt has accepted as a recommendation.

2. Only the papers composing the first volume of the annual report for 1914 came under my supervision last March; at that time they were in galley proof. With Volume II of the report—a general index covering the papers and reports of the association for a period of 30 years (1884-1914) and compiled by Mr. David M. Matteson—I have had nothing to do. The two volumes, since printed by the Government, should be distributed to members shortly.

The single-volume annual report for 1915 is now in galley proof. This means that we are a few months ahead of our usual schedule. Owing, however, to difficulties in securing papers and the decision last summer not to include for reasons already indicated Prof. Ambler's collection of R. M. T. Hunter papers, the volume will be comparatively small. Aside from special reports—two of these concerned with the archives of California and Vermont, respectively—there could be included only nine out of approximately 26 papers listed on the program of the Washington meeting last December. Of the remaining 17, four—including Prof. Stephens's annual address—were taken by the *American Historical Review*; eight others appeared in some variety of periodical; five, for reasons best known to their respective authors, were withheld and not obtainable; one paper was discarded, as its author failed to appear at the session when it was to be read; and one paper was excluded for reasons of public policy by the authorities of the Smithsonian Institution.

To only one incident in this connection have I space to refer. A paper served as the basis of a careful discussion to which five scholars were asked to contribute. Abstracts of the discussion which had been prepared by two speakers it was decided to print. With every effort neither your secretary nor I was able ever to get more than a clue to the basic paper, although it was printed recently in one of the popular magazines. It is probably not possible or fair to demand of participants in our programs that they print their papers in the annual report, but the incident just outlined suggests that any paper which affords the basis for discussion—discussion which involves others besides the leading author in careful effort—ought by rule to be furnished for printing in the annals of this association. It shows also that your annual report is likely to partake of the nature of a scrapbook.

3. The work of editing and printing the prize essay in European history calls this year for particular comment. The work has involved changes, not radical but sufficiently notable, I hope, to arouse the interest of such members of the association as care for some improvement in the form of these publications. The edition of Dr. Pease's essay, *The Leveller Movement*, is limited to 750 copies, a number slightly smaller than it has been customary to issue. This figure does not include the special paper-bound edition of 100 copies for which the author pays the cost. The entire edition is now printed and will be ready within a month for distribution to subscribers.

The new format is the result of suggestions made from time to time during recent years expressive for the most part of dissatisfaction with the old style. It was developed early in the spring by Mr. Leland, myself, and a representative of the Waverly Press, Baltimore—a house that has done the printing in a painstaking and careful way. We hope that the essays hereafter published in the new form may make some appeal to a wider public. Our object was to increase the attractiveness of the volumes in the series by making them conform to well-recognized standards of book making. Accordingly we have enlarged the type, sought for a simpler style of lettering on the cover, reduced the emphasis on the prize-essay features, and tried in the present instance to relegate the longer bibliographical notes and the discussion of technical points—chiefly interesting to a very limited number of readers—to the ends of the chapters rather than to allow such matters to mar the pages primarily devoted to the narrative. The new format, it should be added, has met the approval of every member of the present publication committee.

Of the nine prize essays thus far printed and on sale we have sold 3,619 copies for, approximately, \$3,850, incurring a net loss of over \$2,000. There remain almost as large a number of copies—i. e., 3,421, or 1,039 bound and 2,382 unbound copies—as yet unsold, valued at about \$3,000. On these there is an annual charge for storage and insurance. Until very recently the customary edition of every essay was 1,000 copies. An analysis of the sales up to date reveals the fact that only three essays have been sold in excess of 500 copies as follows: Notestein's *Witchcraft*, 611; Carter's *Illinois Country*, 552; Krehbiel's *Interdict*, 510.

Over 400 copies have been sold—of Cole's *Whig Party*, 417; Turner's *Negro in Pennsylvania*, 406.

Over 300 copies have been sold—of Brown's *Baptists and Fifth Monarchy Men*, 347; Williams's *Anglo-American Isthmian Diplomacy*, 322.

Over 200 copies have been sold—of Barbour's *Earl of Arlington*, 267.

Over 100 copies have been sold—of Muzzey's *Spiritual Franciscans*, 187.

Generalizing on the basis of these figures, it would seem hereafter to be unwise to issue editions of over 750 copies; an edition of 500 copies would

as a rule be sufficiently large to supply the demand. Without exception, thus far, the Winsor and Adams prizes have been awarded to doctoral dissertations. On the whole, though highly specialized and important, such work is bound to remain of slight general interest. It is not really matured into ripeness or significant in any superlative degree.

H. BARRETT LEARNED, *Chairman*.

DECEMBER 19, 1916.

REPORT OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE.

The general committee begs to report, in addition to the usual activities, the publication of a leaflet describing the work of the association,¹ and the result of the rule adopted by the association last year and now applied for the first time. The rule reads:

The January and subsequent issues of the Review will not be sent to members until their current dues are paid. Members whose dues remain unpaid after June 1 will not be carried upon the roll of the association, but they may be reinstated at any time thereafter upon payment of the dues then current.

One notice, in the form of a special letter from the secretary to the delinquent member, followed in case no response was received by another signed by the treasurer, was sent out in connection with each case. As a result 83 of the delinquents paid up while 273 were dropped—114 for arrears in dues since September 1, 1914, and 159 for arrears in dues since September 1, 1915. It is manifestly very difficult to get members to pay dues of more than one year's standing, and the rule is, therefore, in the estimation of the committee, very salutary from the standpoint of the general interests of the association.

In addition to the loss of members through the operation of the rule regarding delinquents, fewer new members have been secured this year, so that on November 15 the statistics showed a total decrease of 207 in the membership. This will, of course, be considerably reduced by additions before the annual meeting, the date for which statistics for previous years are compiled.

Despite this, however, your committee feels that it is imperative to stimulate a greater degree of active cooperation among the rank and file of the society's members. The response to the request by the secretary for suggestions for new members in connection with the blanks sent out early in May reveals an unpardonable apathy. The notice was sent to over 2,700 members and only 44 were returned. Of the persons whose names were sent in on these blanks, 33 have joined the association—fairly conclusive proof that a very moderate increase of support by the members at large would bring exceptional results.

Because of the reduction of the appropriation for the general committee last year from \$200 to \$75, the work was, of necessity, somewhat curtailed. This was further emphasized by the fact that some of the items charged to the current appropriation were on last year's account, not having been sent to me in time for the financial statement of December last. In view of this, the committee has been obliged, in connection with the printing of the leaflet, referred to above, to exceed somewhat the sum authorized in the appropriation.

In the report for last year, your committee said: "If a modest growth of about 300 members is all that is desired, no increase in the appropriation for 1916 will be needed. On the other hand, if a policy of real expansion, which I am confident would be successful, is to be undertaken, the usual appropriation of \$200 or more should again be made." I can add nothing to this save the

¹ Reprinted above, pp 25-33.

statement that it appears to me even more urgent this year than it did last that the work of the committee should not be impaired for lack of funds, and I respectfully suggest that, in view of the more stringent regulations concerning delinquents, the usual appropriation of \$200 be granted the committee for the coming year.

Many suggestions have come to your committee concerning the advisability of changing the annual dues from \$3 to \$5, of the possibility of substituting the History Teacher's Magazine for the annual reports in the case of members especially interested in secondary school work, etc.; and it seems to the committee that at some time in the near future these very important matters should receive the special consideration of the association.

Your committee also begs again to draw attention to the need of a handbook containing the list of members, the by-laws, and a statement of the purposes and activities of the association. Now that the weeding-out process has been largely done and a purged membership list obtained (there are now no members on the roll whose dues are not paid to September 1, 1916), there would be less variation in the list of names, save for the addition of new members, which might be cared for by a reprint from the names on the mailing list or, better still, through the proposed "Quarterly Bulletin," a project your committee heartily indorses.

Respectfully submitted on behalf of the general committee,

WILLIAM E. LINGELBACH, *Chairman*.

NOVEMBER 24, 1916.

REPORT OF THE GENERAL EDITOR OF THE SERIES, "ORIGINAL NARRATIVES OF EARLY AMERICAN HISTORY."

No volume of this series has been published since the last annual meeting of the association. The nineteenth volume, *Narratives of the Early Northwest*, edited by Miss Louise Phelps Kellogg, of the Wisconsin State Historical Society, was then in the press. The reading of page proofs had been nearly completed in March and the volume, but for delays on the part of the publisher, might have been brought out in the spring. Although war conditions caused some delay in completing the illustrations, it was my full expectation that the volume would come out this autumn—namely, in late November—and this could without difficulty have been achieved, but the publishers have chosen to put the volume over until February. It will no doubt be issued then.

With the issue of this volume the series will be brought to its conclusion and the present general editor will be *functus officio*. The series was intrusted to him by the council in December, 1902. Since then he has brought about the publication of the following 19 volumes, which, taken together, embrace the most important narratives for the history of America and the United States down to the early years of the eighteenth century, beyond which it has not been proposed that the series should extend:

The Northmen, Columbus, and Cabot, 985-1503. Edited by Profs. Julius E. Olson and Edward G. Bourne.

The Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States. Edited by Messrs. Frederick W. Hodge and Theodore H. Lewis.

Early English and French Voyages. Edited by Dr. Henry S. Burrage.

Voyages of Samuel de Champlain, 1604-1618. Edited by Prof. W. L. Grant.

Narratives of Early Virginia, 1606-1625. Edited by Dr. Lyon G. Tyler.

Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation, 1606-1646. Edited by Mr. William T. Davis.

Winthrop's Journal (History of New England), 1630-1649. (2 vols.) Edited by Dr. James K. Hosmer.

Narratives of New Netherland, 1609-1664. Edited by Dr. J. F. Jameson.

Johnson's Wonder-working Providence of Sions Saviour in New England. Edited by Dr. J. F. Jameson.

Narratives of Early Maryland. Edited by Mr. Clayton Colman Hall.

Narratives of Early Carolina, 1650-1708. Edited by Mr. Alexander S. Salley, jr.

Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, Delaware, and West Jersey, 1630-1707. Edited by Dr. Albert Cook Myers.

The Journal of Jasper Danckaerts, 1679-1680. Edited by Rev. B. B. James.

Narratives of the Witchcraft Cases, 1648-1706. Edited by Professor George L. Burr.

Narratives of the Indian Wars, 1675-1699. Edited by Dr. Charles H. Lincoln.

Narratives of the Insurrections of 1688. Edited by Prof. C. M. Andrews.

Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1710. Edited by Prof. Herbert E. Bolton.

Narratives of the Early Northwest. Edited by Miss Louise Phelps Kellogg.

Respectfully submitted,

J. F. JAMESON.

DECEMBER 12, 1916.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON HISTORY IN SCHOOLS.

Apart from considering a number of specific inquiries made to it by individuals and associations like the College Entrance Examination Board, the committee on history in schools has been engaged during the year in carrying on the work of defining the fields of high-school history in accordance with the instructions given to it at the conference held in Washington. The vote taken on that occasion was as follows:

That the committee on history in schools be requested to prepare a more precise definition of the fields of history on the basis of a list of essential topics to be emphasized and a list of topics for collateral reading. That the Committee on History in Schools of the American Historical Association be requested to cooperate, or correspond with the similar committee of the National Education Association.

It was understood by us that we should have the active collaboration in this work of the sectional history teachers' associations, and our first step was, accordingly, to assign the responsibility for the definition of each field that came in question to one of them. Ancient history was in this way assigned to the New England History Teachers' Association; medieval and modern history to the Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland; American history to the teachers' section of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association; English history to the history section of the California High School Association; modern European history, including English, to the Commission on Accredited Schools of the Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools of the Southern States. Each of these associations immediately appointed a carefully selected committee, which was instructed to have its report in readiness in time for us at the Cincinnati meeting. The committee in California, for which Prof. Cannon acted as editor, and which consisted of the following members: Miss Crystal Harford, Richmond Union High School; Miss Charlotte M. Lord, Los Angeles Polytechnic High School; Clifford E. Lowell, Berkeley High School; William A. Morris, professor of English history, University of California; John R. Sutton, vice-principal Oakland High School; Miss Hettie A. Withey, Colton High School, has already submitted a very carefully constructed topical outline of English history. The committee of the New England History Teachers' Association, consisting of Mr. Albert Farnsworth, 3 Carleton Street, Methuen, Mass.; Mr. S. P. R. Chadwick, Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N. H.; Dr. Jessie Law, Springfield High School, Springfield, Mass.; Prof. William Dodge Gray, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.; Miss Ruth B. Franklin, Rogers High School, Newport, R. I.; Dr. Ellen Davison, Bradford Academy,

Bradford, Mass., together with Mr. Philip Chase, Milton Academy, Milton, Mass., ex officio as president of the association, presented a topical outline of a somewhat different character from that adopted in California to the regular autumn meeting of the association, and on the basis of the criticisms there received—that it was too detailed in character, omitted too little, and gave insufficient assistance to teachers as to how the topics and subtopics should be handled in teaching—the committee has undertaken to put in our hands by December 10 its report modified in the sense of these criticisms. The other committees, under the direction of Mr. Daniel C. Knowlton, Central High School, Newark, N. J.; Mr. Oliver M. Dickerson, State Normal School, Winona, Minn.; and Mr. N. W. Stephenson, College of Charleston, Charleston, S. C., are hard at work, but have not as yet presented their reports to me. I hope to have four, if not all five, of these reports in my possession before the Cincinnati meeting.

We have, however, been alive to the fact that our report to the American Historical Association can hardly meet with approval if it is simply the composite of five sectional reports. It is not clear in advance, for example, that a definition of modern European history, made on the basis of experience in the southern schools, will meet the needs of schools in New York or Chicago, nor is it evident that a definition of ancient history made by a New England committee on the basis of its experience and best judgment will be acceptable to the Middle West. Accordingly, we proceeded further and asked individual teachers, with successful experience, in all parts of the country, to put into our hands additional definitions of the five historical fields. To this request we have had generous response, and I have already in my possession 22 definitions prepared by teachers. All this material will be considered both in advance of and at the Cincinnati meeting of the committee.

Accordingly by December the committee will have in its possession the requisite information with which to proceed with its task.

This is clearly an exceedingly difficult one, as well as one of very great importance. The difficulty lies in the fact that while a great majority of those who have expressed themselves on the matter want a more precise definition of the fields, there is obvious disagreement as to what are the essential things in each field, and some divergence of opinion as to how far the report should include instruction to teachers. I hope that after our meeting in Cincinnati we may be in better agreement on these points. The importance of the work consists in the undoubted influence in the right or in the wrong direction which a definition of this kind will exert. When it is remembered that a very large percentage of all teachers actually engaged in teaching history in secondary schools is undertaking the work for the first time each year, and that many of the most conscientious and experienced among the history teachers look to us for help, it is perfectly clear to me, at least, that this work of definition is bound to affect seriously the teaching of history for some time to come.

I should like, therefore, to recommend that the committee on history in schools be constituted in 1917 in such a way that it may have a chairman with the requisite freedom from other occupations and interest in this specific subject; that he may have in his own neighborhood a nucleus of the membership of the committee to serve with him as a subcommittee on this specific task; and that it may not lack funds with which to work.

Your committee in the course of the year has met from several different sources the intimation that it should proceed to revise the work of the committees of seven and five, and block out anew the fields of history to be taken in each year of the high-school program. The intimation usually takes the

form of a request for the reduction of the attention given to history in the interest of civics and economics. It has seemed to me that a campaign of this sort for the construction of a new program in the so-called social sciences is an entirely separate thing from the campaign generally favored by teachers for a more precise definition of the fields of history already recognized. Advocates of the social-science program, however, are wont to demand a topical as distinct from a chronological treatment of history, and they are apt to believe in the inclusion of topics concerned mainly with "the march of civilization." It may well be that if the history program is to be attenuated, as demanded by these persons, some such hop-and-skip method will be necessary. However, I have thought it best that our committee should deal with one thing at a time, and have, accordingly, left definite action on this request to its successor. I shall be surprised, however, if its successor will not soon be required to give serious attention to this matter.

Through the kindness of Harvard University I have been able to carry on the correspondence of the chairman of the committee without charge. The individual members of the committee have also done their own secretarial work. This has involved a considerable expenditure of money on their part in certain instances. The appropriation made to the committee last year was only sufficient to pay for the multigraphing of the reports of the sectional associations for distribution among the members of the committee. It seems clear that the committee can not possibly carry on its work next year without a larger appropriation. Certainly, if it prepares its report for publication, it will need substantial assistance. On the other hand, I should like to observe that, should its report be published, it ought to yield in royalties a very substantial amount annually. In this connection a certain complication has arisen. As you know, the New England History Teachers' Association is collaborating actively with us. It has reached a point where its publisher is demanding that it issue a new edition of its well-known syllabus. This syllabus has for years been a valuable source of revenue to the New England History Teachers' Association. Clearly a new edition would be a competitor with our report. On the other hand, if I understand its president aright, the New England History Teachers' Association would be willing to issue no new edition in the event that it received a share of the profits to be expected from the report of the committee on history in schools.

I find it difficult to make a precise estimate of the amount that will be needed by the committee for 1917. I have computed that the expenses of the committee this year for stenographic assistance alone, if they had been charged to the association, would not have fallen short of \$100. I do not see how next year's committee can continue this work and meet its expenses with an appropriation of less than \$150.

Respectfully submitted,

WILLIAM SCOTT FERGUSON, *Chairman.*

NOVEMBER 16, 1916.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUSTIN WINSOR PRIZE.

Your committee report that they recommend for the Winsor prize for 1916 the essay of Mr. Richard J. Purcell on "Connecticut in Transition, 1775-1818."

Respectfully submitted,

CARL RUSSELL FISH.

DECEMBER 28, 1916.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON COOPERATION WITH THE
NATIONAL HIGHWAYS ASSOCIATION.

Having been appointed by the American Historical Association at the Washington meeting in 1915 a committee of one to cooperate on behalf of that association with the National Highways Association, I accepted the appointment and so advised the president of the latter association, Mr. Charles Henry Davis, of Cambridge, Mass., whereupon a division of historical highways was created, of which I was made chairman. The purpose of the division was to take up the problem of the naming of American highways, by securing the cooperation of those historically inclined in the various States of the Union.

In accordance with the custom of the National Highways Association I was asked to appoint a number of gentlemen who should form the division of which I was chairman; men whose names would carry weight in an effort to interest historical societies in the work of the division. After considerable correspondence the following gentlemen agreed to serve as sponsors for the work of the division: Mr. John H. Finley, commissioner of education of the State of New York; Mr. Edmund J. James, president of the University of Illinois; Mr. Solon J. Buck, superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society; Mr. Samuel C. Mitchell, president of Delaware College; Mr. Emerson Hough; Mr. Livingston Farrand, president of the University of Colorado; Mr. William A. McCorkle, ex-governor of West Virginia; Mr. Stewart Edward White; Prof. Herbert E. Bolton, of the University of California; and Prof. Levi E. Young, of the University of Utah. It is expected to complete this list by the addition of one or two members representing the South.

The plan of procedure involves preparation of a circular, which is to be sent to all the State historical societies and commissions, calling attention in detail to the wisdom and good sense of preserving the historical names of the highways of the various States. Before doing this, however, I have desired to secure a tentative expression from various parts of the country as to the probable attitude of these societies to such a project; for in many cases the historical societies and commissions in our States are involved in more lines of work than their volunteer officers and limited appropriations can properly conduct, and it has seemed wise to ascertain whether, on top of everything else, these gentlemen cared to consider this very worthy but entirely new project involving no little correspondence, etc.

As the result, therefore, of personal investigation and conference and quite a range of correspondence, I am able to submit that the general plan of this committee and the scheme of its work (of which I knew nothing before my appointment) certainly meets with the strong approval of a large number of local organizations. I have been quite amazed at the response received verbally and by letter from all parts of the country and from many of the strongest historical organizations in the United States. In a note addressed to such organizations, as I could not personally consult, I outlined the scheme as follows:

The plan is now to circularize the various State historical societies and to propose that in each State they appoint a committee of five to take up this matter within each Commonwealth. Before preparing this circular I am trying to get an impression by correspondence from a number of representative societies as to their probable attitude toward this question. It is believed that if an effort to save the old historic names is made at once a good deal could be accomplished. It was suggested at the Nashville meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association that in many States statutes might be passed to place in the hands of the historical societies the right to name the roads of a State. Would your society be interested in this work? Have you local conditions that are exceptional? Any advice or suggestion made unofficially or otherwise would be very gratefully received.

To show the attitude of a number of such societies in favor of this work and also the objection of others for various reasons I will give some brief résumés of reports received, verbal and written:

The New Hampshire Historical Society approves the idea and desires to know what further action it shall take.

The Massachusetts Historical Society, through its president, expresses "its interest in this excellent work and its willingness to further it."

The Rhode Island Historical Society "would be very glad to cooperate" and designate their committee on marking historical sites as the proper committee to cooperate in the work.

The New York State Historical Association at its annual meeting at Coopers-town indorsed the action and proceeded to authorize the president to appoint a committee of five to represent that State

The New Jersey Historical Society, through its corresponding secretary, made a vague reply, the corresponding secretary stating that he was uncertain whether the society would be interested in the work or not.

No final reply was received from the secretary of the Pennsylvania Historical Commission.

The Secretary of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society replied that he did not "know of any conditions in this State in which our society would desire to dictate the names of any roads," and that the society had so much legislation to look after that anything new was looked at apprehensively.

The Kansas State Historical Society expressed every readiness to cooperate.

From the standpoint of this work Colorado is one of the most important States in the Union, and there I was privileged to do considerable personal work. As a result, the Colorado State Geological Board will cooperate cordially in the work. On October 9 the board voted unanimously "to offer their services in such a capacity, as the committee for the State of Colorado." This extraordinary indorsement of the work on the part of Colorado was exceedingly encouraging because of the strategic position of Colorado in our national network of highways.

The attitude of the Nebraska State Historical Society will be favorable to the work. That of Montana will probably be lukewarm.

The California State Library, which plays the part of State historical society, gave great encouragement to the proposed plan. A number of local associations in California have spontaneously agreed to assist in the work, as California has taken a more advanced position in this matter than any other American State; for by its assembly bill No. 1016 (an act not signed by the governor) was submitted a plan by which the important historical roads of that State should by law bear appropriate historical names.

Illinois will favor the effort here proposed. The Wisconsin Historical Society reports favorably on an effort to have the legislature empower the society to name roads of that State and will work toward that end.

Indiana has appointed a committee to cooperate.

Nevada and Minnesota will assist; also Kentucky.

It is to be noted that this preliminary suggestion advocating the appointment of local committees, though merely a request for advice and suggestion, actually resulted in several instances in the appointment of such committees

Therefore, from the above, I think we have certain proof that the original suggestion from the National Highways Association was a valuable one. I think it proper for the American Historical Association to continue in cooperation in this matter with the highways association.

My suggestion will be that a formal circular shall now be prepared calling attention to the dropping, ignoring, or supplanting of the old-time highway

names and the substitution of other names or colors in their place; that such a practice bids fair to obliterate names that are rich in tradition and local significance; that such substitution will have an injurious effect on us as a people who cherish the past, especially on the youth who have the right of inheritance of these old names associated with events and heroes whom they are taught to honor.

This circular should invite all the State societies or commissions to appoint a committee of five to take up the problem each in its own State, seek such legislation and promote such study in discussion and compromise as local circumstances suggest and demand

I would also advise that specific efforts be made within a certain prescribed area to see what can actually be done in the way of securing cooperation and legislation. If in a single State (to begin with) good results from discussion and legislation can be secured it will be an object lesson of value to all other States.

If I am continued on this committee I would be glad of any suggestion and advice that the council can give.

Respectfully submitted,

ARCHER B. HULBERT, *Chairman*.

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE TRANSFER OF THE
AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW.

At your last annual meeting it was by vote resolved "that it is the opinion of this association that full ownership and control of the American Historical Review should be vested in the association, but that the present connection of the said Review with the Carnegie Institution of Washington and with the Macmillan Co., publishers, be continued"; and it was further resolved "that the president, the first vice president, the secretary of the council, the secretary of the association, and the treasurer be instructed to ascertain what arrangements can be made to effect that end and report at the next annual meeting of the association."

The committee thus created and instructed begs leave now to submit its report.

As, not only from the wording of your resolution but from the report of the committee of nine, by whom it was first formulated, and from the discussion upon that report and these resolutions in your annual meeting, it was clear that there was in the thought of the association no change in the relations with the publisher or with the Carnegie Institution, but only a transfer to the association of such rights in the Review as are now vested in the editors, your committee, organizing itself before leaving Washington, addressed itself first to the editorial board.

That board, dealing with our communication in its May meeting, expressed to us its entire concurrence in the proposed transfer and its readiness, whenever requested by the association to do so, to suggest to the Macmillan Co. to execute a new contract similar to that now existing, in which the association shall be substituted for the board as a contracting party. The board of editors expressed, too, its willingness, after the execution of the new contract, that the Macmillan Co. should transfer to the association all property, financial claims, and liabilities which may be bound up with ownership and control of the Review.

For the Carnegie Institution, regarding whose attitude we had asked also information, the editors replied to us: "That the ownership of the Review should be vested in the American Historical Association would, we are informed, be entirely acceptable to the Carnegie Institution, which holds the

association in high regard, and would not expect ever to undertake any radical change in the department of historical research without seeking the advice and counsel of experts who are members of the association."

Assured thus as to the cooperation of the editors and of the Carnegie Institution, we next, before addressing the publishers, sought legal opinion as to the best form for a valid transfer, and were advised to seek, instead of a new contract, an assignment to the association by the editors of the present contract with the publishers, together with a bill of sale of their tangible property and their good will. Accordingly, in addressing ourselves to the Macmillan Co., we asked their assurance "that the transfer proposed—say, in the form of an assignment by the editorial board to the American Historical Association of all its right and title to the Review and a quitclaim of its property rights in connection therewith—would meet no objection" on their part and might hope for ratification by them. They promptly replied, through Mr. Brett, their president, that they could not, as it seemed to him, make any valid objection or withhold their approval of an assignment by the editorial board of the American Historical Review of their rights in the contract for the publication of the Review, which they have with this company, unless in giving their permission for the transfer of this contract the Macmillan Co. were considered to acquiesce to the wording "full ownership and control" and thus to relinquish any rights of the publishers. And Mr. Brett added: "I am anxious, of course, to meet your views in the matter and to arrange for a transfer of the agreement as you desire, not alone because we wish to do whatever the editorial board think best to be done in the matter, but also because it seems to me the move is a right and proper one under the circumstances." We assured him, in reply, that we were confident that all the American Historical Association has had in thought is a transfer to it of such right and title in the Review as may now be vested in the board of editors, and that his approval of such a transfer is therefore all that it has had any desire to ask from him.

We are prepared, therefore, to report that we find no obstacles to the proposed transfer to the association of the rights of the editors in the American Historical Review, and that the only expense connected with that transaction itself would seem to be the nominal consideration (doubtless the usual "one dollar") which we may feel it wise to name in the proposed bill of sale as consummation of the transfer.

There is, however, a possible further liability already mentioned in the report of the committee of nine as perhaps incident to such a transfer. It is that "the postal laws, as construed by some authorities, require the association, if it owns the Review, to reduce the subscription price now charged non-members (\$4) to \$3 20 per year." It seemed to us wise to ask the managing editor to secure from the Post Office Department a ruling on this question. He was so good as to go in person to the appropriate Assistant Postmaster General (the Third), and the permanent official summoned by him as an authority was sure that the law as to the subscription price must be applied in the case of ownership of the Review by the association. We thought it best, however, to ask also from the publishers whether they had any data for an opinion as to the bearing of this law on our postage in case of the change proposed. Mr. Brett replied that the action which is proposed in transferring from the editors to the American Historical Association their rights in the contract for the publication of the American Historical Review would not, it seems to him, affect the position of the Review in any way whatever under the postal laws and regulations. In view of this difference of opinion, due doubtless to divergence of view as to the relation of the publishers to the Review, it would seem

to us wise (unless the association feels that the risk of this expense, amounting at present, if incurred, to about \$250 a year, should be a bar to all thought of the transfer) that the matter be left for the publishers to deal with after the transfer is effected.

Certain other matters discussed by the committee of nine, such as the eligibility of editors of the Review to serve as officers of the Association or as voting members of the council, have seemed to us to fall in no wise within the purview of our committee. Nor has it seemed to us to matter to the question of transfer, with which alone we have to deal, whether the board should continue to elect its own managing editor, as is recommended by the committee of nine, or should be elected by the council on the nomination of the board, as is suggested to us by the editors. These, if the transfer be effected, can be dealt with at any time; and we feel warranted only in urging that, to avoid complication of issues and discussion which may easily embarrass the transfer itself, all but the most necessary changes be left to a subsequent meeting.

We recommend, then, in case the association is still of the opinion of last year as to the wisdom of such a transfer:

1. That the council be instructed to seek from the editors of the American Historical Review an assignment to the American Historical Association of all their right and title in the contract with the Macmillan Co for the publication of that Review, together with a bill of sale of such tangible property as may be vested in them as editors of that Review and of the good will thereto appertaining. And we recommend that on the back of the aforesaid contract with the publishers, if there be free space, this assignment of their said title and interest therein be typewritten and signed by the editors, and that the consent thereto of the Macmillan Co., publishers, signed by that company, be appended. We recommend, further, that the aforesaid bill of sale be, so far as possible, an itemized bill, and that a consideration of some sort (such as the usual "one dollar") be named as a part of the transaction and duly paid to the said editors.

2. In order that the said transfer may be made at any time and that the management of the Review may be provided for from its date to the next subsequent meeting of this association, we recommend that, until that next subsequent meeting of this association and till directed otherwise by this association, the present board of editors retain their functions in all respects as hitherto; that they continue to cause their accounts to be kept by a treasurer of the board, a detailed report to be made by him to the council at its November meeting and to the association at its annual business meeting; that they retain in his hands, as a working capital, such funds as are in his hands at the time of the transfer; and that they continue to receive as hitherto the monthly subvention paid by the publishers for the editing of the Review and the share hitherto paid to the editors of the Review's yearly profits. We recommend also that, till such further action, they retain the administration of these funds and of such other funds as may at any time be appropriated by the association or its council to the uses of the Review; and that the editorial purposes to which these funds shall be devoted, including the payment, at their discretion, of traveling expenses of the members of the board, be entirely within the control of the board; and we recommend that, till further action by this association, the members of the board be elected by the council as at present, and for the same term of six years, and that, till such further action, they retain the power to elect their own managing editor and their other officers.

Subjoining to this report our correspondence with the editorial board and with the publishers of the Review, we have the honor to subscribe ourselves,

Very respectfully,

WORTHINGTON C. FORD,
EVARTS B. GREENE,
WALDO G. LELAND,
CLARENCE W. BOWEN,

By GEORGE L. BURR, *Chairman*.

DECEMBER 23, 1916.

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON FINANCE.

Your finance committee elected by the association December 29, 1915. has interpreted its commission as applying to the general financial operations of the association and not to the auditing of accounts. The committee has held numerous meetings during the year and has examined with care the operations of the treasurer's office and the business system in use, the vouchers, the books of record, and the canceled checks for the year 1915. The committee has also conferred with the treasurer and the secretary as to the conduct of the business of the association and after such meetings, examination, and conference it begs to report as follows:

We believe the present practice of having the routine clerical work of the secretary and the treasurer done in one office under the supervision of the secretary to be economical and entirely satisfactory, and we recommend that it be continued.

We believe the policy which has been in operation for some years by which the council has adopted a budget for the several committees and branches of work of the association to be eminently desirable, and we would recommend a continuance and more complete application of the budget principle. It would appear that experience has fairly demonstrated that the needs of the several committees and branches of work, and the income of the association can be estimated with reasonable accuracy. It is our belief that a right relation can be established and maintained between income and expenditure only through a budget system. To this end we recommend that the chairmen of the several committees and those responsible for the various branches of work present to the council annually at its meeting in November a statement of the estimated needs of the work that falls under their supervision and that these needs be reviewed by the council with due regard to the probable income of the association for the coming year and that a budget be made up and recommended by the council for adoption at the annual meeting in December. We would further recommend that the budget of appropriations be kept safely within the income of the association.

In carrying out this system it is further recommended that unexpended balances of any item at the end of any fiscal year may become available for the payment of bills incurred during the fiscal year for which this balance remains, even after the year has been closed.

In the event of any committees or branch of the work exceeding in expenditure the amount appropriated for its use, this fact shall be reported to the annual meeting in December for an additional appropriation to meet the deficit, or for any other action which the meeting may take.

In carrying out the recommendations of the council concerning the operations of the committee on publications, which recommendations were passed December 27, 1912, your committee would further recommend that the \$1,000 voted to be set aside as the capital for the operations of the committee on publications and similarly any surplus of receipts over expenditures for publications since the above date, or \$1,000, less any losses from the operations of the committee on publications since December 27, 1912, be made available as capital. And it is recommended further that hereafter distinct book records and a separate bank account shall be kept for the publications of the association. For book records under this head we would recommend a simple columnar sales book, showing in a summarized form exactly the returns on each publication and the returns on publications as a whole, and in addition a standard cash book of simple form which will show the income and expenditures for the publication item as a whole.

As books of record for the other operations of the association we would recommend that a standard cash book be kept, showing the different items of receipts and expenditures, and that in conjunction with this there be opened each year ledger accounts for the appropriations made to each committee and branch of the work, and for the expenditures as they are made. By this procedure it will be possible to keep accurate records of the operations of the association as a whole and to check off expenditures against each item in the budget. The secretary, by this means, will find it possible to notify the chairmen of committees and those responsible for expenditures in the several branches of the work, of their approach to the limit of the appropriations made and thus the expenditures of the association can be kept under control.

It is also recommended that there be opened ledger accounts for the different assets of the association, including the items of investments, office equipment, cash, stock of publications on hand, etc., so that the ledger will present a complete record of the financial condition of the association.

Supplementary to the above, the committee would recommend a form of voucher check which will provide in connection with each check drawn a statement of the item of expenditure for which it is drawn and which will have blanks for the signatures of the secretary and the treasurer of the association. We would recommend that no checks be drawn by the secretary until he has received a bill, approved by the chairman of the committee or person responsible for the expenditure. We would recommend that no checks be signed by the treasurer until he has received the voucher check duly filled out and signed by the secretary as above stated and accompanied by the approved bill for which the check is drawn. We would further recommend that the check be so worded that its indorsement will constitute a receipt for the expenditure for which it is drawn. In carrying out this policy of expenditure it is further recommended that all chairmen and other agents shall submit formal bills, stating explicitly the purpose for which the expenditure is made.

The committee recommends that there be kept a book account of dues received for life membership so that the association may have a record of the amounts received for that purpose and of the obligations which it has assumed on account of life membership. The committee would raise the question for the consideration of the executive council and the treasurer whether a separate investment of life membership dues is not practicable. Certainly a separate book account for them is desirable and there can scarcely be two opinions on the statement that the use of life membership dues for current expenses is a shortsighted and ill-advised policy. We recommend that hereafter all life membership dues be invested.

The committee interpreted its commission as including a consideration of the investment of the funds of the association. We have examined the bond and mortgage for \$20,000 on the property at No. 24 East Ninety-fifth Street, New York City, and the certificates for 20 shares of American Exchange National Bank stock and find these documents in regular form. For the protection of the treasurer, in the interest of security, and to guard against depreciation in value, however, it would appear that the permanent investment of funds of the association should not be stocks or bonds. Real estate mortgages which are guaranteed by a reputable commercial organization probably offer the best form of investment possible for an association of this sort, and we recommend that the funds of the association be invested in mortgages of this kind.

The committee further reports that it has had prepared various blank forms for columnar sales book, cashbook, ledger, and voucher check which will be presented as part of its report at the business meeting in Cincinnati.

Respectfully submitted,

HOWARD GRAY,
ARTHUR C. HOWLAND,
CHEESMAN A. HERRICK, *Chairman.*
Special Committee on Finance.

PHILADELPHIA, December 11, 1916.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS.

As chairman of the committee on nominations I beg leave to submit the following report:

In September the committee, acting through the secretary of the association, sent to all members of the association a circular letter and blanks for an informal ballot upon officers for the year 1917. Both the circular and the blanks used for balloting were quite similar to those employed the year before. The circular, however, sought to secure the correction of a defect which had been clearly manifested in the two preceding years—viz, the virtual throwing away of many votes by casting them for men who were life members of the council or had already served three years as elected members. As this time relatively few votes were wasted in that manner it would appear that the change produced the desired result.

Responses were received from 291 members, omitting a few on which no actual choices were put down. Many of the blanks, however, were filled out only in part. Very few members expressed their second and third choices. The voting indicated clearly that the responding members desired that the customary advancement of the first vice president to the presidency and of the second vice president to the office of first vice president should be adhered to; also, that the elected members of the council who have served less than three years should be reelected. It likewise indicated a nearly unanimous desire for the reelection of the present incumbents in the offices of secretary, treasurer, curator, and secretary of the council. For second vice president and one elected member of the council the votes were so widely scattered that no clear indication of the wishes of the association was indicated.

In view of this result the committee prepared a brief report which was sent to the members of the association, along with the first edition of the program for the Cincinnati meeting. Wherever the voting seemed to indicate clearly the wishes of the association that preference was followed, in other instances the committee acted upon its own best judgment. The report recommended the election of the following officers for 1917:

President, Worthington C. Ford; first vice president, William Roscoe Thayer; second vice president, Edward Channing, members of the council, Eugene C. Barker, Guy Stanton Ford, Ulrich B. Phillips, Lucy M. Salmon, Samuel B. Harding, G. M. Wrong; secretary, Waldo G. Leland; curator, A. Howard Clark; treasurer, Clarence W. Bowen; secretary of the council, Evarts B. Greene.

Respectfully submitted,

FRANK MALOY ANDERSON, *Chairman.*

DECEMBER 6, 1916.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE
AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION HELD IN THE LIBRARY
BUILDING, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK CITY, DECEM-
BER 2, 1916.

The council met at 10 a. m. with President Burr in the chair. Present: Messrs. W C Ford, Thayer, Leland, Bowen, G. B Adams, Dunning, Jameson, Turner, G. S Ford, Harding, Haskins, Phillips, Miss Salmon, and the secretary.

The following chairmen of committees also attended the meeting. Messrs. Bourne, Cheyney, Dutcher, Hulbert, Hunt, Johnson, Learned, Lingelbach, and Paltsits

The secretary of the association presented his report showing that the membership of the association on November 15 was 2,719, as against the enrollment on corresponding dates of 2,989 in 1915 and 2,913 in 1914. It was pointed out that this decrease resulted from the enforcement of the rule adopted by the association at its last annual meeting providing that members whose dues remained unpaid should not be carried on the rolls after June 1. Certain questions raised by the secretary in this report were acted on as follows:

1. It was voted that the secretary of the association, acting for the council, be authorized to continue the present liberal policy regarding the admission of new members.

2. The secretary was requested to secure full information regarding societies which, by name or otherwise, appear to assume the position or functions of the American Historical Association.

3. It was voted, as the sense of the council, that the association do not send delegates to the meetings of organizations whose purpose is action in other fields than those of history or science.

The secretary of the council reported briefly.

The treasurer presented his usual preliminary report, including a summary of receipts, disbursements, and assets as follows:

Statement of Treasurer, Nov. 29, 1916.

Balance on hand Dec 21, 1915..... \$2,654 08

RECEIPTS, DEC 21, 1915, TO NOV. 29, 1916.

Annual dues.....	\$7,186.59
Life membership dues.....	50.00
Dividend on bank stock.....	200.00
Interest on bond and mortgage.....	900.00
London headquarters.....	150.00
Loan, C. W. Bowen.....	1,000.00
Publications:	
Prize essays.....	\$381.53
Papers and reports.....	49.30
Writings on American history.....	35.50
Church History papers.....	1.00
Royalties.....	140.24
Miscellaneous.....	.80
	<hr/>
	608.37

Miscellaneous:

Rebates:

Committee on local arrangements..	\$17.30
Montague Mailing Machinery Co..	39.91
Committee on history in schools..	10.00

67.21

Miscellaneous—Continued.

Rebates—Continued.

Early issue of American Histor-

	\$0 40	
List of members.....	3. 50	
Sale of old typewriter.....	5. 00	
	<hr/>	\$76 11
		<hr/> \$10, 171. 07

	12, 825. 15
Net receipts.....	9, 171. 07
Net disbursements.....	8, 852. 57
Excess of receipts over disbursements.....	318. 50
Balance on hand Nov. 29, 1916.....	2, 972. 58

ASSETS NOV. 15, 1916.

Cash on hand.....	\$2, 972. 58
Bond and mortgage on real estate at 24 East Ninety-fifth Street, New York, N Y.....	20, 000. 00
Accrued interest on above (Sept 29 to Nov. 29, 1916, at 4½ per cent).....	150. 00
20 shares of American Exchange National Bank stock at \$230.....	4, 600. 00
	<hr/> 27, 722. 58
Assets last annual report (Dec 21, 1915).....	27, 062. 15
An increase during the year of.....	660. 43

Reports were received from the following standing and special committees: Committee on finance, historical manuscripts commission, public archives commission, committee on the Justin Winsor prize, committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams prize, board of editors of the American Historical Review, board of advisory editors of the History Teacher's Magazine, committee on bibliography, committee on publications, general committee, editor of the reprints of original narratives of early American history, committee on a bibliography of modern English history, committee on history in schools, committee on indexing the papers and proceedings of the association, committee on the military history prize, committee on program for the Cincinnati meeting, committee on headquarters in London, and the committee to cooperate with the National Highways Association.

It was voted to refer the financial proposals of the several committees to the committee on finance for consideration and report at the next meeting of the council.

It was voted that the historical manuscripts commission be encouraged to proceed with its plans for collecting the manuscripts of participants in the American Revolution, so far as practicable, but without committing the association to the expenditure of money.

The public archives commission was requested to report at the next meeting on the practicability of having the proposed "Primer of Archival Economy" issued for the association by a publisher.

Certain questions raised by the chairman of the Justin Winsor prize committee with respect to the "Conditions of Award" issued by the Winsor and Adams prize committees were considered and acted upon as follows:

1 It was moved to recommend to the association that the first sentence in paragraph 5 of that announcement be amended to read as follows: "The monograph must not exceed 100,000 words in all" (instead of "should not exceed 100,000 words in length"). The motion was laid over to give opportunity for consultation with the chairman of the publication committee and the chairmen of the two prize committees.

2. It was agreed that the proposed modification of the suggestions relating to the form of the essays was a matter to be dealt with by the prize committees in consultation with the committee on publications.

In the course of the discussion attention was called to the fact that the requirement of a critical bibliography was mandatory, and the secretary announced that he would so inform the chairmen of the committees.

The chairman of the committee on publications having presented a proposal for abandoning the present plan of awarding the Adams and Winsor prizes, it was voted that the subject be placed on the docket for the November meeting of 1917. In the meantime, the president was authorized to appoint a committee to consider and report upon the whole subject. The chair appointed Messrs. Dunning, Leland, and Phillips.

The editor of the reprints of original narratives of early American history reported that the forthcoming volume, to be issued early next year, would be the concluding number of the series.

The chairman of the committee on a bibliography of modern English history having reported the continuance of conditions which prevented further progress at this time, it was voted that the work of that committee be suspended, as during the past year.

Mr. Jameson reported the receipt of a gift from Mr. Dwight W. Morrow of \$150 to be applied by the association for the maintenance of the association headquarters in London. The treasurer of the association was authorized to pay this sum to the treasury of the London headquarters.

It was voted to continue the committee appointed last year to cooperate with the National Highways Association.

The determination of the printed matter to be distributed at the annual meeting of the association was referred to the committee on finance with power to act.

It was voted that the president of the association with three other members of the council to be named by him be appointed a committee on appointments to report its recommendations at the next meeting of the council. The chair appointed as additional members of the committee Messrs. Harding, Haskins, and the secretary of the council.

A communication was received from the University of Pennsylvania, through its provost, Dr. Edgar F. Smith, inviting the association to hold its annual meeting of 1917 in Philadelphia. In accordance with the resolution adopted by the council, November 28, 1914, it was voted to recommend to the association that the invitation be accepted and the meeting be held in Philadelphia accordingly.

It was voted that Prof. E. P. Cheyney be appointed chairman of the program committee.

After some informal discussion it was voted to recommend that a committee be appointed to consider the place of meeting of the association in 1918. Messrs. Turner, Bowen,¹ and Dunning were appointed as such a committee.

The proposal that the November meetings of the council be held in alternate years in the East and in the West was discussed, and the sense of the members was taken informally. It was voted that the committee on finance be instructed to consider the proposal and report at the next meeting of the council on the feasibility of such a meeting in the West in November, 1917.

It was voted that Mr. Leland be requested to draft a memoir concerning the probable future of the work of the council and the projects of rearrangement of the time and place of meeting to meet the situation, and that this memoir be communicated to the members of the council at Cincinnati.

Mr. Jameson reported briefly on the "Writings on American History" and the importance of the continued support of that publication by the association.

¹ Mr. Bowen having declined service, the president appointed Mr. Harding.

It was voted to defer for consideration at the next meeting of the council the proposed publication of the list of members and quarterly bulletin. Similar action was taken on the request of the conference of historical societies for a survey of historical agencies.

In response to a request from the Pacific coast branch for the appointment of a committee on college instruction in history, the secretary was instructed to say that the council, though interested in the proposal, does not at present see its way clear to organize a new committee.

Mr. J. A. James, chairman of the former committee of eight on history in elementary schools, having proposed a revision of the report of that committee, it was similarly voted that the council does not see its way clear to organize such a committee at this time.

The secretary of the council was authorized to send to the members of the council copies of such reports of council committees as might appear important for consideration in advance of the next meeting.

The importance of increasing the financial resources of the association was informally discussed, and the subject was referred to the committee on finance for consideration and report.

The secretary of the council was requested to convey to the authorities of Columbia University the thanks of the council for their hospitality in providing a place of meeting.

It was voted that the next meeting of the council be held at Cincinnati on Wednesday, December 27, at twelve o'clock, noon.

The council, having continued its session through the lunch hour, adjourned at 5 p. m.

EVARTS B. GREENE,
Secretary of the Council.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION HELD AT THE HOTEL SINTON, CINCINNATI, DECEMBER 27, 1916.

The council met at 1230 p. m., with President Burr in the chair. Present: Messrs. G. S. Ford, Phillips, Barker, Harding, Leland, Jameson, G. B. Adams, Turner, MacLaughlin, Dunning, and the secretary. Mr. E. B. Krehbiel also attended as a delegate for the Pacific Coast Branch.

The report of the committee on appointments was received, and adopted, with amendments, and with the understanding that the selection of the general committee be referred to the two secretaries with power to act. The list of committee assignments follows:

Historical manuscripts commission.—Gaillard Hunt, chairman; M. M. Quaife, Justin H. Smith, *Mrs. Amos G. Draper*,¹ *D. R. Anderson*, *C. H. Lincoln*.

Committee on the Justin Winsor prize.—Carl Russell Fish, chairman; Everett Kimball, E. S. Corwin. *W. E. Dodd*,² *Oswald G. Villard*.

Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams prize.—Laurence M. Larson, chairman; Sidney B. Fay, Louis J. Pactow, Ruth Putnam, *R. H. Lord*.

Public archives commission.—Victor Hugo Paltsits, chairman; Clarence W. Alvord, Solon J. Buck, John C. Fitzpatrick, George S. Godard, Thomas M. Owen, *G. N. Fuller*, *Peter Guilday*.

Committee on bibliography.—George M. Dutcher, chairman; William T. Laprade, Albert H. Lybyer, Wallace Notestein, William W. Rockwell, Augustus H. Shearer, William A. Slade, Bernard C. Steiner, *H. E. Bolton*.

¹ Names of new members in italics.

² F. H. Hodder appointed in place of W. E. Dodd, who declined to serve.

Committee on publications.—H. Barrett Learned, chairman; George M. Dutcher, Carl Russell Fish, Gaillard Hunt, J. Franklin Jameson, Laurence M. Larson, Victor Hugo Paltsits, W. G. Leland, E. B. Greene.

*General committee.*¹—William E. Lingelbach, chairman; Eloise Ellery, Irene T. Myers, Paul F. Peck, Royal B. Way, W. G. Leland, W. A. Morris, R. P. Brooks, R. H. George, P. J. Healy, E. M. Hulme, C. R. Lingley, Eleanor Lord, J. P. McConnell, A. E. McKinley, F. E. Melvum, R. C. Ballard-Thruston, with power to add to their membership.

Committee on history in schools.—Henry Johnson, chairman; Victoria A. Adams, Henry E. Boune, Henry L. Cannon, Oliver M. Dickerson, Herbert D. Foster, Samuel B. Harding, Robert A. Maurer, Nathaniel W. Stephenson, Philip Chase, D. C. Knowlton, A. C. Krey, R. M. Tryon, W. L. Westermann.

Conference of historical societies—A. H. Shearer, secretary.

Advisory board of the History Teacher's Magazine—Fred M. Fling, James Sullivan, reelected for three years, from January 1, 1917.

Editor of the American Historical Review.—Carl Becker, to succeed himself for the term of six years, beginning January 1, 1917.

Committee on program.—J. B. McMaster, chairman; H. V. Ames, vice chairman; J. H. Breasted, W. L. Fleming, H. L. Gray, C. J. H. Hayes, A. E. McKinley, D. C. Munro, A. H. Shearer (ex officio).²

Committee on local arrangements, thirty-third annual meeting.—George W. Pepper, chairman; W. E. Lingelbach, vice chairman; A. C. Howland, R. W. Kelsey, J. J. Van Nostrand, with power to add to their membership.

Committee on cooperation with the National Highways Association.—A. B. Hulbert.

The resolution proposed by Mr. Vincent, respecting the attendance of committee chairmen at the council meeting in November, was considered, and laid on the table.

Voted, that there be a subscription dinner of the council on the occasion of the November meeting.

It was voted as the sense of the council that the term of office of officers and members of the executive council chosen at any given meeting be for the year terminating with the close of the next annual business meeting of the association.

It was voted that the general committee be designated henceforth as the committee on membership.

It was voted to recommend to the association that at future annual meetings of the association, beginning with 1917, a registration fee of 50 cents be charged, to cover such expenses of those meetings as are borne by the association.

The estimate of expenditures for 1917 was approved, as follows:

Estimated income:

Annual dues	\$7,900.00
Life members' fees	100.00
Publications	500.00
Royalties	200.00
Investments	1,100.00
Gifts	300.00
Miscellaneous	50.00
Registration fees	150.00

10,300.00

Unexpended appropriations, 1916 1,288.83

\$11,588.83

¹ Name changed to committee on membership

² List of members as agreed upon after reconsideration at the meeting of the council, Dec. 29.

Estimated expenditures:

Secretary and treasurer.....	\$1,600 00
Executive council	300 00
Secretary of the council.....	50 00
Committee on nominations.....	50 00
Pacific Coast Branch.....	50 00
Committee on program, 1917.....	150 00
Conference of historical societies.....	50 00
Committee on publications.....	724 84
Editorial services	250.00
Cumulative index	1,000 00
American Historical Review.....	4,500 00
Historical manuscripts commission.....	150 00
Public archives commission.....	50 00
Committee on membership.....	75 00
Committee on bibliography.....	10 00
Committee on history in schools.....	50 00
Adams prize	200 00
Writings on American history.....	200 00
History Teacher's Magazine.....	200 00
Special committee on finance.....	50 00
Held in trust.....	525 00

10,234 84

Overcharges, 1916..... 744 16

Bills payable, Dec. 19, 1916..... 318.21

11,297.21

Estimated surplus

291.62

It was voted that, in case of emergency, the standing committee on finance be authorized to transfer funds from one item in the budget to another and that no such transfer be made without such authority

It was voted that when the council adjourns it adjourn to meet at 12 m. on Friday, December 29, in parlor G, Hotel Sinton.

It was voted that the reports of the Winsor prize committee and of the board of editors of the American Historical Review be presented by their respective chairmen.

It was resolved that the executive council report to the association that, in view of the desirability of a quarterly bulletin, the council is prepared to proceed with the publication of such a bulletin provided it may be done without involving an excess of the association's expenditures over its revenues for the coming year. The council suggests that an immediate effort be made to raise for this purpose a guarantee fund of \$300

On behalf of a special committee appointed to consider various proposals of the conference of historical societies, Mr. Leland presented a report, which was acted upon as follows:

I It was voted to authorize the continuation of Griffin's Bibliography through the year 1915 or later on a plan similar to that followed by Mr. Griffin, but excluding all reprints of articles otherwise noted, and the publication of this continuation as Volume II of the annual report being published at the time of its completion. It was further voted that the generous offer of the Newberry Library of Chicago to cooperate with the association to the extent of allowing Dr. A. H. Shearer, of its staff, to compile the proposed continuation be gratefully accepted, and that the thanks of the association be extended to the Newberry Library for this service.

II. It was resolved that the council looks with favor on the plan to issue a handbook of historical societies and that the subject be placed on the docket for the meeting of the council in November, 1917.

III. It was voted to recommend to the association the adoption of the following recommendations respecting the conference of historical societies:

(1) That the conference of historical societies be recognized as a semi-independent organization under the auspices of the American Historical Association.

(2) That its secretary be appointed by the council of the association and have the rank and functions of a committee chairman, reporting annually to the association.

(3) That the conference appoint such other officers and committees as it may find expedient.

(4) That the conference be supported by an annual assessment upon each society that becomes a member of it, such assessments to be upon the basis of 1 cent for each member of such societies, but no society to be assessed more than \$10 nor less than 25 cents. Commissions, State departments, surveys, etc., not organized as societies, to pay an annual fee of \$5.

(5) That the conference have control of its own funds, but shall furnish an annual report of its expenditures and receipts to the association.

(6) That the chairman of its program committee, or such officer as may be charged with the preparation of its program, shall be ex officio a member of the program committee of the association.

(7) That the conference prepare, as soon as possible after the annual meeting of each year, a report of its proceedings, together with such bibliographical and statistical information as it may collect.

(8) That all publications of the conference be passed upon by the association's committee on publications and be issued under the auspices of the association.

(9) That, finally, an appropriation of \$50 for 1917 be made for the incidental expenses connected with the reorganization of the conference (Such an item was included in the budget for 1917.)

Mr. McLaughlin was appointed to represent the council at the conference of historical societies.

Adjourned.

EVARTS B. GREENE,
Secretary of the Council.

**MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE
AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION HELD AT THE HOTEL
SINTON, DECEMBER 29, 1916.**

The council met at 12 30 p. m. The chair was taken at different times by ex-President W. A. Dunning and First Vice President William R. Thayer. Other members present: Miss Salmon, Messrs. Barker, Bourne, G. S. Ford, Harding, Phillips, Leland, Burr, Jameson, McLaughlin, Turner, and the secretary. Mr. E. B. Krehbiel also attended as the representative of the Pacific coast branch.

On reconsideration of the membership of the program committee, it was voted that Mr. J. B. McMaster be appointed chairman for the Philadelphia meeting and Mr. H. V. Ames vice chairman, and that the other members of the committee be as agreed upon in the session of December 27.¹

The secretary of the council reported the membership of the general committee,¹ as agreed upon by the special committee which had been appointed with power to act

¹ For the final list of this committee see the minutes of Dec. 27.

It was voted to indorse the proposal for a "Residence center for higher studies" in Washington.

It was voted to send the thanks of the council to Mr. Justin H. Smith, of Boston, for his gift of \$150 to be used in furthering the work of the historical manuscripts commission.

It was voted that the council approve the suggestion of the treasurer looking to an increase in the endowment of the association, and refer the details of procedure to the council committee on finance with power to act.

It was voted as a recommendation to the association that the annual meeting of 1918 be held in Minneapolis.

It was voted as the sense of the council that the annual meeting of 1919 be held in New Haven.

The secretary of the association presented an invitation to participate in the International Congress of History and Bibliography to be held in Buenos Aires in 1922. It was voted to refer this invitation to a special committee, to be appointed by the chair, for the purpose of suggesting appropriate methods of cooperation by the association in the plans of the proposed congress.

It was voted that the subject of the adjustment of the financial procedure of the council to the votes adopted by the association at its annual meeting on December 28 be referred to the council committee on finance for consideration and for report at the next meeting of the council. It was voted further that the committee on finance be empowered to act on those matters in which immediate action appears appropriate.

The secretary of the association presented a memoir proposing a system of standing committees designed (1) to distribute the work of the council among its members, (2) to secure a more effective preparation of business for consideration by the full council, (3) to provide for the exercise of certain executive powers in the intervals between meetings of the council. The council thereupon voted to establish four standing committees, with duties and powers as follows:

1 *Committee on finance.*—Duties Consideration of all matters of finance and financial methods; the preparation of estimates of income and expenditures; the consideration, from the financial point of view, of all appropriations asked for; the final preparation of the budget, after action by the council.

Powers: To prescribe methods of accounting; to transfer credits from one appropriation to another; to authorize expenditures against a contingent or miscellaneous appropriation; to perform such acts pertaining to the finances of the association as may be made necessary in the event of an emergency which can not await action by the full council.

2 *Committee on the docket.*—Duties Preliminary consideration of reports of committees; preliminary consideration of all new business; distribution to members of the council prior to its principal meeting of a résumé of committee reports and of new business; preparation of the dockets of the council meetings and of the business meetings of the association; to formulate procedure.

Powers: To render temporary decisions in questions of procedure, or of the interpretation of the constitution and of the votes of the council or association; to set the times for receiving reports from the committees, etc., of the association.

3. *Committee on meetings and relations.*—Duties: To receive all invitations to the association respecting the annual meeting, reporting thereon, with recommendations; to make recommendations to the council respecting the times and places of its meetings; to consider all matters involving relations or cooperations with other societies, institutions, etc.

Powers: To cause to be made the necessary arrangements for the meetings of the council; to appoint, between meetings of the council, delegates and repre-

sentatives to meetings, congresses, celebrations, etc.; to authorize the president to call extraordinary meetings of the council.

4 *Committee on appointments.*—Duties. To make recommendations to the council respecting appointments to committees, commissions, etc

Powers. To fill vacancies in committees, etc., between meetings of the council.

The above committees shall be named by the president as soon as possible after the annual business meeting. Each committee shall include at least one elected member of the council and such of the officers as may be appropriate for the effective conduct of its business.

It was voted that the next meeting of the council be held at New York on Saturday, December 1, at 10 a. m.

It was voted that the council committee on finance be empowered to take the necessary steps for the publication of a quarterly bulletin.

It was voted that an item appropriating \$250 be added to the budget adopted on December 27, for the purpose of establishing a quarterly bulletin.

It was voted that the council committee on finance be authorized to act for the council in carrying into effect the votes of the association at its meeting of December 28 respecting the transfer to the association of the American Historical Review.

The council adjourned at 3.30 p. m.

EVARTS B. GREENE,
Secretary of the Council.

SPECIAL REPORTS PRESENTED TO THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

1. MEMOIR ON THE ORGANIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.¹

At the meeting of the executive council in New York, on December 2, 1916, it was voted that the undersigned "be requested to draft a memoir concerning the probable future of the work of the council and the projects of rearrangement of the time and place of meeting to meet the situation, and that this memoir be communicated to the members of the council at Cincinnati."

In the memoir here presented it has been assumed that the amendments to Articles V and VI of the constitution, to be voted on at the annual business meeting on December 28, 1916, will be adopted. Article V, as amended, provides that the council shall be composed of the officers of the association (seven in number), of eight elected members, and of the former presidents; but a former president is entitled to a vote in the council only for the three years succeeding the expiration of his term as president.

Article VI defines the duties of the council as follows:

The executive council shall conduct the business, manage the property, and care for the general interests of the association. In the exercise of its proper functions the council may appoint such committees, commissions, and boards as it may deem necessary. The council shall make a full report of its activities to the annual meeting of the association. The association may by vote at any annual meeting instruct the executive council to discontinue or enter upon any activity, and may take such other action in directing the affairs of the association as it may deem necessary and proper.

From the wording of the above article, from the general tenor of the report of the committee of nine, and from the practice of the association it is clear that the latter, while holding the council accountable to it for all its acts, nevertheless expects and desires it to exercise all executive powers except as they may be limited by the constitution, by express legislation, and by the exercise on the part of the association of the powers of initiative and veto.

¹ Acted upon at the meeting of Dec. 29, 1916.

The problem, therefore, is to determine the form of organization and the time and place of meeting that will enable the council most effectively to perform the duties and exercise the powers intrusted to it.

I. ORGANIZATION.

The general practice of the council has long been to transact all business as a committee of the whole. Nearly all matters have come directly before the full council and have been discussed *ab initio* in all their aspects. Special committees of the council have, however, frequently been appointed for the fuller consideration of specific matters. For some years it has been the practice to name a committee on appointments at the November meeting, whose duty it has been to make suggestions to the council at the December meeting respecting appointments to the committees and commissions of the association. In the same way, since 1912, a committee on the budget has been appointed, to which have been referred all requests for appropriations. A year ago this latter committee was expanded into the present committee on finance.

In place of the present rather desultory form of organization I recommend that a system of standing committees be adopted.

The object of such a system is threefold: (1) To effect distribution of the work of the council among its members, (2) to prepare in a more effective manner, for consideration by the full council, the various matters of business; (3) to provide for the exercise of certain executive powers between meetings of the council.

The standing committees should be four in number with duties and powers as follows:

1. *Committee on the budget*—Duties: Consideration of all matters of finance and financial methods; the preparation of estimates of income and expenditures, the consideration, from the financial point of view, of all appropriations asked for; the final preparation of the budget after action by the council.

Powers: To prescribe methods of accounting; to transfer credits from one appropriation to another; to authorize expenditures against a contingent or miscellaneous appropriation; to perform such acts pertaining to the finances of the association as may be made necessary in the event of an emergency which can not await action by the full council.

2. *Committee on the docket*—Duties: Preliminary consideration of reports of committees; preliminary consideration of all new business; distribution to members of the council prior to its principal meeting of a résumé of committee reports and of new business; preparation of the dockets of the council meetings and of the business meetings of the association; to formulate procedure.

Powers: To render temporary decisions in questions of procedure, or of the interpretation of the constitution and of the votes of the council or association; to set the times for receiving reports from the committees, etc., of the association.

3. *Committee on meetings and relations*—Duties: To receive all invitations to the association respecting the annual meeting, reporting thereon, with recommendations; to make recommendations to the council respecting the times and places of its meetings; to consider all matters involving relations or cooperation with other societies, institutions, etc.

Powers: To cause to be made the necessary arrangements for the meetings of the council; to appoint, between meetings of the council, delegates and representatives to meetings, congresses, celebrations, etc.; to authorize the president to call extraordinary meetings of the council.

4. *Committee on appointments*—Duties: To make recommendations to the council respecting appointments to committees, commissions, etc.

Powers: To fill vacancies in committees, etc., between meetings of the council.

The above committees should be named by the president as soon as possible after the annual business meeting. Each committee should have on it at least two elected members of the council, and such of the officers as are necessary to the effective conduct of its business. As these committees have executive powers the nonvoting members of the council would sit on them only in a deliberative capacity.

II MEETINGS OF THE COUNCIL.

There should be at least three stated meetings of the council.

The first should be held as soon as possible after the annual business meeting.

The second should be held at the most convenient time during the fall, presumably as at present, on the Saturday after Thanksgiving.

The third meeting should be held as near the opening day of the annual meetings as possible.

The first meeting will allow the council committee assignments to be made, the new members to be inducted into their work, and new business to be considered without loss of time.

For the second meeting the single day of Saturday should suffice if the proposed committee system renders effective service. If the time, from 10 o'clock to about 5 o'clock, now allotted proves insufficient the expedient might be resorted to of holding a session on Saturday evening or on Friday afternoon, although this latter time will probably be required for the meetings of the committees.

For the third meeting of the council special provision should be made by the program committee of the association. I believe it to be both practicable and desirable to have the annual meetings commence with an evening session on December 27, except when that day falls on Saturday or Sunday, in which case the meeting of the council could be called for noon or for early in the afternoon of December 27. Furthermore, it is desirable that the annual business meeting be not held earlier than two days after the meeting of the council, that amount of time being necessary for the preparation of the report of the council and for the printing of such matter as may be distributed at the business meeting.

The committees of the council being small bodies can transact much business by correspondence, and they should be allowed and expected to do so. Certain meetings will doubtless be necessary, especially just prior to the council meetings of November and December, but the exact times of these meetings should be left to the respective committees.

The question of the place of the November meeting remains to be considered. Heretofore that meeting has invariably been held in New York, which has probably been the most convenient place for the council as a whole. Washington would be an appropriate place for this meeting, especially in view of the fact that the principal offices of the association are located there, as required by law. The suggestion has been made that meetings should be held alternately in the east and in the west. Probably, however, it is not desirable to adopt any fixed practice. Rather the question should be determined each year on the basis of the following considerations:

- 1 The travel expense incurred by the 18 voting members of the council.
- 2 Train schedules and connections.
- 3 The place of the annual meeting; this last factor to be considered so as to avoid, if possible, obliging members to make two long trips within the space of a single month.

The consideration of the factors enumerated above is among the duties of the committee on meetings and relations, which should present a brief report with recommendations to the voting members of the council not later than April 1 of each year. Members should indicate to the chairman of the committee not later than April 15 their opinion respecting the recommendations, and the committee should then, taking these opinions into consideration, fix upon the place of meeting, notifying all members of the council to that effect not later than May 15.

Respectfully submitted.

W. G. LELAND.

2. REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON A PLACE OF MEETING FOR THE ASSOCIATION IN 1918.¹

The committee is informed that invitations have been received from Atlantic City, Baltimore, Chicago, Cleveland, Columbus, Louisville, Minneapolis, New York City, Pittsburgh, Providence, St Augustine, St Louis, San Francisco, and Springfield, Mass.

Assuming that the 15 years, 1903-1917, constitutes a reasonable period on which to base an estimate of the relative burden of travel upon the present membership of the association, we find that in that period meetings in the various sections defined by the United States Census Office are as follows:

New England, 2· Providence (1906), Boston (1912).

Middle States, 3· New York (1909), Buffalo (1911), Philadelphia (1917).

Total North Atlantic, 5

South Atlantic, 4· Baltimore (1905), Washington and Richmond (1908), Charleston and Columbia, S. C (1913), Washington (1915)

North Central, 5· Chicago (1904), Madison (1907), Indianapolis (1910), Chicago (1914), Cincinnati (1916).

South Central, 1. New Orleans (1903).

Mountain, 0.

Pacific Coast, 0 A special meeting was held in the summer of 1915 at San Francisco in connection with the Panama-Pacific Exposition

To determine the question of the convenience of the mass of the association's membership and the relative claims of different regions, it is necessary to group the membership as well as the meetings by sections

The membership of the association is divided sectionally as shown by the following table, which also exhibits the number of meetings 1903-1917, inclusive, and the percentages of the members and meetings.

	Members	Per cent	Meetings	Per cent.
United States.....	2,739	100	15	100
New England.....	486	17.7	3	20
Middle States.....	658	24	3	20
South Atlantic States.....	328	12	4	26
East North Central States.....	561	21	5	33
West North Central States.....	211	7.5	0	0
East South Central States.....	69	2.5	1	0
West South Central States.....	65	2	0	0
Mountain States.....	57	2	0	0
Pacific States.....	227	8	0	0

¹ Acted upon at the meeting of Dec. 29, 1916.

Regrouping under other classifications we have:

	Members	Per cent	Meetings.	Per cent.
North Atlantic.....	1,144	41.7	6	40
South Atlantic and East South Central.....	397	14.5	5	33
Area made up of New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia, Virginia, and West Virginia, accessible to Washington.....	901	30	16 or 7	40
States in whole or part east of Alleghanies.....	1,472	50	29	0
States in whole or part west of Alleghanies.....	1,467	50	6	0

¹ Buffalo

² Including Buffalo 1, and Washington 2. The former, situated west of the Alleghanies at the edge of the interior, and the latter the official headquarters

The factor of concentration of productive historical scholarship and of library and other historical data interesting to visiting members has not been taken up, partly because it was difficult to apportion and partly because it is important to hold meetings in less active regions for the purpose of stimulation of historical interest. But the committee are aware that it is a factor affecting attendance, as are also the convenience of winter travel, hotel accommodations, etc.

Taking up the various sections under more general groupings, the North Atlantic States (including the New England and Middle States of the census classification), have had about an equal percentage of meetings and association members during the last 15 years. If we go back 20 years and assume that no larger proportion of members existed then (i. e. 40 per cent), which is probably not the case, the section has had eight of the 20 meetings, or 40 per cent, almost the same percentage as its present membership. But during the last 10 years, while the North Atlantic section as a whole has had four meetings, or 40 per cent, New England has had but one meeting, or 10 per cent, though its membership is nearly 18 per cent. New Haven has had no meeting for 20 years, though Boston, Chicago, Philadelphia, and New York will by 1917 have each had two and Washington three

In New England the choice seems to be between New Haven and Springfield. Both are accessible to perhaps 900 or 1,000 members resident within about 200 miles of these cities. Springfield has sent invitations from the convention bureau of the Springfield Board of Trade setting forth its admirable hotel facilities, the fine municipal group of buildings, including the municipal auditorium. It is neighboring to various important colleges, including Amherst, Mount Holyoke, Smith, and Williams, which would probably be interested in making such a meeting a success. But it has no historical department in its own midst, the last New England meeting was in Massachusetts, and New Haven has had no meeting for 20 years. New Haven would welcome the association, her hotel facilities are now good, and Yale is a noted center of historical activities. It seems probable that by the usual practice of the association in promoting its officers there will be a New England president in 1918. If an eastern meeting is held the committee prefers New Haven.

In the 15 years the North Central States have had five meetings, or one-third of all; in the 20 years, six, or 30 per cent; and in the 10 years, three, or 30 per cent, while the Buffalo meeting attributed to the North Atlantic lies on the boundary between the two sections. The present membership of the section is 772, or 28 per cent. But these figures do not fully represent the situation, for the 561 members resident in the old northwest, or east north central part of the section, have had all of these meetings, or about one-third

of the association's meetings with a little over one-fifth of the association's membership, while the west north central or trans-Mississippi Middle West have had no meetings, although they possess a membership of 211, or about $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the association's and over a fourth of the section's membership.

If the Middle West is to be the location of the next meeting on the basis of apportionment of membership and past meetings, it must be by virtue of the claims of the part beyond the Mississippi. St Louis would seem to have the best claim of any city in that region, by reason of its accessibility, historic interest, hotel conveniences, libraries, and winter climate.¹ Invitations have been received from the historical department of Washington University, the State historical society, and various civic organizations

In the past it has been the association's policy to hold frequent meetings at the association's national headquarters. It has not been conceived that on this account the more considerable number of members in the northeast ought to be deprived of their share of meetings. Much of the advantage of such meetings is due to the purely regional attendance, and a strict enforcement of a policy that should credit Washington meetings to the North Atlantic section, would prevent proportionate local attendance in the north-eastern region, which has much the largest membership of any single section. Washington is, in practice, no more accessible to considerable parts of New England than it is to large portions of Ohio and Indiana, or the border States of the South. The census office classifies it with the South Atlantic States

If we omit Washington from consideration as being national headquarters, and Buffalo as being equally western and eastern, and lying beyond the Alleghanies, the sections east and west of the Alleghanies having about equal membership, the east has had 8 of 20, 7 of 15, and 5 of 10 meetings. Counting Washington and Buffalo with the east, the east has 7 of the 10, 9 of the 15, and 13 of the 20 meetings. Two important modifying facts should be noted: The Association's western membership has grown relatively in these years, and it is of doubtful utility to add the mountain and Pacific States to the western classification in view of the experience in actual attendance at western meetings from these regions. The distance of the Pacific slope especially has caused the mass of the members of that section to rely upon the Pacific Coast Branch for meetings. It is not to be assumed that the Pacific coast would feel that their interests were immediately or effectively promoted by increasing the proportion of middle western meetings.

Considering the shares of North and South (divided by Mason and Dixon's line, the Ohio River, and the Missouri Compromise line), we find that the North has about 2,100 members and the South about 640. The South has had 6 of the 20, or 5 of the 15, or 3 of the 10 meetings selected for consideration. In other words, while the South's membership is about 23 per cent, it has had between 30 per cent and 33 per cent of the meetings.

If we omit Delaware, Maryland, and the District of Columbia from consideration, the remaining southeast of the Mississippi with 218 members, or 8 per cent of the association, has had two of the 15 meetings, or $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, not reckoning the Richmond joint meeting with Washington. Or taking all the South (east and west, as above) outside of Delaware, Maryland, and the District of Columbia, the membership is not quite 400 ($14\frac{1}{2}$ per cent), with three meetings in the last 15 years, or 20 per cent (counting the Richmond meeting), or two in the last 10 years (again 20 per cent). So the South has had its share.

If we examine another region, the area included in western New York, western Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Michigan, the membership is, roughly estimated,

¹ Minneapolis's invitation was received after this report was drafted.

not over 400. The region has had three meetings since 1898. This makes its percentage both of members and of meetings about 15 per cent for the 20 years. In 10 years there have been two meetings, or 20 per cent. It has, therefore, had its full share.

Segregating the Mississippi Valley (construed as the North Central and South Central States), it is found to hold about 33 per cent of the association (923). During the last 15 years six meetings have been held therein, or 40 per cent; in the last 10 years, three meetings, or 30 per cent, not counting Buffalo, which is on the dividing line; in the last 20 years, 35 per cent. It has therefore had its proportion on the basis of distribution of membership.

Summing up, it seems to the committee that the choice lies between New Haven and St. Louis. The North Atlantic section has had almost exactly its proportion of meetings on the basis of its proportion of members; the North Central States, with only about half the membership of the North Atlantic section, have had within one as many meetings in the 15-year period. Taking the 10-year period, these disproportionate sections have had an equal number of meetings, provided that we except Buffalo, as on the boundary between the two.

Even if we should regard Washington and Baltimore as belonging with the North Atlantic (which, for reasons already given, does not seem proper), and if we omit Buffalo as common to East and West, this enlarged North Atlantic, with half the members of the association, will have had in the 20-year period 12 meetings; in the 15 years, eight; and in the recent 10 (1908-1917, inclusive) years, five.

If we go to New Haven there will be two eastern meetings in succession—Philadelphia and New Haven. There are precedents for such combinations, as New Haven and Boston, 1898-1899; Washington and Philadelphia, 1901-1902; Baltimore and Providence, 1905-1906; Washington and New York, 1908-1909; and perhaps Indianapolis and Buffalo, 1910-1911, should be included.

Respectfully submitted.

FREDERICK J. TURNER, *Chairman*.

**REGISTER OF ATTENDANCE AT THE THIRTY-SECOND ANNUAL
MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, CIN-
CINNATI, DECEMBER 27-30, 1916.**

A.	
Adams, G. B.	Barker, Eugene C.
Adams, Victoria A.	Barss, Katharine G.
Allen, F. H.	Beard, Charles A.
Allison, John M. S.	Becker, Carl L.
Ambler, Charles H.	Beer, William.
Anderson, Frank M.	Benjamin, Gilbert G.
Andrews, Arthur I.	Benton, Elbert J.
Asakawa, K.	Black, James C.
Ault, Warren O.	Boak, Arthur E. R.
B.	Bond, Beverley W., jr.
Baker, John W.	Bonham, Milledge L., jr.
Balch, Ernest A.	Boucher, C. S.
Baldwin, James F.	Bourne, Henry E.
Bancroft, Frederic.	Bradford, J. E.
	Bramhall, Edith C.
	Brandt, W. I.
	Brooks R. P.
	Buck, Solon J.

Burr, George L.
Byrne, Eugene H.

C.

Cahall, Raymond D. B.
Callahan, J. M.
Carpenter, Pearl.
Carpenter, William S.
Carter, Clarence E.
Chandler, Charles L.
Chapman, Charles E.
Chase, Philip P.
Chitwood, Oliver P.
Church, Frederic C.
Clark, Arthur H.
Clark, Dan E.
Coleman, Christopher B.
Collier, Theodore F.
Collins, Maria C.
Coolidge, Archibald C.
Coulter, E. Merton
Cox, Isaac J.
Critchley, Bertha M.
Crofts, Frederick S.
Cross, Arthur L.
Crothers, Hayes Baker.
Cumings, Mary M.
Curtis, Eugene N.

D.

Davenport, Frances G.
Dawson, Edgar
Dickerson, Oliver M.
Dickoré, Maria P.
Dilley, Frank B.
Donnan, Elizabeth.
Dorris, Jonathan T.
Dunning, William A.
Dutcher, George M.

E.

Edwards, Martha L.
Ellery, Eloise.
Evans, Austin P.

F.

Fairbanks, Elsie D.
Farr, Shirley.
Fay, Sidney B.
Fellows, Geo. Emory.
Fish, Carl R.

Flick, Alexander C.
Foote, Elmer L.
Ford, Amelia C.
Ford, Guy S.
Fox, Leonard P.
Frayar, William A.
Fuller, George N

G.

George, Robert H.
Gewehr, W. M.
Gipson, Lawrence H.
Godard, George S.
Goodman, Byrne F.
Gould, Clarence P.
Gregg, Frank M.
Green, Henry S.
Greene, Everts B.
Greenfield, K. Roberts.
Greve, Charles T.
Griffith, Elmer C.
Grose, Clyde L.

H.

Hall, H. Paul.
Hamilton, J. G. de R.
Harding, Samuel B.
Harlow, Ralph V.
Harris, Fielder B.
Harris, Wilmer C.
Harvey, A. Edward.
Haworth, Paul L.
Hayes, Carlton J. H.
Haynes, Geo. H.
Hazen, Charles D.
Hedrick, Charles E.
Henshaw, Lesley.
Hershey, Amos S.
Hickman, Emily.
Hobart, Mrs. Lowell F.
Hockett, Homer C.
Hodder, F. H.
Hoover, Thomas N.
Hubbell, Geo. A.
Hulbert, Archer B.
Hull, Charles H.
Humphrey, E. F.
Hunt, Gaillard.

J.

Jack, Theodore H.
James, J. A.
Jameson, J. Franklin.

Jernegan, Marcus W.
Johnson, Allen.
Jones, Guernsey.
Jones, Paul V. B.

K.

Kellar, Herbert A.
Kelsey, Rayner W.
Keogh, Andrew.
Kerner, Robert J.
Kingsbury, Joseph L.
Klingenhagen, Anna M.
Knight, George W.
Krehbiel, Edward.
Kull, Irving S.

L.

Lamott, Rev. John H.
Lander, Charles A.
Larson, Lawrence M.
Latané, John H.
Latourette, K. S.
Learned, H. Barrett.
Leet, Grant.
Leland, W. G.
Lindley, Harlow.
Lingelbach, William E.
Little, C. Roy.
Lowe, Walter I.
Lybyer, Albert H.
Lynch, William O.

M.

McClure, C. H.
McDonald, James G.
MacDonald, William.
Mace, W. H.
McGrane, Reginald C.
McKenzie, Minnie E.
McKinley, Albert E.
McLaughlin, Andrew C.
McLean, Ross H.
McMurry, Donald L.
Macy, Jesse.
Magoffin, Ralph V. D.
Marshall, Thomas M.
Martin, A. E.
Martin, Thomas P.
Mathews, Mrs. Lois K.
Middlebush, Frederick A.
Mitchell, Margaret J.
Montgomery, Thomas L.

Moody, V. Alton.
Moore, David R.
Moore, J. R. H.
Moses, Bernard.
Mowbray, Ralph H.
Munro, Dana C.
Muzzey, David S.
Myers, Irene T.

N.

Noble, D. S.
Notestein, Wallace.
Nussbaum, F. L.

O.

Ogg, Frederic A.
Oldfather, W. A.
Olmstead, Albert T.

P.

Page, Edward C.
Palmer, Herriott C.
Paltsits, Victor H.
Park, James
Patterson, David L.
Paullin, C. O.
Payne, Charles E.
Paxson, Frederic L.
Pease, Theodore C.
Pence, Mrs. Gwen J.
Perkins, Clarence.
Pihlups, Ulrich B.
Pierson, W. W.
Plum, Harry G.
Potter, Mary.
Pray, Carl E.
Priddy, Mrs. Bessie L.
Putnam, Mary B.

Q.

Qualife, Milo M.

R.

Rammelkamp, C. H.
Ramsdell, Charles W.
Randall, James G.
Reeves, Jesse S.
Rice, Sara F.
Riggs, Sara M.
Riker, Thad W.
Riley, Franklin L.
Risley, A. Wood.
Robertson, James A.
Robertson, James R.

Robinson, Chalfant.
Robinson, Morgan P.
Root, W. T.
Ross, Earle D.

S.

Salmon, Lucy M.
Schevill, Ferdinand.
Schlesinger, Arthur M.
Schmitt, Bernadotte E.
Schurz, William Lytle.
Schuyler, Robert L.
Scofield, Cora L.
Scott, Jonathan F.
Scrugham, Mary.
Severance, Frank H.
Seymour, Charles.
Shearer, Augustus H.
Shilling, D. C.
Shipman, H. R.
Shoup, Earl L.
Show, Arley B.
Shultes, Florence.
Siebert, Wilbur H.
Sill, Henry A.
Sioussat, Mrs Annie L.
Sioussat, St. George L.
Smith, Ernest A.
Smith, Justin H.
Snow, Alpheus H.
Sparks, Edwin E.
Steeffel, Lawrence D.
Steele, Esther C. M.
Stephens, H. Morse.
Stephenson, Carl.
Stevens, Wayne E.
Stone, Alfred H.
Stone, Mrs. Mary H.
Stubbs, Adeline A.
Sullivan, James.
Swain, J. W.
Sweet, W. W.
Swiggett, Glen L.

T.

Thayer, W. R.
Thompson, C. Mildred.
Thompson, Frederic L.
Thompson, James W.
Thruston, R. C. B.
Townsend, H. R.
Treat, Payson J.
Trimble, William J.
Turner, Frederick J.

U.

Usher, Roland G.

V.

Van Loon, Hendrik W.
Van Tyne, C. H.
Violette, E. M.

W.

Walker, Curtis H.
Walmsley, James E.
Warner, Clarence M.
Way, Royal B.
Weber, Mrs. Jessie P.
Webster, Homer J.
Westermann, William L.
White, Albert B.
White, Laura A.
White, Paul L.
Whittlesey, D. S.
Wilkinson, William J.
Wing, Herbert.
Wittke, Carl
Woodburn, James A.
Wrench, Jesse E.
Wyckoff, Charles T.

Z.

Zéligzon, Maurice.
Zook, George F.

NONMEMBERS.

Albray, Sarah A.
Barnes, C. C.
Benedict, Ernest M.
Booth, Dr. E. R.
Burkham, Anne P.
Cornwell, Mrs. Irene D.
Dutch, William.
Gano, John V.

Goodwin, F. P.
Guerard, A. L.
Harrison, Mary T.
Hering, Hollis W.
Hubbart, H. C.
Johnson, George H.
Jones, Mrs. Robert R.
Kerr, Elcy C.

Kidder, Nathaniel T.
 Kingsbury, Joseph B.
 Kite, Thomas.
 Kite, Mrs Thomas.
 Mackoy, Harry B
 Morgan, Mrs Arthur D.
 Murdock, Mrs. J. R.
 Neff, S. D.
 Nichols, Edith.
 Oldfather, C H.
 Oliver, John W
 Palmer, Martha M.
 Patterson, Burd S.

Pauly, Mrs. Charles A.
 Perrin, John W.
 Ragsdale, George Tilden.
 Rubel, Mrs Henry M.
 Russell, James H.
 Shoemaker, Michael M.
 Southworth, Constant.
 Sparrow, Jackson W.
 Thomas, David Y.
 Trendley, Mary B.
 Vance, Selby F.
 Williams, Cornelia B.

Register of attendance by States.

States.	Members	Non-members	States.	Members	Non-members.
Arkansas.....	.....	1	New Hampshire.....	3	.....
California.....	6	.....	New Jersey.....	4	.....
Connecticut.....	10	.....	New York.....	27	1
Delaware.....	1	.....	North Carolina.....	2	.....
District of Columbia.....	12	.....	North Dakota.....	1	.....
Georgia.....	2	.....	Ohio.....	46	25
Idaho.....	1	.....	Oklahoma.....	1	.....
Illinois.....	29	2	Pennsylvania.....	12	2
Indiana.....	18	4	Rhode Island.....	2	.....
Iowa.....	8	.....	South Carolina.....	1	.....
Kansas.....	2	.....	Tennessee.....	5	.....
Kentucky.....	6	2	Texas.....	3	1
Louisiana.....	2	.....	Utah.....	2	.....
Maryland.....	3	.....	Virginia.....	4	.....
Massachusetts.....	16	1	West Virginia.....	4	.....
Michigan.....	16	1	Wisconsin.....	15	.....
Minnesota.....	6	1	Wyoming.....	1	.....
Mississippi.....	1	.....		
Missouri.....	11	.....		284	41
Nebraska.....	1	.....		

II. REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRTEENTH
ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PACIFIC COAST BRANCH
OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

SAN DIEGO, CAL., DECEMBER 1-2, 1916.

By WILLIAM A. MORRIS,
Secretary of the Branch.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE
PACIFIC COAST BRANCH OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSO-
CIATION.

By WILLIAM A. MORRIS, Secretary.

The thirteenth annual meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association was held in San Diego December 1 and 2, 1916. The opening session and the annual dinner, Friday afternoon and evening, December 1, were held at the U. S. Grant Hotel. The Saturday sessions convened on the exposition grounds; in the morning at the New Mexico Building; in the afternoon at the Cristobal Café. Notwithstanding the distance of San Diego from many Pacific-coast centers, the meeting was characterized by an unusually full and representative attendance of college teachers and officials of historical organizations. Local arrangements were ably managed by a committee consisting of W. F. Bliss, chairman, Allen H. Wright, Dr. N. A. N. Cleven, Mrs. Margaret V. Allen, and Miss Harriet L. Bromley. The work of the program committee was organized and supervised by the chairman, Robert G. Cleland, who had the assistance of Edgar E. Robinson, Ralph H. Lutz, and Herbert L. Priestley, and also of Miss Jane E. Harnett, with whom rests the credit of the program of the teachers' session. During the Saturday morning session the president, Prof. Joseph Schafer, of the University of Oregon, was in the chair; at the first and last sessions the vice president, Prof. Jeanne Elizabeth Wier, of the University of Nevada. During a portion of the last session Prof. Robert G. Cleland also presided.

The opening paper of the Friday afternoon session was presented by Prof. Waldemar C. Westergaard, of Pomona College, whose subject was "The United States in the Caribbean." Declaring that an air of provincial insularity has hitherto surrounded colonial history, the speaker showed that by the early seventeenth century Spain was compelled to resist colonizing attempts of foreigners in the Caribbean. Among these in the course of the century were even Courlanders and Brandenburgers. While the struggle was in progress the natives disappeared. The Spanish longest maintained themselves in St. Lucia and the Windward Isles. The French remained the strongest Caribbean power until the English victories of the

War of the Spanish Succession. The history of the bow of islands extending from Porto Rico to Trinidad is bewildering. The tenure of the larger islands in contrast with that of the smaller has been relatively permanent. The flock of settlers who were attracted is explained by the wealth of Spain. The buccaneers were practically legalized pirates; the private establishment of regular colonies was a more respectable means of reaching the same goal. The map explains how these isles guarded the routes of commerce between the Spanish mainland and Europe. The Darien project of William Paterson is an excellent example of such an attempt. After it was broken up Spain retained its annual fair at Porto Bello undisturbed. Commercial joint stock companies were a means of furthering colonization. The first of these, the Dutch West India Company, dates from 1621; the French company from 1636. In the time of Colbert the Danes established themselves on the Isle of St. Thomas. The labor problem was the great one. No one was too exalted or noble to refuse to profit from the negro slave traffic. It attracted the capitalist's wealth and the widow's mite. The capitalists of the Barbadoes in the seventeenth century were prominent enough to broach representation in Parliament. The presence of Nelson and Rodney in West Indian waters is explained by the economic structure reared on the sugar industry. The discovery by a French scientist of a process which was to replace cane by beet sugar sounded the death knell of the West India planter aristocracy. Within a dozen years the British garrisons have been withdrawn from two islands. The Colossus of the North now looms large.

The thought of American domination was so far absent that the Clayton-Bulwer treaty was not opposed in the United States on nationalistic grounds. Next came the problem of Maximilian. The De Lesseps project consolidated American interest in the canal and its failure allayed fears of French domination. Cleveland's championship of Venezuela revealed a surprising patriotic sentiment in regard to the Caribbeans. Intervention in Cuba, the annexation of Porto Rico, the construction of an American canal, and American control of administration in Haiti and San Domingo have established our position. The aggression of European financial interests leads the United States to feel the possibility of foreign intervention. In the meantime planters are again hopeful and cacao and fruit promise new prosperity.

In the discussion which followed the reading of the paper Prof. H. Morse Stephens dwelt on the importance of a knowledge of Caribbean history. The history of America includes also the endeavors of France and Spain and of the other interesting peoples who settled on the mainland and the islands. American history, so Prof. Stephens maintained, is a phase of European history. Spanish

civilization in America was important long before Jamestown, and it is important to get rid of the conception of American history as a unit. Prof. Herbert E. Bolton was called upon by the chairman and spoke to the same effect. He pointed out that while the main stress has hitherto been laid upon a 50 years' struggle between France and England the struggle with Spain began practically from the settlement of Jamestown, and the Americans were rivals of the Spanish in their movement all the way across the continent to California. Prof. Bolton also stated that in 1676 the population of the little colony of Barbadoes was just twice that of New England, three times that of the middle colonies, and 50 per cent larger than that of all the southern colonies. The Rev. Joseph M. Gleason, continuing the discussion, spoke of the romantic details which foster interest in West Indian history. One of the great tragedies of Irish history occurred through the exiling of thousands to the Isle of Montserrat. There were large numbers of natives here who spoke only Irish. The condemnation of the Jesuit orders was due to their commercial success in the West Indies. Prof. F. J. Klingberg advocated the study of the West Indies, particularly the British Islands, to gain historical perspective.

The second paper of the afternoon, which was given by Prof. Tully C. Knoles, of the University of Southern California, was entitled "What is nationality?" Prof. Knoles asserted that for hundreds of years nation and nationality were one. The leadership of princes gave it new connotation and the ties of blood gave way. After 1815 came a recrudescence of the European state system. The unification of Germany was a result of many forces, chief of which was the passion for nationality. But while the German Empire is a complex of national units it does not include a racial unit. In Belgium where there is no unit of kindred there is yet strong national consciousness. Switzerland, divided in race and religion, is nationalistic to a degree. The virility of Polish nationality is illustrated by the fact that to-day it is as strong as ever. Jewish nationality is of a very different type. The Jew, a remarkably good citizen and soldier, yet marries in his own circle.

Treitschke and the work of the historian are forces to be reckoned with, and economic influence is subtle and potent. The nineteenth century is that of the expansion of nationality. National patriotism became the national creed. America, through immigration, has reversed the customary process of building nationality. The local spirit of foreign groups is overcome by the spirit of liberty, by the public schools and the fashion of being American. Jews and Poles find intermarriage dissipating their national strength. The development in America of nationalism is along lines contrary to those followed in Europe. The test which has been proposed of giving a

man a gun to determine for which power he will fight, so that speaker held, is not the test which holds for the United States.

Prof. E. B. Krehbiel, in discussing the paper, stated that there is a very general tendency to confuse nations and nationality. It is not language nor race nor religion which makes a nation a unity, but common-mindedness, a spiritual unity. If it is true that "a nation exists when its component atoms believe it to be a nation," intermarriage recedes in importance. Formerly a personal relationship, loyalty, fealty to man, took the place of patriotism, although this was not so true in the church as in civic relations. After the French revolution came the spirit of attachment to a group. The problem in the United States is that of discovering a soul or purpose on which we can unite. In the search the speaker hoped there would be found an aim international and altruistic.

The paper of Prof. Levi E. Young, of the University of Utah, was on "Town and municipal government in the early days of Utah." Prof. Young stated that the records of meetings of 62 of these committees are extant. He compared them to the town meetings of New England. Both civil and religious matters were dealt with at the same session. He cited instances of ward meetings in Salt Lake City in 1852, which were called to order by the bishop and which considered the setting of shade trees and the supplying of water to irrigate them. The stimuli holding people together were two—religious and economic. These meetings opened with prayer; they were held in the meeting houses, but, since every town was on a mountain stream, one of the first acts was to measure the water and appoint a water master. Industrial towns of southern Utah were described as they were organized in the fifties, and it was stated that San Bernardino, Cal., was settled in 1847 by Mormons, who organized it upon the New England type. The speaker then narrated an account of the formal organization of Salt Lake City, which received its charter in 1851, touching upon the powers and activities of the city council in regard to educational matters. In conclusion he cited a petition of the territorial legislature to Congress in 1852 praying for aid to build a road to San Diego to bring the people of Utah into touch with the intellectual life of the Pacific coast.

In the discussion which concluded the session Prof. Rockwell D. Hunt called attention to the fact that the lands described by Prof. Young were those through which passed many of the pioneers of the Pacific coast. He cited instances to show that the people of Utah were far in advance of the Spanish in their recognition of the economic advantages of southern California. In conclusion he held that to get a world view a beginning may be made at home and that the program of the afternoon showed symmetry and coherence.

At the dinner in the evening Prof. H. Morse Stephens presided. In delivering the annual address the president of the Pacific Coast branch, Prof. Joseph Schafer, took as his subject "Historic ideals in recent politics."¹ His aim was to show how some of the national ideals have been changing. The ideal of national isolation, a predominant factor in the election of 1898, has been shattered. The ideal of national hospitality, which means the taking in of any and all who may come to our shores, was held to have carried us to the point of threatening our national institutions unless stronger regulation be placed on the granting of citizenship. The ideal of free lands furnished by the Government to become a source of wealth for all has given place to the conception that the State shall assure business profits to the individual. Finally, Prof. Schafer maintained from statistics of increased acreage value of land that the only solution of the problem of agricultural production is the education at public expense of men who can farm on a scientific basis.

Prof. Jeanne E. Wier dwelt upon the relations of Nevada to the neighboring States and urged greater cooperation between the States of the Pacific coast in the gathering and preserving of historic material, as well as in the preparation of an adequate bibliography. Mr. James M. Guinn responded on behalf of the Southern California Historical Society, and Mr. George H. Himes, speaking for the Oregon Historical Society, described his work of the past 18 years in gathering material. The other speakers were Judge M. A. Luce, of San Diego, Prof. Rockwell D. Hunt, Prof. Edward Krehbiel, the Rev. Joseph M. Gleason, and Allen H. Wright, city clerk of San Diego, who presented each guest with an impression of the seal of the city and explained the significance of its design.

The Saturday morning session began with an address on "The work of the California Historical Survey Commission," by Owen C. Coy, the secretary and archivist of the commission. Mr. Coy explained that the members of the body, which was organized October 9, 1916, are unsalaried, and that its object is not the collection of material, but a historical survey. The principal sets of documents being examined and listed are the records of the counties since 1850, United States land offices and other Federal offices, and those of the State at Sacramento. The collections of the Bancroft Library at Berkeley, of the Southern California Historical Society at Los Angeles, and of the San Diego Pioneer Society are also to be examined, as well as documents and collections of papers in private hands and periodicals in public libraries. The collection of reminiscences is another phase of the work. Father Engelhardt offers aid with the Benedictine records and Father Gleason with those of the arch-

¹ Printed in the present volume, pp. 459-468.

bishopric of San Francisco. The publication of the results of the survey will require several volumes, the reports on county records and newspaper material each filling a volume.

In his address, "Thirty-three years of historical activity," Mr. James M. Guinn, secretary of the Southern California Historical Association, gave an account of the work of that organization. Mr. Guinn stated that this is the oldest historical association west of the Rocky Mountains. The present secretary is one of three surviving founders. The society has published 32 annuals and has brought out nine volumes of historical material, much of which was in this way first put before the public. Its library consists of 5,000 volumes. It is doing and has done much to preserve material for future State histories.

At the business session which followed, the committee on nominations, consisting of H. E. Bolton, R. D. Hunt, and the Rev. J. M. Gleason, reported the following nominees:

For president, Prof. Edward Krehbiel, of Stanford University; for vice president, Prof. Levi E. Young, University of Utah; for secretary-treasurer, Prof. William A. Morris, University of California; for the council, in addition to the above officers, Prof. Oliver H. Richardson, University of Washington; Prof. Tully C. Knoles, University of Southern California; Prof. Allen M. Kline, University of the Pacific; Miss Effie I. Hawkins, Berkeley High School.

The report of the committee was adopted, the secretary was instructed to cast the ballot, and the persons named were declared elected for the ensuing year.

The auditing committee, J. M. Guinn and N. A. N. Cleven, reported that the accounts of the secretary-treasurer had been inspected and were in good order. On motion the report was adopted.

The committee on resolutions, George H. Himes, F. J. Klingberg, and Miss Olive Thompson, reported resolutions commending the work of the committee on arrangements, of which Prof. Bliss was the efficient chairman, expressing gratitude to the program committee, and especially to Prof. Cleland and Miss Harnett, for their work in bringing before these sessions such a wide divergence of interest and subject matter, commending to public attention the work of the California Survey Commission as set forth in the carefully prepared preliminary report of its secretary and archivist, and urging upon every member in California of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association all possible effort to secure appropriations to publish properly the information gained by the commission. The report was adopted.

A special committee consisting of the council was appointed to draft an additional resolution in regard to the work of the survey

commission. Their report, which was made and adopted at the afternoon session, was as follows:

* *Resolved*, That the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association do hereby indorse the excellent work already accomplished and the plan of work outlined for the future by the California Historical Survey Commission.

Furthermore, that the association most earnestly urge the continued support of this great project for calendaring the scattered records of our history, and that the association impress upon the California public the great fact that what has been done will never attain the good end desired unless, through the action of our legislature, provision be made to have the results of the survey commission's work published. We sincerely trust that this wise action be taken as soon as possible.

Prof. Edward Krehbiel was elected delegate of the Pacific Coast branch to attend the meeting of the council of the association to be held at Cincinnati in December.

Miss Jeanne E. Wier moved the appointment of a committee to investigate the possibilities of an organized movement for the preparation of a bibliography of the history of the Pacific Coast States. Prof. H. M. Stephens stated that the main problem is that of expense and suggested that the committee should consider the cost of clerical work and of publication and also the possibilities of cooperation among universities. The motion was carried, and the personnel of the committee was subsequently announced as follows: H. E. Bolton, chairman, H. Morse Stephens, Levi E. Young, Miss J. E. Wier, George H. Himes, E. S. Meany, the Rev. J. M. Gleason, and R. D. Hunt.

After the adjournment of the business session a tour was made of the historical exhibits on the exposition grounds. The collections of the San Diego Pioneer Society were first inspected, and the curator, Mrs. Margaret V. Allen, gave an address on her work, in the course of which was explained the importance of many of the choicest articles of the exhibit. A visit was then made to the ethnological buildings, through which, in the absence of Mr. Edgar Hewett, the director, Mrs. Donald Morgan, conducted the party, giving much information in regard to the exhibits, especially those illustrating the Maya civilization.

The first paper on the program of the afternoon session was presented by Mr. W. L. Stephens, superintendent of schools at Long Beach, on the "Motivation of history in the elementary school." Mr. Stephens stated that history in the school aims at a knowledge of the past to help the student understand what his fellows are doing to-day. It aims at observation and sound judgment, the training of the reasoning powers by a study of cause and effect, and the making of the citizen. The teachers will also have opportunity to

give appreciation of perseverance and of moral qualities. In this responsibility rests most heavily upon the teacher of the first six years. There is here unusual opportunity for visualization. The motives for study must be formulated if the subject is to have an aim. There must be a goal to reach. The importance of concreteness and dramatic treatment was dwelt upon and a method shown of grouping lessons about the setting of problems such as "Stumbling upon a continent" and "Trying to get around it." In conclusion, it was held to be important to give understanding of some vital problems even if some pages of the textbook remain uncut.

Miss Sara L. Dole, of the Manual Arts High School, Los Angeles, in her paper on the "Development of initiative in the high-school student of history" held that history is not to be studied merely for the past, and doubted whether the history teacher has justified the position of the subject in the modern high school. The aim should be the making of present-day thinking more concrete, and the understanding of the social situations of to-day, an appreciation on the part of the student that life is changing. The speaker held that under the present curriculum the student has not a sufficient chance to think for himself, and that it is of no use to teach ancient history until the student knows the terminology of government and of everyday life. Objection was also made to the two-year course in European history, as making against interest, and instead were advocated semester courses, each dealing with a single phase of development. Concrete methods were advocated, especially the socializing of teaching through the occasional management of the class hour, or parts of the class hour, by the class, and through debates and reports on topics. The importance of standardizing material equipment was urged as well as the agreement by history teachers upon standards.

In the discussion of the two papers the secretary expressed high appreciation of what had been said regarding history in the grades, and held that the observations made were also applicable to work in secondary schools. He doubted the necessity of a general change of curriculum in schools and believed that there existed a sufficient amount of freedom to allow for specific interests in individual communities which may call for some modification. He commended as a source of initiative on the part of the student the use of supplementary reading which calls for comparison and powers of judgment, and urged as a means of holding interest a good variety of teaching methods such as had excellently been described in the two preceding papers. Mr. Roscoe Ingalls, of the Redondo High School, urged the advantages of the supervised study period and told of his experience in supervising supplementary reading.

The program was continued by the paper of Dr. Frederic W. Sanders, of the Hollywood High School, on "Research work for the junior college student." After a discussion of the course of study in junior colleges, during which he urged the claims of the history of American foreign relations, the speaker explained that the term "research" as applied to junior college work is questionable. He then discussed the process by which written reports are prepared by the students in his school, dealing especially with the requirement of a formal bibliography and the advantages of such work. In discussing the paper Dr. N. A. N. Cleven, of the San Diego Junior College, stated that the aim in the preparation of papers like those just described is to carry students on to really creative work.

In the absence of Prof. E. D. Adams, of Stanford University, who was to have spoken on "History teaching in the secondary school from the standpoint of the college and university," Prof. Edward Krehbiel spoke, dwelling upon the desirability from the college point of view of a certain amount of fact learned which may be depended upon and not duplicated. He also held that it is much easier to criticize than to remedy high-school teaching, pointed to the advantages which accrue to the college teacher through the possibility of varying his teaching program, and in conclusion pointed to the possibility of avoiding staleness in the schools by a change of method. The meeting then adjourned.

III. SEVENTEENTH REPORT OF THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES COMMISSION, WITH APPENDIXES.

DECEMBER 27, 1916.

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Alabama Department of Archives and History.

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REPORT OF THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES COMMISSION.

The public archives commission has the honor to submit its report for the year 1916 and to make recommendations with respect to its plans for the year 1917.

On June 2, 1916, the printer's copy of the report of the commission for 1915 was transmitted to the secretary of the American Historical Association. It contains an account of the joint session of societies held in Continental Memorial Hall, in the interest of the National Archive Building and a summary of legislation relating to archives and history during the year 1915, deduced from an examination of the session laws of forty-four States. In appendixes are presented extensive reports on the public archives of the States of California and Vermont.

Efforts were not lacking in the furtherance of the plan for a national archive building. The chairman of the commission kept himself in touch with Senator Poindexter, while Dr. Jameson and Mr. Leland did what they could at Washington, in consultation with persons in authority. The record of congressional action is shown below in the summary of legislation during the year. Apparently it opens the way for the choice of a site and the adoption of architectural plans, as well as for the necessary appropriations, since it removes the original requirement of inspection of archival buildings in Europe and other investigation abroad, before progress could have been made at Washington.

With the completion of the California and Vermont reports, the commission temporarily suspends its activities in this field, in order to concentrate its attention upon the Primer of Archival Economy. In the last report we said:

Materials toward the preparation of a Primer of Archival Economy have been secured for five or six chapters. The actual preparation of the Primer may now be left to a small subcommittee of the commission, in coöperation with contributors. The chief obstacle in the way of its completion is the need of a fund for publication.

The commission is able to report more progress in the presentation of contributions at the current conference of archivists relating to the housing, repairing, and binding, as well as the centralization of archives. A tentative report was offered to the executive council at its New York meeting a few weeks ago, in which the chairman of the commission presented alternative plans for financing the publication of the primer, which, being on file and under consideration by the council, need not be repeated here.

Newspaper accounts told that on January 16, 1916, William Smith Hall, the main building of Washington College, at Chestertown, Md., was wrecked by a fire. The flames spread rapidly, resulting in a considerable loss of historical documents, including some in the handwriting of George Washington.

In the year 1916 but 20 of the 48 State legislatures held sessions, which were generally short, and the legislation enacted was hardly more than the routine of appropriation and supply bills. Sundry regulative measures for copying records were enacted, but these have no archival significance, as they concern only such matters as fees and legal proofs.

The following acts constitute the small grist of archival legislation enacted during 1916; this summary has been contributed by Mr. Fitzpatrick:

United States, ch. 183, June 28, 1916.—*Be it enacted by the Senate, etc.*, That paragraph 4 of section 21 of the public buildings act, approved March 4, 1913, which reads as follows: "That before the said designs and estimates are completed inspection shall be made under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury of the best modern national archive buildings in Europe, and consultation shall be had with the best authorities in Europe on the construction and arrangement of archives buildings," be and the same is hereby repealed; and the acquisition of a site for a national archives building, and the construction of said building according to the terms of said act of March 4, 1913, is hereby authorized without such inspection and consultation in Europe.

Louisiana, act No. 185, House bill 360, approved July 6, 1916.—An act to amend and reenact section 3 of act 242 of the acts of the general assembly of the State of Louisiana for the year 1912, entitled "An act to declare what records, writings, accounts, letters, and letter books and copies thereof shall be public records; to provide for the examination, copying, photographing, and taking of memoranda for public records, and to authorize certain persons to examine, copy, photograph, and take memoranda thereof; to define the duties of all persons having the custody of public records; to provide for the preservation of all public records; and to provide penalties for the violation of this act."

SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Louisiana*, That section 3 of act 242 of the acts of the general assembly of the State of Louisiana for the year 1912 be amended and reenacted so as to read as follows:

SEC. 3. *Be it enacted, etc.*, That the provisions of this act shall not apply to any records, writings, accounts, letters, letter books, photographs, or copies or memoranda thereof in the custody or control of the supervisor of public accounts unless otherwise provided by law, nor shall the provisions of this act apply to any records, writings, accounts, letters, letter books, photographs, or copies or memoranda thereof in the custody of or the control of the examiner of the State banks.

SEC. 2. *Be it further enacted, etc.*, That all laws or parts of laws in conflict herewith be and the same are hereby repealed.

Massachusetts, ch. 141, approved April 24, 1916.—An act relating to the disposal of certain records and accounts of the State Board of Agriculture.

Be it enacted, etc., as follows:

SECTION 1. The records and accounts formerly kept by the State Board of Agriculture under the provision of section 4 of chapter 210 of the acts of the year 1891, which chapter was repealed by section 10 of chapter 1905, may be destroyed or otherwise disposed of by order of their lawful custodian, and any proceeds received in the course of their disposal shall be paid into the treasury of the Commonwealth.

SEC. 2. This act shall take effect upon its passage.

Rhode Island, chapter 1397, approved April 14, 1916.—An act in amendment of section 2 of chapter 645 of the public laws passed at the August session A. D. 1910, entitled "An act creating the office of State record commissioner as amended by chapter 822 of the public laws, passed at the January session A. D. 1912."

It is amended by the general assembly as follows:

SECTION 1. Section 2 of chapter 645 of the public laws, passed at the August session A. D. 1910, entitled "An act creating the office of State record commissioner as amended by chapter 822 of the public laws, passed at the January session A. D. 1912," is hereby further amended so as to read as follows:

"SEC. 2 Said record commissioner may appoint a deputy record commissioner, and may employ a clerk at an annual salary for such clerk of not ex-

ceeding \$700, and may incur such expenses as may be necessary in the proper administration of his office, but not to exceed the sum of \$100 annually; and a sum not exceeding \$800 shall be annually appropriated to pay the salary of such clerk and for said expenses; and said sum or so much thereof as may from time to time be required shall be paid upon properly authenticated vouchers approved by the secretary of state.

"SEC. 3. For the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this act during the fiscal year ending December 31, 1916, the sum of \$200, or so much thereof as may be necessary, be, and the same hereby is, appropriated out of any money in the treasury not otherwise appropriated; and the State auditor is hereby directed to draw his orders upon the general treasurer for the payment of said sum, or such portions thereof as may from time to time be required upon receipt by him of properly authenticated vouchers approved by the secretary of state.

"SEC. 4 This act shall take effect upon its passage and all acts and parts of acts inconsistent herewith are hereby repealed"

The proceedings of the seventh annual conference of archivists, including all the papers prepared for the occasion, are printed as Appendix A.

Appendix B consists of a "Report on the condition of the public records of the State of New Jersey" prepared by a committee of citizens of that State during the present year for presentation to the legislature and printed as a State document. It has been compiled for the purpose of calling the attention of the legislature to the necessity of making adequate provision by law for the preservation and administration of the State archives. It will serve to supplement the admirable report on "The Public Archives of New Jersey," prepared by the late William Nelson, which was printed by this commission in the Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1903, Volume I, pages 479-541, and it is hoped that its publication in the present connection may aid not only in serving the special purposes for which it was prepared, but also in calling attention in other States to the dangers which threaten the public archives unless adequate provision is made for their proper preservation. The thanks of the commission are due to the committee for permission to reprint its report.

Appendix C consists of "South America as a field for an historical survey," by Dr. Charles E. Chapman. It is a summary account of some of the principal bodies of archives in Buenos Aires, Santiago de Chile, and Lima.

Respectfully submitted,

VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS, *Chairman*.
CLARENCE W. ALVORD,
SOLON J. BUCK,
JOHN C. FITZPATRICK,
GEORGE S. GODARD,
CHARLES MOORE,
THOMAS M. OWEN.

APPENDIX A.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SEVENTH CONFERENCE OF ARCHIVISTS.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SEVENTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF ARCHIVISTS.

The Seventh Annual Conference of Archivists was held in the Hotel Sinton, at Cincinnati, Ohio, on Wednesday afternoon, December 27, 1916, at 3 o'clock. Owing to the poor railroad facilities the chairman and other members of the commission, as well as intended participants in the conference, arrived in Cincinnati many hours behind schedule; in fact, after the conference had adjourned. It is evident that no Nation-wide conference should ever again be held on the first afternoon of the annual meeting of the American Historical Association. The chairman traveled with a contingent from New York in a special car, with councilors aboard, and therefore had every reason to believe that he would arrive in Cincinnati hours before the conference; but it took 12 hours to go from Cleveland to Cincinnati, and no opportunity was available to communicate with headquarters.

In the absence of the chairman, as stated, Dr. Solon J. Buck, a member of the commission, presided. The original program, as printed, could not be carried out, therefore Dr. Buck announced a rearrangement. The following abstract of the stenographic report shows the order that was followed, and to it are added the complete papers of Mr. Simon, Mr. Berwick, and Dr. Pease.

A paper prepared by Louis A. Simon, of the Office of the Supervising Architect in the United States Treasury Department, entitled, "Some considerations on the housing of archives," was read in his absence by C. Oscar Paullin. In the discussion which ensued the following gentlemen participated: James Sullivan, of Albany, N. Y.; Gaillard Hunt, of Washington, D. C.; George N. Fuller, of Lansing, Mich.; Thomas P. Martin, of Cambridge, Mass.; Milo M. Quaife, of Madison, Wis.; and the acting chairman. This discussion resolved itself rather into a debate over the accumulation of archives and the problem of deciding what papers may or may not be destroyed under official supervision. The debate brought out a diversity of opinion, yet led to no unanimity of plan.

A paper on "The problem of archive centralization with reference to local conditions in a Middle Western State," by Theodore Calvin Pease, of the University of Illinois, was read in person. The acting chairman, in announcing the paper open for discussion, said: "The general subject of the centralization of local archives is one that archivists will certainly have to face in this country before very long, and it has been faced, I understand, in some European countries; but there seems to be very little sentiment in this country in favor of

transferring considerable bodies of archives from their original depository to a central building. Does any one care to discuss this subject?"

Mr. MARTIN. I am just wondering how many of the States have recently given any explicit authority to any body or any official in the State for the transfer of material of this kind from the counties to any central government point in the State. I just ask for information.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. There are a number of States where such powers have been given. So far as I know, in no State has the centralization actually taken place to any extent, with the exception of Connecticut, where a considerable quantity of local court records have been centralized in a central locality; otherwise I do not know of any State in the Union where any progress has been made.

A DELEGATE. The Connecticut movement has been brought about by the effort of local historical societies.

Mr. SULLIVAN. The law of New York permits the records to be sent to Albany. There has been quite a quantity sent to us. I can not say they are of much value; they are largely chattel mortgages, conditional bills of sale, and vouchers. If we are going to start in and preserve them for future history, we are going to start in the preservation of personal property. The State education building at Albany, which is very large, is not large enough to store this material from all the counties in New York.

THE ACTING CHAIRMAN. Who has the authority to determine what shall be sent in—county authorities?

Mr. SULLIVAN. They have to get the consent of the Superintendent of Education. We can, if we wish, order them to send any of the records we deem fit to be sent there. Some of them have, without asking us, boxed them up and sent them. We did not want them. We prefer telling them that they can destroy certain archives. They do not wish to do that. By virtue of an advertisement which came out in the newspapers with reference to the minutes of a town board, one volume of which was sold for \$500, and then went to \$5,000, they find it important to keep such documents. We have not physical room to take care of all the records of the counties, towns, and villages if they all decide to send their archives to us.

Mr. MARTIN. Is not it possible to draw a line between two kinds of records? When the towns were first organized they kept their records; later, when the State government required records to be kept, you copied certain information on a certain form and made a return. After the return is made and the record is kept in the State department, what is the use of keeping the local record?

Would it not be well to collect the records previous to 1800? I worked some in Vermont and found in local towns, as, for instance,

at Williston, that the town clerk has no office except in his own house, which is an old farmhouse, subject to all the dangers of destruction. Something ought to be done to compel him to surrender those records to some central archive for care—at least, until the town can take care of them.

Mr. QUAIFFÉ. I think when records are destroyed a few of them should be preserved. Ten thousand would not be much more valuable than half a dozen.

Mr. SULLIVAN. You ought to keep sufficient documents of all classes for historical purposes.

Mr. QUAIFFÉ. I should like to enquire concerning the local officials of New York; you must have different standards in New York than in Wisconsin.

Mr. SULLIVAN. The local officials are the same as elsewhere; human nature is very much the same. One said they made a bonfire 10 years ago and burned up everything in sight. 'There is respect for authority in Albany. The counties are practically all very good in keeping their records in fireproof receptacles. Outside of Buffalo the cities are very good. They are just as slow as any other parts of the country in making returns. It has required endless correspondence to get any returns from town clerks. They range in salaries from \$3,500 to \$100 a year. The thing which impresses one most in examining the town documents is the illiteracy of the town clerks. It is most lamentable that we have to deal with that type of public official. As long as we regard those local offices either as charitable institutions—the places where the salary is so low that they pass them around and each one feels it to be a burden; or as political rewards, as in counties where some clerks receive \$5,000 or some, as in Albany, have the fee system and get from \$11,000 to \$20,000, things will be unsatisfactory. In places where they are kept on salaries they are almost always kept year after year and become very expert. In cases like Albany they are usually allowed to hold the office two terms; then the party, thinking they have accumulated sufficient to pay the party debt, lets the office go to another member of the party. The present clerk was formerly a senator in the State. His fees are very large. That is the type of men we have there. We do not know how to get rid of them until we change our whole system of political government in this country.

A paper on "The repairing and binding of archives," by William Berwick, of the United States Government Printing Office, was in the hands of the chairman and unfortunately stranded with him en route to the meeting. An impromptu discussion of the subject as a stop-gap ensued. A digest thereof follows:

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Mr. Gaillard Hunt has brought with him a book illustrating the work done by Mr. Berwick in repairing manu-

scripts, and has agreed to take Mr. Berwick's place on the program in an informal way.

Mr. HUNT. The question we have been considering here has been about the destruction of archives. Mr. Berwick's paper was about how to prevent archives destroying themselves. Mr. Berwick has had greater experience than any other man in the United States along that line. After the Albany fire he took charge of the salvage, and more recently he undertook the preservation of some old county records. The method he employs in the Library of Congress goes back to experiments of some 15 years ago, the experiments having been made first with liquids; but the liquids were found to stiffen the paper. Then the plan followed in the Vatican by the librarian of the Vatican, of placing the sheet of paper between two sheets of crepeline, was tried, and has been adapted to American purposes. This book gives an illustration of how the manuscripts are preserved.

Broadly speaking, for archives' preservation there are two great schools—the one is the German, the other is the Italian school. At the head of the German school is Dr. Edwin Pussey, of Dresden. He took an invention known as Zapone, first used for preserving dispatches, telegrams, or notes that might be sent in bad weather from one field to another. Dr. Pussey applied it to manuscripts. I have seen in Dr. Pussey's laboratory in Dresden a paper immersed in Zapone, and then in water, which had been there for two years. The trouble with the original Zapone was that it was highly inflammable, a sort of liquid celluloid. Dr. Pussey has made improvements of it; he says it is not now inflammable. While a very important invention in its own field, as far as our experience goes, Zapone is not a practical means of preserving manuscripts.

The head of the Italian school is the subprefect of the Vatican, Father Franz Ehrle. He invented the method of placing the sheet of paper between two sheets of gauze, with paste that has some poison in it for the benefit of the bugs. That method, as we apply it, is only applicable to paper. As far as our National Government goes, there is very little that is on parchment. When the Government started business it was presumed it had parchment, and a bureau was established known as the Bureau of Rolls and Libraries. They had the Articles of Confederation, but it was assumed that as the fundamental documents of Great Britain are rolls, the fundamental documents here would be rolls. As a matter of fact there is only one roll in the custody of the United States Government. The Articles of Confederation were written on narrow strips of parchment. The Bureau of Rolls and Libraries ought to be called the Bureau of Roll.

Every repairer, after he gets to a point, proceeds to make the documents subordinate to himself—so that it shall not only be preserved, but shall be an exhibition of his workmanship. I found our system had become so elaborate in the United States that when I went to Italy and saw the system in vogue in the Vatican, I found the lazy Italian turned out ten times as much work as we did in the United States. The reason is, our work is superfine. It is all very well for a rich collector, who has gotten possession of some choice documents or letters, such as those of Lady Hamilton, to turn them over to the repairer, the result being a beautiful piece of work and fine binding, and the kind of thing to show to a guest after dinner. That is not a suitable treatment for an official manuscript. If an official manuscript has a hole, it should not be hidden. In the Declaration of Independence, among the signatures, there is a hole. The hole came right in the middle of Abraham Clark's signature. The repairer inlaid a piece and carried over the name of Abraham Clark so that you have a perfect signature. That is not our idea of the proper preservation of an important document.

(The book of specimens was then examined by those present.)

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. If we can come to order for a few minutes we will be able to complete the conference, and I think this book will be available for consultation when the conference is over.

I am sure that we are all very much obliged to Mr. Hunt for this interesting discussion, and I should like myself to emphasize two points which he made—one, the importance of taking care, from the standpoint of the archivist, that deception is not practised by the repairer of manuscripts. I myself have seen manuscripts repaired, and the repairers take particular pains that no one could tell whether or not the manuscript had been repaired. The other point is, that such superfine work as is sometimes done is simply impossible in general work. In the consideration of the preservation and care of our rather large collection of manuscripts in the Minnesota Historical Society we have to find some less expensive and more rapid method for insuring the preservation of these manuscripts.

I am sure we will all be glad to hear from Mr. Bancroft now.

Mr. FREDERIC BANCROFT. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, seeing the question, the repairing, restoring, and mounting of manuscripts, reminds me of the experience I had in this connection. It was probably the beginning of work of this kind in the United States Government. It came about in this way. I became librarian of the State Department in the summer of 1888. I was librarian; that was the common name; the proper name is the chief custodian of rolls and libraries. Mr. Hunt is quite right; it ought to be called the bureau of roll. He was one wrong; there were two rolls, one the

articles of confederation, the other the Constitution of the United States, which was in a long tin box. I can not tell, looking back 30 years, whether my going to read the proof was upon the request of Mr. McMaster or not. I asked my assistants where the Constitution was. They said it was in the other room—the room Mr. Hunt is very familiar with. It was in six or eight sheets, each sheet rolled, and placed in a round tin box. I was very much shocked at the state of affairs I found. You could not take it out without pressing it down like that. [Indicating.] I began to make inquiries. My assistant said that Mr. Dwight, my predecessor, was going to get these repaired; he was going to get these mounted. I said, "Let us do it." I was directly under the assistant secretary of State. I went to him and told him the condition and said, "Sha'n't we do something?" He said, "Certainly; anything you like. What do you suggest?" I said, "I do not know anything about it; someone, somewhere, knows how to put this in better condition." There was no one in the Government service who had had any experience. Do you remember, back in 1888, anyone who had mounted manuscripts?

Mr. HUNT. I think it was done by the printers themselves.

Mr. BANCROFT. I found there was one man in Brooklyn who knew about it, and also a firm in Philadelphia. I went to see the man in Brooklyn, found he was a man of some skill, but not the kind of man who ought to be trusted with those documents. I went to Philadelphia and saw Fosterman & Nicholson. I immediately saw they were experts.

[Here followed an explanation of the manner in which Congress appropriated \$2,000 for the repair work.]

Mr. Bancroft then said: I went to see Fosterman and Nicholson. I told them: "We have but \$2,000." Their men drew pretty large wages. We needed two or three men. They sent them over and we had just enough to pull through that year. I went back; it was not so difficult as I expected the second year. When I went back the second time I was afraid we would run into difficulties. Mr. Nicholson used to come over occasionally. I said: "Mr. Nicholson, we may be coming near to the end of our rope unless you agree to a certain plan and make the Government feel a little bit independent." "What is that?" "It is rather unwelcome to you. You will have to teach some one in the Government to do the work." He said that was not what the specialists were there for. I said: "Then the work will have to stop." He finally consented. We got another appropriation. They brought two women from the Government Printing Office and carried on the work. Did not they begin with the Madison papers?

Mr. HUNT. The Continental Congress.

Mr. BANCROFT. I am certain the Madison papers were begun early.

Mr. HUNT. First the Continental Congress, then Madison, and then Monroe.

Mr. BANCROFT. I could not say for certain; it is over 20 years. The work was fairly started. It was sent to the Library of Congress. They found experts, got additional men, the thing was grafted on to the other work, and from year to year the plan has been improved. Mr. Hunt has doubtless improved on Mr. Ford. And there is the whole proposition.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Is there any further discussion on this subject of the repairing and binding of manuscripts? Are there any further matters to come before the conference at this session? If not, I think the conference will be adjourned.

SOME CONSIDERATIONS ON THE HOUSING OF ARCHIVES.

By LOUIS A. SIMON.

Examination of the arrangement of the buildings devoted to archives, or of portions of buildings used for that purpose, reveals differences of plan that may be ascribed partly to local conditions, but in the main must be regarded rather as evidence of the differing points of view as to the storage and the manner of handling the material placed in the archivist's care.

From the extensive buildings in which the National archives of European Governments are kept, down to the smaller repositories for their provincial archives, one finds illustrations of certain guiding principles which have governed the arrangement adopted in different cases, and it may serve as a basis for discussion to recall some of the characteristics found and the deductions drawn from them.

The earlier arrangement of archives buildings, in which the records were stored in a multitude of small rooms ranging along circulation corridors, may be dismissed as obsolete and the discussion centered on the different stack types of buildings which have been generally accepted as tending to meet the modern demand of the archivist.

As a fundamental principle, all of the better plans indicate a marked separation of the space devoted to administrative functions as differentiated from the space for the actual storage of the records. The simplest form of this separation is expressed by an independent building arranged for administrative purposes and a second building containing the stacks, connected by a corridor to the first. As an advance on such an arrangement, there is the building with a center administration pavilion flanked on either side by a wing forming the stacks. The natural limitations of such a scheme are soon reached, fixed as they are by the permissible length of wings so arranged. From the latter form of building it is but a step to the

multiplication of stacks projecting from the central pavilion and arranged in various ways; for instance, the stacks may project at right angles from the main face of the building, forming one or more open courts. Other stacks may be added to the first to form a closed court; again, a number of stacks may project in parallel order toward the rear, forming the gridiron type, or all the stacks may be placed side by side in solid order, forming the block type of plan. And finally, an indefinite number of changes may be rung on these types, to suit the local conditions and the point of view of the archivist. But whatever may be decided on as best meeting the needs of any individual case, a successful plan must be the direct outcome of the predetermined method of storing, using, and controlling the archives, and the decision to be reached leads to a study of the following:

1. The successive movements of the material from the time it is entered at the receiving platform until it is deposited in its allotted place in the stacks; its subsequent movement to the users of the documents, and its return to the stacks.

2. The disposition of the major divisions of the building—i. e., of the space for personnel of administration, for users of the archives, for the stacks proper, with attached working spaces.

A study of these questions leads in turn to the further study of the cost of operation by different systems, the question of the volume of records to be provided for and the probable increase in that volume.

Accepting as an axiom that economy of operation is induced by directness and simplicity of plan, the grouping together of the strictly administrative offices with the working spaces tends toward effective organization; by placing with these also the space to be used by the public, it is possible to obtain a maximum of control and at the same time the isolation of the stacks from the remainder of the building.

The tendency to associate the idea of a public library with that of an archives building, while natural because of certain similarities of function, may readily lead to initial errors in planning. The difference in these two classes of buildings centers around the proportion of the stack space to other portions of the plan. In a public library the stack space required may be only 20 to 30 per cent of the total cubic feet of space in the entire building, whereas in an archives building of considerable magnitude the stack space may readily reach 80 per cent of the total, with the result that the stacks become the dominating factor of the scheme. For this reason a detailed study of the stack unit is of first importance and carries with it the necessity of considering the methods to be adopted in filing the records.

It may be assumed that archives may be filed in one or more of a number of ways. They may be bound in volumes or may be unbound and kept as loose sheets. If in the latter form the sheets may be in folders, portfolios, or small portable box cases. While bound volumes and some other forms of filing are readily accommodated on library shelving of ordinary character and dimensions, loose sheets may in some cases require the vertical system of file cabinet, or the closed front stacks used in some of the European buildings. Furthermore, material of special value which requires to be segregated from the main mass of the records may require an unusual amount of vault space or other form of separate compartments, all of which has direct bearing on the type of stack unit to be adopted.

Having determined on the form to be adopted for filing records, the amount of material may readily be expressed in cubic feet; and in order to forecast the size of stacks required, it is necessary to interpret cubic feet of documents in terms of cubic feet of stack space and square feet of floor area in stack units.

With plain open shelving, and with shelving 12 inches deep, two tiers of shelves, placed back to back, aisles 3 feet 2 inches in width between each double tier of shelves, and a center aisle 5 feet wide, extending the length of the stack, each square foot of floor space may be made to furnish about $2\frac{1}{4}$ cubic feet of shelf space; or, expressing the shelf space in terms of cubic feet of stack space, a stack unit arranged as described should furnish cubic feet of actual shelf space equal to about one-third of the total cubic feet of space in the stack unit.

With the known volume of the records to be stored and the size and number of stacks deduced by the basis given, it yet remains to decide on the disposition of the stacks in the plan. Aside from the determining factors to be found in the local conditions in any particular case, the disposition of the stack unit in the plan will be much affected by the question of the degree to which concentration of the material is sought. In buildings having a number of stack units the extremes are represented on the one hand by stack units separated by wide light areas, and on the other hand by the stack units placed side by side in solid formation without intervening spaces, as in the block type of building. In a collection of records which promises to ultimately be of great magnitude, economical operation would naturally suggest the greatest concentration consistent with the proper use of material, while collections of more modest proportions would lend themselves to a more open, and therefore a more attractive, arrangement. In an extreme case concentration of stack units may be carried to the point of abandoning all idea of natural lighting, depending entirely on one of the various artificial lighting systems applicable to such an arrangement.

This, with a properly arranged heating and ventilating system and humidity control, gives a latitude in stack arrangement entirely independent of changing conditions of the outside atmosphere.

In the accommodations to be arranged for the administrative personnel, the manner and cost of operation and the extent of the operations determine the best arrangement.

For collections of limited volume and slow growth a few simply arranged offices and working spaces with their accessories, so placed in the plan that the stacks are easily reached and controlled, will meet the usual needs. In the extensive collections of great Governments, however, the subdivision of the space devoted to administrative functions becomes more of a problem. Here provision is to be made for several rooms for the archivist and his immediate assistants and a board room for meetings, space for the attendants of various classes, and spaces for sorting, cleaning, repairing, photographing, and cataloguing, all arranged as may best serve the inter-related purposes of the different parts of the building.

Viewing the archives building from the standpoint of that restricted portion of the general public who become users of the records, that plan would undoubtedly be looked upon as the most successful, which gives the freest use of the archives consistent with their character as public documents. However, unlike the conditions obtaining in a public library, the users of archives are dealing with original records, the loss of which would be irreparable, and a large reading room open to the free circulation of the public must be replaced by some arrangement that permits the exercise of supervision in the least objectionable way, the main reading room for the public with its reference library being supplemented by having a number of small rooms for individual use in research work.

The ideal arrangement would, perhaps, be one so placed that the circulation between the reading room and the stacks, as well as the circulation between the reading room and the public corridors, is in intimate relation with the delivery desk. The concentration of control at that point, both for the general reading room and the research rooms, and such rooms as the public may require for copying by photography or other means, gives the necessary control without a too obvious and objectionable supervision.

The problem of housing archives has the quality of drawing down on the designer a sense of responsibility to posterity that very few other problems possess. A successful plan calls for a directness of treatment entirely free from strained efforts for monumental effects secured by the sacrifice of the real needs. Simplicity of conception will make for content in the archivist and comfort to the user, while a bad plan means anathemas visited on the memory of the designer for generations to come. Whatever degree of success be achieved,

the plan of an archives building demands a careful study of the details and of those intimate relations of the various functions, which have been merely touched on in this very brief outline of the general subject.

THE PROBLEM OF ARCHIVE CENTRALIZATION WITH REFERENCE TO LOCAL CONDITIONS IN A MIDDLE WESTERN STATE.

By THEODORE CALVIN PEASE.

The subject with a small part of which this paper will treat—the centralization of local archives in the United States—is one on which I think it is as yet impossible to generalize. The elements of the problem are too complex, varying with the nature of the records, the use to which they are put, and the local facilities for preserving them, so that a different solution is required in each section and almost in each State. As to the general principles that should underlie all the various cases we can at present hardly speak with authority. Accordingly, I shall venture only to present to you certain conclusions of my own, applicable perhaps in a measure to conditions in a single State—conclusions based partly on my observations in a good many Illinois county courthouses, partly on the compilation of the data from all the counties of that State. In presenting them I profess that I consider them a contribution of but the humblest sort toward the formulation of principles in any degree capable of broad application or even of use in Illinois itself.

If within the limits that I have thus set myself, I may be permitted to dogmatize, I would say first, that any scheme of centralization must be executed throughout local depositories uniformly. It must be possible for the investigator to apply a simple set of rules and to determine in a moment whether the material he seeks is to be found in the central or in the local depository. Of course, this statement should not be taken as denying in any sense the necessity of removing immediately to a place of safety a precious document subject in a local depository record office to imminent danger of destruction by fire or decay. Yet such cases should be regarded as the exceptions to a general rule, which should be positively adhered to in general.

A second question is really the most difficult question of all—that as to what records should be centralized. In fact, this question can be answered from at least two widely diverse points of view. First I may take the one that seems to merit the most immediate attention at present, and assume that the material to be centralized is that of value to the historian or more generally to the social scientist. Having stated this answer in broad terms, let me hasten to

limit it from another side. The archivist should not consider centralizing any set or series of records likely to be used in the business of the county for the purpose for which it was originally designed. I might go further and say that ordinarily a record should not be removed to a central depository until the enlightened public opinion of the local community has been reconciled to its departure. The archivist should always place himself eye to eye with the member of the local community. He should remember that the record in question may be dear to local sentiment or pride. He should try even to appreciate the point of view of those who hold that the record was originally made by a considerable expenditure of local moneys or by the fees received from persons residing in the community, and that, accordingly, a sense of pecuniary ownership should be soothed by an appeal to local generosity. Above all, he should remember that he is dealing with a democracy and must respect its opinion. He must understand that he can not, like Plato's physician to slaves, rush about from one patient to another and insist on the dose for each; rather, he must deal as a physician with freemen and not attempt a cure till he has won and convinced the reason of his patient. By any other course he will inevitably lay up trouble for himself and will endanger the prosperity of the archive work he has at heart. In centralizing a given body of records he may even find it advisable to secure a specific act of the legislature directing the work, and to approach the local custodian in the character of a fellow-servant of the Commonwealth anxious only to carry out its laws.

In determining what records in a county are of current use and what are not in a county, the archivist will find usually that the convenience of the clerk has laid down his solution for him. The records of most common reference will be shelved in the office, or, if the county is so fortunate, in the vault. Those that have outlived their usefulness will be relegated to a storage vault or perhaps to a dust bin or attic. These last for the present should be the ones to be considered as subjects for centralization.

In deciding which of these are worth taking it is probably well to bear in mind that ordinarily various books or papers referring to the same transaction should not be separated to different depositories. For example, in the case of the records of courts, case papers, fee books, dockets, etc., should not be separated from the volumes containing the court records of the cases to which they refer. In the case of probate records it is unwise to separate the proceedings of the court from the various separate records of wills, inventories, appraisements, sales, etc. And other instances might be cited. Sometimes the principle just suggested may be violated for the moment, when it is important to save from destruction a record,

cognate volumes to which are in use; but always the intention should be ultimately to reunite the series.

The question next arises, What records under these circumstances are fit subjects of centralization? At present, from the point of view of the Illinois record offices, not a very extensive or valuable set of materials. The most valuable field, perhaps, is in the sets of early election returns, which for the days of viva voce elections afford valuable information as to party alignments and unions. Next, perhaps, come the early assessors' and collectors' records, with the earlier records of tax judgments; though in most States afflicted with the general property tax, these records in more recent years are a better index to effrontery and ability in tax dodging than to anything else. The county commissioners' or supervisors' record, the record of the county's government, though but little used, is the record that most frequently stands as a monument to local pride, and a wise archivist will hesitate long ere he touches it. The records of criminal cases are of prime value to the student of social conditions in the past. But these records too often are in the same books with chancery records, which no local abstractor or worker in land titles will as yet suffer to be touched, any more than he will part with the local records of deeds and mortgages. Finally, the archivist will find that much old record material is of as little value to the historian as to the county official, and this may well, under the provisions of laws providing for the destruction of specific bodies of material from time to time, be committed to the flames.

I have reserved for the last the phase of centralization which I think is the one that will confront us in the future—that of establishing central depositories for records of importance as legal monuments rather than as historical sources. As nearly as can be told at present, most rural counties in the Middle Western States are not apt to increase amazingly in population and wealth; and while they should be compelled forthwith without exception, to construct fireproof vaults or detached offices for the records they have at present, it is probably too much to expect them to house in such fashion the accumulations of future centuries. This can be done most economically in a central repository, or perhaps in several located in various sections of a State. As time goes on it will be found that a county's records of its early land transfers, chancery partitions, wills, settlements of estates, and executions, while still important legal monuments, will be written more and more in full into abstracts of title, so that immediate reference to them is no longer common. Such records from the various counties of the State can be assembled for certain specified dates in a central repository, to be recruited continually with accessions of advancing dates, as time goes on and the local record offices become crowded. They will be

there, neither as of antiquarian nor as of scientific interest, but solely as the legal monuments of the commonwealth.

In closing, let me reiterate briefly that the centralization of local records into State depositories should be considered from two different aspects: One is concerned with removing to a place of safety and convenience records important to the social scientist, but of no further use for the purpose to which they were originally designed. The other looks to relieving a hundred-odd small local depositories of early records, important as legal monuments, but likely in the future to be less and less used day by day, by depositing them in a central archive repository, where they may be preserved economically, both for the use of the student and for the ease of mind of the title holder.

THE REPAIRING AND BINDING OF ARCHIVES.

By WILLIAM BERWICK.

The system of repairing manuscripts in the Library of Congress was adopted, about 16 years ago, as an experiment based upon Father Ehrle's experiments and the methods in the Library of the Vatican and set forth by him before the conference of archivists at St. Gall, Switzerland. Tested, developed, and adapted to our own peculiar needs here in America, it has proven fully competent to all the demands made upon it; and its basic principles may now safely be regarded as correct and the best known, so far as absolute preservation and repair are concerned. It is elastic and can be made to yield splendid results where time and expense are important factors as well as being ideal where these two factors are subordinate to the historical value of the manuscripts involved.

We are constantly asked by librarians and historical societies for particulars as to our methods, and our advice has been followed with profit. The subject is a large one. I myself have been working at this business since 18 years of age, and am only too well aware of the fact that, though we have solved thousands of problems, there are thousands more still confronting us. They arise daily; I could almost say with truth that every individual manuscript presents something of a new problem; and, added to our repairing difficulties, there is one that I may be pardoned for mentioning, I hope. It is that of intelligently dealing with the State or city official who has only an hour to spare before having to catch a train and wants to learn all about repairing manuscripts in that time, so as to practice on the work when reaching home.

To those of you who may have had instruction in manual training in cabinet or forge work in the technical schools, no more need be said. The difficulties encountered by the man of untrained hands,

no matter how great his intelligence, are many. As with dancing, the intelligent man can readily see the movements to be made—in other words, get them into his head—but getting them into his feet is another matter. As an instance, a very small difficulty experienced by a university woman to whom I had, unofficially, given some instruction, was that in placing the hinge strips upon a manuscript she found that they failed to stick at either end and she had to lift up and repaste the ends with a small brush. This wasted time and was annoying. What was the matter? Why didn't the ends stick? She had pasted the entire strip. Said I, "When you lift up the strip after pasting it the pressure of your fingers at either end removes the paste, so it won't stick there." "Well," said she, "even so, I have to pick the strips up, don't I? So how can that be helped?" "Why," said I, "moisten your fingers with paste before picking up the strip." Simple? Columbus and the egg.

To repair manuscripts, tools are necessary; and, while certain conditions require special tools, the usual daily needs are few. A letter-press, not smaller than 15 by 20 inches. This is for pressing the manuscripts in the various stages of repair, for it can be laid down, as a general rule, that a manuscript that has been moistened should never be allowed to dry out except under pressure. A bundle of wood-pulp boards (which I shall hereafter refer to as boards), cut slightly smaller than the bed of the press. It is between these that manuscripts are placed while drying, both in and out of the press. Wooden boards and weights for lightly pressing manuscripts (bricks covered with manila paper will do excellently for this); a double boiler, in which to make paste; a couple of paste brushes (one large round one and one quite small one); a tin flour can, in which to keep your flour; a bone paper cutter or folder; a knife with a 6-inch blade, such as bookbinders use, and which must be kept very sharp; a steel eraser, which must also be kept very sharp, for scraping the edges of patches; a sheet of zinc, on which to cut and trim the manuscripts; a steel straight edge, about 18 inches long, and one 10 inches long; a heavy table, whose height from the floor should be properly gauged to the workman; a large sponge and water basin. Then there is needed a small sack of the best bleached flour for making the paste; a small sack only, for it is difficult to keep flour from becoming wormy even though you store the sack in the tin canister. The recipe for the paste it is unnecessary to give here. I will only say that such paste can be used until it becomes sour, when it is best for the health and disposition of the repairer to make up a new lot.

Before any real repair work is done upon manuscripts they should be cleaned and pressed; that is, all the wrinkles removed and the smudgings of dirt lessened, as patching can not be done properly unless the sheet of paper is perfectly smooth. To accomplish this, if

the manuscript is much begrimed but the paper still retains its life, it should be immersed in warm (not hot) water, in a flat pan similar to a photographer's developing tray, and rocked gently for a time. This is a perfectly safe proceeding for any manuscript dating before the year 1800 that is not mildewed or brittle; after that date the quality of the ink is doubtful, and, though much of the writing of the first decade of the nineteenth century is safe, too much care can not be used in dealing with it. Any manuscript in ink that has the slightest tendency to run must never, of course, be moistened. The difficulties encountered in the aniline and cheapened inks of the early twenties and thirties are many and varied, and, while there are methods by which they can be handled with comparative safety, such a discussion can have but little interest here.

After the tray bath the manuscript is removed and placed between fine-grained towels or sheets of blotting paper stretched flat on the table and the upper towel or blotter rubbed with gentle pressure for a few moments. Never under any circumstances rub in the slightest upon a damp manuscript. If the manuscripts are not soiled or in need of a bath they should be sandwiched between sheets of damp (not wet) newspaper (never the Sunday colored supplement)—a single sheet of manuscript, then a single sheet of newspaper, another manuscript, another news sheet, etc. After three or four hours the manuscripts, removed from the news sheets, should be placed between sheets of smooth, white, unglazed pulpboard—a single sheet of manuscript between two sheets of pulpboard. The pulpboard is sufficiently porous to absorb moisture, and best adapted for this particular need. A pile of these may be placed at one time in the press. Here they should stay about 10 hours, care having been taken in placing them between the boards that no edges are turned or wrinkles folded in. At the end of that time the manuscripts are dried out perfectly and present a marvelously better appearance.

After taking the manuscripts from between the boards, divide them into several groups. In group 1 will be placed the manuscripts that need no repairing, for there really are a few such. Group 2 will be those that need repairing only, the paper of which still retains sufficient life to justify passing them over for some years after repairing without covering with crêpeline. Group 3 will be those that need both repairing and crêpelining; and group 4 will be those manuscripts written only on one side of the sheet, which can be best and quickest repaired by lining. If a manuscript consists of two separate leaves, and the writing is hard to decipher, it is best to place a small pencil mark on the lower right-hand corner of page 2 and a similar mark on the lower left-hand corner of page 3. These marks save time when reassembling the collection after the repairing is finished. This reassembling or collating must be, for the repairer,

a purely mechanical operation. He has no time to become acquainted with the historical character or contents of the manuscripts he handles. I am often asked if the old papers that pass through my hands are not most interesting. I suppose they are; but the repairer sees only a damaged paper, and he has little time to give to Washington's or Ben Franklin's handwriting, which may happen to be on that paper. Considering the fact that so many of the manuscripts in the Library of Congress relate to the Revolutionary War, it is, perhaps, just as well for the sake of my feelings that I have no time to read them, for I was born a British subject in London.

One of the first things to remember in repairing manuscripts is the necessity of saving all scraps of old paper that are unmarked by writing. Their value as repair material is inestimable. From this accumulated store of paper pieces should be selected as near as possible the color, thickness, and weight of the manuscript to be repaired. Some attention must be paid to this point, for it should be remembered that after the patches are put on they become a part of the original manuscript, and so share in all the influences that work upon it during the remaining processes. If there is considerable difference between the manuscript and the patch, moisture of the paste, etc., will cause uneven pull when the document is drying out in the press, with results that are oftentimes disappointing and always unsatisfactory. Let us suppose we have made a proper selection of paper for the patch. Shave or bevel the edge of the patch and also the side of the manuscript on which there is the least writing. The edge of your knife must be kept keen for this, which is a slow and delicate operation, similar to that of the beveled joints of the cabinetmaker, only with us the material is, of course, paper instead of wood. Now paste the edge of the manuscript requiring the patch and lay the latter on the manuscript. Lay a sheet of clean paper over it and rub it down well with the bone folder; then place it between boards and press tightly. Leave it in the press until dry, which will take about three or four hours. If after taking it from the press the patch shows a thick edge, scrape it lightly with the steel eraser. If the manuscript is frail it should be covered with crêpeline; so proceed as follows: Put a thin coat of paste on the manuscript with the brush, and carefully lay the crêpeline on; then place between sheets of paraffin paper, put between boards, and put in press for 15 minutes; then remove from the press, take off the paraffin paper, and again place between sheets of pulp board, under very slight pressure, until dry. One side of the manuscript must not be crêpeline unless the other is also, for the resultant unequal strain will curl it with a curl that no amount of pressure can ever reduce. Above all, the operator should beware of attempting any repair

work upon a manuscript of value unless he knows exactly how the paper will act during the process. Sheets badly torn, but written only on one side, should be lined with ordinary book paper, using paste for that purpose. Badly torn sheets covered with writing on one side only, but with an indorsement or address, should be lined; but the lining sheet should first have an opening cut therein at the proper place and sufficiently large to expose the indorsement or address. This opening should be cut with the knife, using the small straightedge as a guide. Never use scissors where a straight cut is need, for a straight cut longer than an inch or two is impossible with scissors.

A large part of the repair work depends upon a knowledge of paper and an ability to recognize and foresee the way in which paper will act under treatment. The single difference between laid and woven paper, which is discernible at a glance, becomes pluralized fourfold when the paper has aged; and to one unexpected action in paper in good condition is to be added a dozen when the life of the sheet is nearly gone. With some old paper the fiber remains and can be built upon and trusted; with others it crumbles to dust at the touch. It is no unusual thing to find your paper dried out like tinder and as brittle as the thinnest of thin Japanese wood.

A few years ago the record book of Apprentices of the Cutler's Guild of London was sent to the Library of Congress to be repaired. It was in terrible condition—so terrible that it took weeks just to separate the leaves preliminary to repairing them. Sir Purdon Clarke, at that time director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, in New York, saw some of the sheets before they were repaired, and expressed doubt that anything could be done with them. When he was shown the finished pages he said it was marvelous. Knowing Sir Purdon's knowledge of wonderful things, we felt somewhat elated over his opinion of the work. Now, mark the difference. Sir Purdon called one of his staff, showed him the finished sheets and one or two of those still unrepaired, and the first question the man asked was, "How many sheets can you do in an hour?" It is true that such a question may properly be asked with certain classes of manuscripts, but to assume such an attitude toward a manuscript that is historically priceless shows a sad lack of proper appreciation of the value of the records of the past to us.

Of course it is not every manuscript that needs the very best and most careful work, and where collections are large some of the processes may be dispensed with. I am quite sure, however, that any manuscript that is treated in what might be called a first-aid-to-the-injured manner will, in the course of 20 years or more, have to be repaired again, and this time it may be found that the necessity

of undoing the former repair work will not add much to the life or condition of the manuscript.

I am well aware that this is only a very sketchy outline of the work of preparing manuscripts, yet I do not see how it can be otherwise. Could I note every particular point that could be recalled and arrange them in symmetrical rows of what-to-does and what-not-to-does, the sum total of them all would add up to 5,000 directions or rules, for the very first manuscript you would take up to repair you would probably find a need for the five thousand and first rule, which would not be there.

I have not touched upon the organization of a repair department, because that is a matter that depends largely upon conditions; yet some attention must be paid to this point. A record of papers received must be kept and a working system devised for the proper parceling out of manuscripts among the repairers in such wise that individual manuscripts can be generally kept track of, and that collation, after the collection is finished, is not a difficult and time-wasting job. In the Library of Congress we have ruled sheets and a system of numbering. The manuscripts lose their identity while in the repair room, and we know them only by numbers. As I said before, we have little time for reading them or noticing them in any other way than that of repair necessities. Again, this is just as well, for it is sometimes hard, even for a repairer, to escape poetic justice, as was the case when I repaired the Franklin manuscripts of the American Philosophical Society. I asked Dr. Hays how it happened that the papers were in such a terrible condition; many of them were stained hopelessly and even had bits of mud still sticking to them. "Why," said he, "the British soldiers broke open the house and scattered these papers over the street and stamped them into the gutters when Sir William Howe captured Philadelphia during the Revolutionary War." So, there was I, an ex-Britisher, trying to repair the damage done by other Britishers 130 years before.

This is but one of the sufferings of a repairer. There are many others; and if, when you organize your repair shop, you should desire that your repairers live to a ripe old age, let me beg of you to establish this rule: All collections of manuscripts are withdrawn entirely from consultation and can not, under any circumstances, be used by historians while they are in the repairer's hands. This is a rule the absence of which will break the spirit of an Edison. They try hard to maintain it in the Library of Congress, but now and again they fail, and the effect of that failure is pushing me slowly toward either a sanitarium or an asylum. Therefore, if you desire long years of valiant service from your repairers, I beg of you to inscribe this rule in letters of fire over the door of your repair room.

In conclusion, it may not be amiss to say a few words as to binding. The advantages of binding collections of papers are too obvious to enlarge upon, so I will confine myself to a few general statements of the means of bringing manuscripts into this desirable condition.

After cleaning and pressing, the documents may be mounted upon sheets of uniform size and of a quality of paper dependent upon the expenditure permitted. Good quality white linen ledger is excellent, and it should be cut so that the manuscript can be mounted thereon with the grain of the paper, the grain of the mounting sheet running vertically to insure flexibility in opening after binding, a thing impossible if the grain of the paper be horizontal. A good quality rope-manila paper is cheaper, is the strongest of papers, and, in the lighter weights, possesses great flexibility. Its color, under some circumstances, may be considered an objectionable feature, and manuscripts mounted on this paper never are as pleasing to the eye as when white paper is used for the mounting sheet. Manuscripts should never be mounted unless they are to be bound at once, as handling in mounted form while unbound greatly increases the liability of damage. The mounting sheet should allow at least a full inch and a half on the left beyond the established size of the page desired for the binder to fold and stitch, and the established size of the page depends upon the average size of the manuscripts to be bound. A margin of 2 or 3 inches all around the manuscript is ample, but if there are many extra large papers in the collection a size must be decided upon that will accommodate them with the least amount of cutting and hinging and, at the same time, not increase unnecessarily the size of the volume for the sake of a small percentage of the papers. A good average size for the mounting sheet is 10 inches wide by 14 inches high, exclusive of the necessary extra margin for the binder. In the case of military muster rolls, returns, etc., which are apt to be unusual in size and proportions, an average should be struck and the rolls cut and hinged thereto. Drastic as this may seem, it is, in the end, a safeguard and protection to the manuscript, as the risk of damage by awkward investigators is much greater to large papers than to large papers cut and hinged to a smaller size with reenforced folds that serve as a protection. The general method of mounting is with strips of the lightest weight architect's tracing linen, about one-half inch wide, impinging equally upon the mounting sheet and the manuscript, with a fraction of an inch free from paste, to permit free play to the hinge.

I give these details as to mounting to impress the idea that manuscripts can not be successfully mounted in blank books, as much as anything else. The only safe way is to mount your papers upon loose sheets and then bind the sheets. There are many things to be considered other than those I have mentioned, such as varying

the position of the manuscript hinge on the mounting sheet, so as to prevent a thick hump in one spot in the volume, which interferes with the binder doing a good job: but I will finish by advising that all bound volumes of manuscripts should be given the protection of a slide box for each volume.

Where manuscript volumes, like old letter books, journals, account books, official records, etc., are still in the original binding, it is best to strive to retain this binding as long as possible, for sentimental if for no other reasons. For such volumes a buckram-covered box with hinged flaps is best, some care being taken to have the snap fastenings or tie tapes so arranged as not to interfere with the boxes easily sliding in and out on the shelves, like books.

As to the size or thickness that should be allowed to a volume of bound manuscripts, any convenient number of sheets may be established; but a thickness of over 2 inches will be found cumbersome to handle, and with increase of difficulty in handling comes increased danger of accident to the manuscripts. The various forms of binding and different binding materials are of small moment compared with the work of bringing the manuscript material to the point where the binder is needed; and a knowledge of the various leathers and buckrams, finishes and letterings, etc., while desirable, is not essential where a competent foreman of binding can be consulted.

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APPENDIX B.

REPORT ON THE CONDITION OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS OF
THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY

By a Committee of Citizens:

NELSON B. GASKILL

WILLIAM M. JOHNSON

HIRAM E. DEATS

E. R. WALKER

WILLIAM LIBBEY

CARLOS E. GODFREY

JOSEPH S. FRELINGHUYSEN

THOMAS S. CHAMBERS

REPORT ON THE CONDITION OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS OF THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY.

By a committee of citizens, Nelson B. Gaskill, Hiram E. Deats, William Libbey, Joseph S. Frelinghuysen, William M. Johnson, E. R. Walker, Carlos E. Godfrey, Thomas S. Chambers.

I. CONDITION OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS.

Intelligence has no doubts as to the great importance of protecting and preserving public records. Public records are memory in the concrete. They are the links of civilization through the ages.

EUROPEAN ARCHIVES.

For centuries nearly every European country has systematically preserved its public records. In England, especially, will be found the British Museum and the Public Record Office, containing records for a thousand years, which are so accurately arranged as to be available easily for either historical purposes or as evidence in court.

AMERICAN ARCHIVES.

In the United States no methodical plan of archives for public documents was inaugurated during the first century of its existence.

Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Wisconsin, Illinois, and other States have in the years since the first centennial of our nation enacted legislation for the safeguarding and restoration of public records. The States of Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Alabama, Mississippi and others have especially illumined the way in this necessary work by establishing either a department of archives or a department of public records. For more than a quarter of a century the Bay State has continued the work, until now its records of the past are almost wholly retrieved and methods are ordered by law protecting records in the making and the keeping, from the smallest hamlet to the greatest of municipal departments; and this undertaking has been more recently and successfully followed in the States of New York and Connecticut. In this endeavor they are but responding to an impulse common and natural to all people as the years of their maturity lengthen.

Of all the States of the Union New Jersey has premier cause and greatest need for care in protecting its records of the past and in safeguarding the making of its records now and for the future.

CONDITION OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS OF NEW JERSEY.

The innumerable details associated with this broad subject can be more readily and intelligently grasped by speaking of them in terms of generality and furnishing specific illustrations under appropriate titles.

RETAINED STATE PAPERS.

It is a matter of serious concern to know that, with respect to the ancient records of New Jersey, there exist to-day in the statehouse thousands of pieces of original manuscripts scattered here and there in boxes or tied up in bundles and otherwise, receiving practically no care or attention, and which are more or less accessible to the marauder. Necessarily they are not accessible for public inspection, nor have they been collated or calendared, but a superficial examination of them demonstrates their historical value, pertaining as they do to most every phase of the government and of the development of New Jersey from 1676 to 1825 and later.

ABSTRACTED RECORDS.

One of the most alarming features connected with our ancient records has been their abstraction, a practice which has been in vogue for more than a century; and our investigations show that a large portion of them are now possessed and controlled by private interests, to the exclusion of the citizens of this State who are by law entitled to a gratuitous examination of them for legitimate purposes.

On their face these papers are public documents of New Jersey and constitute part of our most precious and valuable treasures. These missing documents consist in part of such manuscripts of exceptional value as the royal grants—leases and releases—of the territory and government of the Province of New Jersey and of East and West Jersey, respectively; the quintipartite deed dividing the Province into East and West Jersey; the concessions and agreements between the proprietors and inhabitants of West Jersey; and the instrument surrendering the powers of government of the proprietors to the Crown in 1702.

The remainder of the manuscripts missing are chiefly the royal instructions to the governors; messages of the governors to the general assembly; journals of the governor and council, and of the general assembly; petitions and memorials to the governor, and to the legislative assembly; correspondence and official letter books of the governors; journals of the provincial congress; petitions, memorials, and other miscellaneous papers connected therewith; journals of the first constitutional convention; minutes and dockets of the various courts; town and township records; boundary-line papers;

muster and pay rolls, and other military papers; vital statistics; church records; and a variety of miscellaneous papers and records of historical importance incident to the established government and to the social and economic condition of the people, extending from 1664 down to the early portion of the nineteenth century. A selection of these missing papers will be found calendared in Section II of this report.

Causes of abstraction.—The abstraction of our ancient records from the various departments of the State government and from the municipalities thereof is not a new discovery. It may be traced to three distinct causes:

First. In the time of the past the public records of New Jersey were regarded by their proper custodians as the private property of the individual holding office, because under the fee system he was required to purchase all of his stationery, and for this reason many records and official papers were retained by the retiring official from office. This was the personal observation of Mr. William A. Whitehead, and by him publicly expressed as early as 1854. (N. J. Hist. Society Proceedings, 1st series, Vol. VII, p. 88; see id., Vol. IX, p. 5.)

Second. There can be no question but that many of the public records were also obtained by persons through the medium of the courteous public officials, and otherwise acquired by them under the lax system which then—and now to some extent—prevailed in many of the public repositories, occasioned in part by the overcrowded condition of the record vaults. The easy manner in which many papers of historical interest were procurable in the bygone days is exemplified by the number that can now be found filed with the Revolutionary pension claims of Jerseyman in the Pension Bureau at Washington.

Third. There is ample evidence to show that many very valuable records were obtained by persons after they had been cast away from their proper places by their indifferent and careless custodians. This practice is clearly pointed out in a statement made by the late William Nelson in the Paterson Guardian for March 10, 1913, when favoring the passage of a pending legislative measure providing for the preservation of our public records, which, in part, read:

There is need for something of the kind. The carelessness regarding the old records of counties, townships, and even cities is deplorable. When the Passaic County records were moved to the new courthouse a number of older books were thrown away. I found among them the original record book of Saddle River Township and have it yet. Sometimes the descent of estates depends upon these records. Yet they are thrown away as of no value by people who either do not take the trouble to inquire about their importance or do not care if they do know.

The same thing happened in Essex County, and I suppose it has everywhere. By and by a case will come up in the courts that needs the information con-

tained in these records to secure the rights of an individual or a family. Meantime they have been destroyed, as I have outlined.

I believe this bill is a necessity and outlines a method by which such difficulties will be prevented in the future. * * *

Disposition of abstracted papers.—Usually the abstracted archives referred to are kept intact in certain families for generations; sometimes they are divided among them and by them given away to individuals, historical and genealogical societies within and beyond the State, or sold at auction in the larger cities of the United States. They have otherwise been disposed of by will to private interests; abstracted in bulk and offered for sale; and in rare instances they have inadvertently reverted back to the State, and have been otherwise acquired by consent, by purchase, and by demand. These varied conditions are briefly illustrated, as follows:

Papers retained in private families.—The original grants—leases and releases—given by James, Duke of York, for the territory and government of the Province of New Jersey, and of East and West Jersey, respectively, accompanied with near 200 kindred papers, are now possessed by a certain family residing in an adjoining State, as is the quintipartite deed for the division of the Province into East and West Jersey. A calendar of a few of these papers will more particularly illustrate their value:

Original lease for a year from James, Duke of York, to Lords Berkeley and Carteret for the whole of New Jersey, dated June 23, 1664.

Original release of the same, June 24, 1664.

Original lease for a year from James, Duke of York, to Sir George Carteret for half of northern New Jersey, dated July 28, 1674.

Original release of the same, July 29, 1674.

Original instructions from Sir George Carteret for the government of his Province, July 31, 1674.

Original quintipartite deed between Sir George Carteret, William Penn, Nicholas Lucas, Gawen Lawrie, and Edward Byllinge, dated July 1, 1676, dividing the Province into East and West Jersey.

Original release of Elizabeth Carteret, widow and executrix, and the trustees of Sir George to the first 12 proprietors for all of East Jersey, dated January 1, 1681-2.

Original release of James, Duke of York, to Edward Byllinge, William Penn, Gawen Lawrie, Nicholas Lucas, John Eldridge, and Edmund Warner for West Jersey, dated August 6, 1680.

Original deed from William Penn to Robert Barclay for one twenty-fourth of East Jersey, dated September 22, 1682.

Original order of the proprietors relative to laying out of lands, and censuring Govs. Lawrie and Rudyard for their manner of doing it, dated July 3, 1685.

Revocation of all Gov. Lawrie's powers by order of the proprietors, 1687.

The deed from James, Duke of York, for West Jersey, dated August 6, 1680, and "The concessions and agreements of the proprietors, freeholders, and inhabitants of West Jersey," bearing date

March 3, 1675-1676, was a few years ago possessed by a certain person residing in New Jersey.

More than a century and a quarter ago a certain official of one of the most important record offices of the State abstracted nearly all the records of his office upon his retirement therefrom, and his successor did likewise when he withdrew some 16 years later. These papers are now held intact by their respective descendants residing in New Jersey. The records of the first official referred to have been examined by a member of this committee. They contain matter of rare historical interest, but they were too numerous for us to calendar. They are packed away loosely and otherwise in boxes and trunks in sufficient quantity to load a single wagon. The present head of the family expresses a willingness to turn them over to the State authorities should anyone be duly authorized to receive them.

There is said to be a large collection of State documents belonging to a family previously of New Jersey, in storage in a neighboring city, which will probably be offered for sale at auction in the near future. The advice comes from a reliable source, but for prudent reasons no specific inquiry has been made of them.

Private donation of records.—In the course of research we have been enabled to obtain many lists of valuable State papers which have been donated by persons to certain individuals and other private interests, a selection of which will be found calendared under Section II. It is noteworthy to mention that some of them have been possessed by Virginia families and that the famous Answer to the Elizabethtown Bill in Chancery was given to a certain genealogical society.

Disposition of records by will.—One of the most remarkable instances coming to our knowledge in the disposition of public records is one in which a certain prominent citizen of the State, who after disposing to a certain person by his last will and testament, duly probated, "many documents relating to the general history of the State, its settlement, etc." (evidently state papers), bequeathed to certain private interests "my bound volumes of manuscripts lettered 'New Jersey Manuscripts,' 'Boundary Papers,' original 'Minutes of the Provincial Congress,' 'Minutes of the Legislature,' and other New Jersey miscellaneous documents that may not be especially desired by members of my family; * * *." The "Minutes of the Legislature" more specifically refers to the original manuscript journals of the general assembly for the years 1751-1752, 1777, 1778, 1779, 1780-1781, 1782-1784, 1786-1788-1790, 1806-1808.

Acquisition of records.—In 1870 the late Hon. Garret D. W. Vroom by mere chance obtained several invaluable manuscript rec-

ords from a negro man servant of a deceased statesman, who was ignorant of their value, and who found them in clearing up the house and office of his late employer in Trenton. They consisted of the Journal of the Governor and Council of East Jersey from December 1, 1682, to April 29, 1703; Minutes of the Assembly from November 10, 1703, to January 31, 1710; and the Journal of the Council of Safety in 1777-1778. They had been in private possession for no one knows how long, and upon their recovery they were immediately deposited in the State library by Judge Vroom.

Acquisition of records by consent.—Some eight years ago Dr. Carlos E. Godfrey, in pursuit of his official duties, discovered a quantity of original muster rolls of New Jersey troops in the Revolutionary War in possession of the State authorities of Massachusetts at Boston. Upon representations made to the executive of that Commonwealth the latter induced the legislature to consent to their return to the State of New Jersey.

Acquisition of records by purchase.—On April 6, 1910, by direction of Gov. Fort, the Docket of the Supreme Court of the Colony of New Jersey from 1763 to 1770, and the Docket of the Burlington County Court from June Term, 1765, to October Term, 1772, were purchased at public auction in New York City.

Again, from another auction house in New York, on June 17, 1913, was purchased by direction of Gov. Fielder the original Minutes of the Governor and Council from September 26 to October 26, 1770, and from March 11 to May 16, 1774; besides many other interesting and valuable manuscript state documents of New Jersey.

Acquisition of records by demand.—About 1873, Col. James S. Kiger, formerly of the adjutant general's office, discovered an immense quantity of original military papers and other kindred records at the residence of a former State official, then deceased, who had abstracted them from the files of his office. Upon demand they were surrendered to the State.

Without being more definite, some years ago upon the death of a certain prominent State official, the vaults of his record office were ransacked after business hours by certain persons having access thereto, for the purpose of gathering together what they conceived were the private papers of the deceased. Subsequently, however, one of the principal auction houses in a neighboring city issued a catalogue for circulation, containing a calendar of the individual manuscripts alleged to belong to the estate of the deceased official, with an announced date of their sale.

Nearly every item offered for sale in the catalogue showed upon its face that the original was a state document. In abundance were to be found such important documents as the original Minutes of the Council and General Assembly, Messages of the Governors, Petitions

to the General Assembly, and other innumerable papers and records belonging directly to the decedent's public office of the greatest historical importance. Upon the personal demand of the governor on the executors of this estate for the immediate return of these papers to the statehouse, near 2,000 priceless records were restored to the archives of the State. It is fair to say, however, that it is not believed that the official referred to ever claimed ownership to the papers in question.

Within the last two years another large collection of New Jersey state documents of unusual historical value was advertised to be sold by a certain auction house in New York City, alleged to belong to the estate of a prominent citizen of New Jersey. Following the precedent established in the former case, Gov. Fielder instructed the attorney general to demand their immediate return to the statehouse, or upon failure thereof to institute proceedings for their recovery. Through this agency the collection was promptly surrendered and delivered in Trenton to the attorney specially retained to enforce their return.

A selection of some of the most important papers of the few thousand that have either been offered for sale or sold at public auction within the past 15 years have been calendared in Section III to illustrate their general character.

ABSTRACTION OF SPECIAL DOCUMENTS.

Collections of the secretary of state.—In the Harvard University Library will be found, in the Sparks's collection, a series of transcripts made in June, 1826, by Jared Sparks, the historian, selected from originals then in the office of the secretary of state of New Jersey, of which the following is the inventory, indicating that these papers were then in the possession of the State:

Memorial of the New Jersey Brigade, April 17, 1779. Letters from Washington, 1777–1780, 1782, 1783. Letters from Gen. Heath, Robert Morris, Franklin, Henry Laurens.

Proceedings of a commission, March 26, 1777, etc., to regulate the price of labor.

Declaration of Maryland, 1778.

Convention at Hartford, 1780.

Secretary of Congress, August 24, 1785, to the governor of New Jersey.

Letters of Abraham Clark, 1780, 1781.

Correspondence of Washington and William Maxwell, 1779.

Letters from New Jersey troops, 1779.

Letters of William C. Houston (1780), John Fell (1779), Nathaniel Scudder (1778), Washington (1777), Elias Boudinot (1777), and Daniel Colman (1777).

It is scarcely necessary to say that none of the originals in the above list of documents can now be found anywhere in the State's possession.

Livingston's correspondence.—In 1848, by authority of a joint resolution of the legislature approved March 9 of that year, a publication was issued, entitled "Selections from the Correspondence of the Executive of New Jersey from 1776 to 1786." It necessarily contained the correspondence from and to William Livingston, governor of New Jersey from 1776 to 1790.

The published senate journal for January 17, 1848, as does the resolution itself, shows that the originals of this correspondence were then located both in the State library and the office of the secretary of state. But, like the collection of manuscripts which Jared Sparks copied in the latter office in 1826, the originals have disappeared from the archives of the State. The collection was undoubtedly abstracted from the State, and afterwards disintegrated, as evidenced by the fact that the original letters from Jonathan D. Sergeant to the speaker of the assembly, dated Baltimore, February 6, 1777, and from Abraham Clark to the speaker of the assembly, dated Baltimore, February 8, 1777—represented in the publication referred to at pages 24 and 25, respectively—now form part of the Emmet Collection of Manuscripts in the New York Public Library and respectively known as items No. 795 and No. 2862.

However, in January, 1860, the original correspondence of Gov. Livingston's, then bound in seven large folio volumes and containing about 1,000 letters, was offered for sale to certain interests in New Jersey by Mr. C. B. Norton, of New York City. Subsequently, Mr. Norton disposed of the collection to Mr. Samuel L. M. Barlow, of New York; and after the death of the latter, it was acquired by a wealthy gentleman residing in New Jersey through a public sale effected in the American Art Galleries, in the city of New York, on February 8, 1890, for the sum of \$240. The auctioneer's catalogue described the Livingston Correspondence, in part, in the following language:

This famous collection of over 1,000 Letters, Petitions, &c., for the most part addressed to William Livingston, while he held the position of governor of New Jersey, is generally of an official character, the earliest, 1775, the latest, 1782, * * *. The whole carefully mounted and bound in 8 folio volumes, half Russia (in a wooden case), including a complete Index and Digest of the whole.

Without seeing this collection of manuscripts it is impossible to say whether it is composed of the same identical papers of Gov. Livingston's which was possessed by the State in 1848. It is sufficient to say, however, that when Chief Justice Green saw Mr. Norton's collection in January, 1860, he expressed a decided personal opinion that they were part of the official correspondence of a governor of New Jersey, and necessarily constituted a portion of the

archives of the State. (See N. J. Hist. Society Proceedings, 1st Series, Vol. IX, p. 5.)

Minutes of the provincial congress.—The original Minutes of the Provincial Congress of New Jersey in 1775 and 1776, once possessed by the State, were given away to certain private interests by the last will and testament of a gentleman probated many years ago.

Some 60 years ago the original memorials, petitions, and other communications presented to the provincial congress were possessed by a particular family in Virginia, who then turned them over to certain private interests in New Jersey, where they now remain.

Other papers presented before the provincial congress in 1775 and 1776 were offered for sale at auction in New York in November, 1915, but upon the demand of Gov. Fielder they were surrendered to the State.

Journals of the constitutional convention.—The manuscript journals of the convention which framed the first constitution of New Jersey in 1776, previously possessed by the State, are now in the custody and control of certain private interests.

Revolutionary military rolls.—By the language expressed in joint resolution No. VI, approved March 9, 1881 (Laws of 1881, p. 307), the muster and pay rolls of the troops of New Jersey in the Revolutionary War were loaned by the State authorities to the General Government at Washington for the purpose of verifying the claims against the United States for pension and bounty lands and were never returned to the State.

Other war rolls.—In a certain genealogical society of one of the New England States will be found several cavalry rolls of New Jersey troops engaged in the Pennsylvania Whisky Insurrection in 1794. They consist of the pay roll of the field and staff and the major's command of the Second New Jersey Cavalry, the pay rolls of Capts. Henry Vanderveer's and William Steel's troops, and the muster roll of Capt. Bernard Hanlon's troop from Trenton, which, of course, belong to the State of New Jersey.

In another State will be found a mass of original rolls of New Jersey troops for the year 1715, and on the face of them they are State property. They consist of the muster rolls of Col. Thomas Farmer's militia regiment, comprising seven companies, with a record of 579 officers and men; the muster roll of Capt. Joseph Seeley's company, "ye South Side of Cohansey, November the 16, Anno Dom. 1715," comprising 74 officers and men; the muster roll of Capt. Daniel Rumsey's company, "in ye county of Salem," comprising 134 officers and men; the muster roll of Capt. John Lloyd's company, "in Piles Grove in ye county of Salem," comprising 59 officers and men; the muster roll of Capt. Enloye's company, from Penns

Neck, Salem County, comprising 75 officers and men; and the muster roll of Lieut. Thomas Maskell's company, comprising 85 officers and men.

Legislative proceedings.—The first report of the public record commission, published in 1899, contains the following paragraph on page 4:

Your commissioners desire to call especial attention to the remarkable fact that there does not exist in New Jersey a complete set of the laws of the colony, province, and State; nor is there known to exist anywhere a complete record of the legislative proceedings from 1665.

With respect to the legislative proceedings on page 21 of this report the commission say:

The proceedings of the various legislative bodies of New Jersey during the proprietary or colonial period appear in all sorts of out of the way places: In the records of the Freehold or Middletown town meetings; in the records of the Monmouth county court of common right; in the records of the courts of Cape May, Salem, Burlington, and Woodbury; in the records of the supreme court at Trenton; in the book of patents and deeds, in the office of the secretary of state at Trenton; and perhaps elsewhere.

This statement is subsequently followed by a bibliography of the printed proceedings of the provincial assembly from 1710 to 1776, which shows that the proceedings for the following dates are not possessed by the State in the State library: December 6, 1710, to February 10, 1711; July 6, 1711, to July 16, 1711; December 7, 1713, to March 17, 1714; November 27, 1716, to January 26, 1717; April 8, 1718, to April 12, 1718; January 13, 1719, to March 28, 1719; March 7, 1722, to May 5, 1722; May 25, 1725, to August 23, 1725; December 9, 1727, to February 10, 1728; December 12, 1728, to January 9, 1729; May 7, 1730, to July 8, 1730; April 10, 1740, to July 31, 1740; October 2, 1741, to November 4, 1741;¹ October 10, 1743, to December 10, 1743;¹ October 9, 1746, to November 1, 1746; May 4, 1747, to May 9, 1747; October 21, 1748, to December 16, 1748; September 25, 1749, to October 20, 1749; June 3, 1754, to June 21, 1754; April 24, 1755, to April 26, 1755; March 9, 1756, to March 16, 1756;¹ October 10, 1757, to October 22, 1757.¹

This condition of our legislative proceedings creates a strong suspicion that many of these records were in the past abstracted from the collection intended to be kept by the State. Copy of many of these missing proceedings can be found in the Public Record Office in London, while others are to be found in certain public repositories in this country.

CONDITION OF MUNICIPAL RECORDS.

It was manifestly beyond the province of this committee to investigate the condition of the public records contained in more than

¹ Imperfect copies.

500 political divisions of the State. What we have said relative to the "causes of abstraction" of our ancient State records, page 5 [supra, p. 167], applies with equal force to the municipal records.

Legislative exposure.—The congested conditions and the loss and destruction of many of our municipal records have been exposed by the legislature in the preambles to chapter 190 of the Laws of 1883 (p. 236) and chapter 105 of the Laws of 1897 (p. 193). In other legislative acts provision has been made from time to time for the preservation of maps and other records which have become obscure or mutilated by use (Laws 1889, p. 49; id., p. 64; Laws 1902, p. 236; Laws 1915, p. 167).

Editorial exposure.—The editor of the Philadelphia Record, in the columns of his paper for May 31, 1915, broadly states the deplorable condition of all public records in the following language:

There is something peculiarly American in the condition of affairs revealed by the effort of the State of New Hampshire to prevent the sale in this city of interesting Revolutionary letters and papers which it claims were taken from the State archives. Whether they were or not there can be no doubt that it is true, as charged, that there has been the most shocking and inexcusable carelessness shown in the preservation of records, National, State, and municipal, in practically every part of the country. Documents of great historic interest and value have been given away, stolen, sold, or cast off as junk because the men supposed to look after them were too ignorant to know their importance or too dishonest to safeguard them. This is shown by the repeated appearance in sales of letters, papers, or records which are really official and which belong to the people as a whole. When they have passed into private hands it has generally been through crookedness or ignorant indifference to duty.

With the greater interest now taken in State and local historical matters it is probable that this dishonest practice is much less common than it was, but evil has already been done. Priceless papers relating to the Revolution and colonial history have been lost, and many belonging to the Civil War era are constantly turning up in private collections. This is all indicative of a very crude and imperfect civilization. Collectors are largely to blame, and after them the negligent custodians. It is to be hoped that in the twentieth century we will show more intelligence and honesty in the matter.

The editors of some of the leading newspapers of the State have expressed themselves, in part, as follows:

The Jersey (City) Journal, March 13, 1913: At present there is no place where old records can be kept, and many of them have been lost or thrown away as rubbish. This is true mainly of local municipal records, and in no section has the damage from ignorance or carelessness been more felt than in Jersey City, where many of the old minute books and other records have been lost.

The Sunday Call, February 27, 1916: The true and complete story of this State can not be told because of the carelessness and indifference with which its documents and masses of other material have been treated in the past. The history of Newark's 250 years is but imperfectly told as a result of the same neglect from early days. This is more or less true of every community in New Jersey, and it is a condition which this commonwealth shares with all of the others. Every now and then we read of one document or another of

priceless value being in the possession of some individual when it should be preserved for the benefit of all the people. * * * These old things have a certain practical educational value, distinct and apart from the sentimental. Properly preserved and intelligently made use of, they become a fixed asset to the State or the community where they are safely housed and exhibited. The modern public and private schools are steadily preparing the rising generation for a far keener appreciation of the history of the neighborhood in which one lives.

Elizabeth Daily Journal, February 29, 1916: Documents of great historical value are scattered throughout the State. Little effort has been made in the past to collect and file them in places of safety. Small interest has been taken in preserving masses of material relating to the past of our old Commonwealth, its separate counties and communities. * * * It is certainly high time that some definite action were taken in this direction.

New Brunswick Times, February 28, 1916: It is a matter of public knowledge that for years the public records and archives of the State and other political subdivisions, in more or less abundance, have frequently been catalogued and sold at public auction in the larger cities for fabulous sums. Some years ago a collection of several thousand pieces of valuable New Jersey State records, advertised to be sold at auction, were recovered for the State by Gov. Voorhees through a threat of their impoundment if they were not forthwith returned. Under similar circumstances and in like manner, another quantity was recently acquired by the direction of Gov. Fielder. At other times both Govs. Fort and Fielder have found it economical to purchase from their emergency funds small lots of important records from these auction sales.

Daily State Gazette, February 15, 1916: Too little attention has been paid to this important work (preservation of public records) in the past, with the result that many valuable records of the early history of the State have fallen into the hands of collectors of such documents and are sold as curiosities. They are really the property of the State, and should be in the State's keeping. This is a work that other States have undertaken and are carrying on at considerable expense. New Jersey has an interesting history. There is no State in the Union that should be more vigilant in preserving its records than this, and there is probably no State in the Union that has been more indifferent to its duty in this direction.

In the course of our investigations, however, we have accumulated certain information which will enable us to know something relative to the condition of our municipal records.

County records.—In 1869 there existed an exceptional circumstance in the surrogate's office of Bergen County, which endangered titles to property and of the rights of persons concerned therein. It was the case where a deceased surrogate had pocketed the fees of his office for about 22 consecutive years, without entering matters required by law to be made upon the record books of his office, such as the recording of wills, letters testamentary granted thereon and the like, and the proceedings of the orphan's court for that county. (See New Jersey Laws of 1869, p. 894.)

The Third Annual Report of the Commissioner of Public Records of Massachusetts (1888), in speaking of wood pulp in the manufacture of paper, incidentally said: "We could with some trouble and expense give the experience of a county in New Jersey which had to

replace a large number of record books on account of the first ones having so much wood in them." If these records deteriorated so rapidly, may it not be reasonable to assume that similar conditions may exist in other record offices within the State, where inferior blank records were purchased as cheaply as the conscience of the record official would admit under the fee system?

A docket of the Burlington County court, from June term, 1765, to October term, 1772, was sold at auction in New York in April, 1910, and purchased by the State for \$75.

The poll books of Camden County, 1856-1869, are now possessed by private interests.

The original proceedings of the freeholders and justices of Essex County, from 1735 to 1789, are now possessed by private interests.

The docket of Gloucester County court, A-1754, from September term, 1754, to December term, 1761, is controlled by private interests, as are the poll books of the same county from 1856 to 1869. Another docket of Gloucester County, from 1761 to 1765, was advertised to be sold by auction in New York in December last. The clerk of Gloucester County recently wrote a member of this committee, in part:

We are short of some records that should be here. There can be no excuse for anyone having any court records in their possession. They are the property of the county and should be here for anyone to examine.

Certain minutes of the courts of general sessions of the peace and common pleas for Middlesex County, 1748-1751, and other similar records belonging to that county are also possessed by private interests.

City records.—During the past summer an effort was made to ascertain the extent of the public records of certain cities, which have existed under one form of government or another for more than a century. The clerks of some of the cities responded in part as follows:

Bridgeton: "Our city records do not extend back prior to the year 1855."

Burlington: "To my knowledge the city has no records prior to 1825." This city was incorporated May 7, 1732. The original oaths of allegiance to King George II of Great Britain, sworn to and subscribed by the mayor, common council, aldermen, and constables of Burlington, from 1735 to 1758, was sold at auction in New York in December, 1916.

Gloucester: "Our records go back to about 1850. Previous to this time I know nothing about."

Jersey City: "Our records extend back to December 1, 1832."

Paterson: "In a fire, which wiped out the business section of Paterson in 1902, the city hall was destroyed. All official records of the city prior to that date were lost."

Perth Amboy: "The only thing I can find that looks like a public record prior to 1825 is one minor ordinance dated 1818. There is not much in the way of record in my office for any period back of 1872, when the present charter of the city was granted by the State legislature." This city was incorporated originally on August 4, 1718.

Plainfield: "I beg to say that the information you desire is not easily obtainable at the present time. Our facilities for filing have been so limited that things have not been kept up in very good shape. We are, however, building a new city hall, which will probably be ready for occupancy in about a year. At that time all the documents which are now stored away in our vaults will be recatalogued and put in such shape that they can be easily examined."

Rahway: "The oldest records I have is the record of births, marriages, and deaths, and they only go back to 1849."

Salem: Mr. George W. Price, secretary of the Historical Society of Salem County, writes in part: "Some years ago I made a persistent effort to find the early town records of Salem, but without result. They were extant in the 1860's, as shown by affidavits of persons who saw them, nevertheless I have been unable to find them in recent years."

Town and township records.—The following townships have existed under one form of government or another for more than a century, and the condition of their public records is as follows:

The record book of Saddle River Township, Bergen County, containing over 300 manuscript pages, extending from 1789 to 1836, alleged by Mr. William Nelson to have been cast out of the Passaic County office, was sold at auction in New York City in November, 1915.

The records of Piscataway Township, Middlesex County, running from 1696 to 1790, disappeared some time after 1850.

The town clerk of Woodbridge Township, Middlesex County, reports that his "Records go back to about 1666." Dally's History of Woodbridge, preface, page 3, shows that the first two volumes of these old records are in a dilapidated condition; and in 1859 a portion of these records were found, after their loss was extensively advertised and a reward offered by the town authorities for their return.

The clerk of Bound Brook says: "The records in my possession only date back from 1890, at which time this borough was incorporated; prior to that time it was under a board of commissioners. I assume that these records may be examined at the Somerset County clerk's office." The county clerk of Somerset County writes: "We have nothing in this office pertaining to the public records of Bound Brook."

The only records of Middletown, Monmouth County, from 1667 to near 1700, were reputed in 1872 to be in possession of the town clerk.

The clerk of Middletown Township, Monmouth County, informs us—

There are no ancient records of Middletown Township in my possession. Some time about 1898 I understood that a number of the books of the township were destroyed by fire, but I do not think there were any records destroyed prior to 1875. Where they are I am unable to tell, as they were never handed to me. My records do not go back of 1898.

“We have no records of the time you mention (1825),” says the clerk of Shrewsbury Township, in Monmouth County, continuing, he adds, “You will probably find them at Trenton, if there are any.”

The town clerk of Freehold writes:

I am unable to give you any information relative to the records of the town of Freehold prior to 1869.

The borough clerk of Princeton says:

We have a record book commencing 1813, births and deaths, etc., and records of council.

The old record book of Maidenhead (now Lawrence) Township, Mercer County, commencing in 1716, after remaining in private hands for a century was turned over to the clerk's office of Mercer County about 1909.

The docket of Benjamin Smith, justice of the peace in Trenton, commencing in 1788 and also containing many records of marriages, was given away to private interests some years ago.

The clerk of Northampton Township, Burlington County, by which township Mount Holly is governed, reports: “The earliest minute book which I am able to find in the vault dated only 1847.”

The Chesterfield Township, Burlington County, record book, extending from December 15, 1692, to December 2, 1711, was sold some years ago at public auction, and is now located in the District of Columbia.

The record book of Mansfield Township, Burlington County, beginning January 1, 1697, and ending September 15, 1773, was sold at a Philadelphia auction sale on April 25, 1906, for the sum of \$100.

New Jersey-New York records inseparable.—It is not generally known by the average local historian in New Jersey, much less by its intelligent citizens, that a bulk of our earliest colonial records, both under the Dutch and English régime, were retained in New York upon the separation of this province from that government in 1738, and even since important papers of a latter date are yet to be found among them. The record office of East Jersey was not established at Perth Amboy until January 8, 1713, and it is uncertain when the records of West Jersey were directed to be kept in Burlington.

These invaluable public papers relate both to East and West Jersey and to the several town governments and people thereof. Among them will be found the original minutes of our first legislature; messages and proclamations of, petitions and memorials to, the governors; privileges granted to the several towns, and the appointment or election of certain civil and military officers thereto for a series of years subsequent to 1672; census of these towns in 1673; organization of the several courts, proceedings thereof, and its decisions in the trial of various civil and criminal causes; military rolls and kindred papers; and sundry ecclesiastical matters and that relating to the social and economic condition of the people of New Jersey.

Many years ago these papers were copied at the expense of a few thousand dollars of State funds, but the transcripts have been withheld by private parties, as have other transcripts which, by law, should be in the State's possession, costing many thousands of dollars.

MUTILATION OF PUBLIC RECORDS.

The piratical practice of mutilating public records by abstracting a manuscript page because it contains a rare autograph of a distinguished person or reference to a valuable historical item can not be too strongly condemned. Whether committed by a collector or for purposes of sale, the perpetration of this outrage is only too common. And the auction rooms advertise the crime.

To illustrate, a well-known auction house in Philadelphia a few years ago advertised to sell on a certain date a document bearing the scarce signature of John Hart. In the catalogue was added to the announcement: "An original page from the manuscript minutes of the Legislature of New Jersey, containing the resolution in reference to sending commissioners to the New Haven convention to regulate labor, manufactures, etc. Signed as speaker of the house."

In the same catalogue was listed another similar item, which read: "New Jersey Council of Safety. A page from the original minute book containing minutes of the meeting held at Haddonfield, March 18 and 19, 1777."

Again, a typical example of the vandalism which is committed upon our public records is exhibited in Liber A of the Woodbridge town records. The first portion of this volume is made up of the original records of surveys, deeds, and other legal instruments in Woodbridge, Middlesex County, extending from 1668 to 1731, and the remaining part contains the proceedings of the town meetings for about the same period. Yet some person had the temerity to disintegrate this record volume more than 50 years ago, and with his compliments presented the first portion thereof to certain private inter-

ests, which necessarily knew the manner in which these invaluable records were obtained.

PRICES OBTAINED BY SALE OF PUBLIC RECORDS.

The value of public documents should not be established by the auctioneer. Nevertheless, there is an annual increased demand for the acquisition of manuscripts of all kinds, and the prices obtained for them at public sale is governed largely by many circumstances, especially their condition and the historical importance of the subject they respectively contain.

A general knowledge of the market value which has been established at auction sales in recent years for some of our State documents will illustrate their importance, as follows:

The New Jersey copy of the original deed authorizing the survey for the boundary between New York and New Jersey, accompanied with a manuscript map of the line, dated July 25, 1719, sold in 1913 for \$2,600. At the same sale the original agreement between the governors of East and West Jersey, determining the boundary lines between these two provinces, dated September 5, 1688, brought \$1,220.

The original minutes of the general assembly between September 26 and October 26, 1770, was purchased by the State for \$16.

The messages of the following governors to the house of assembly brought the prices specified: Gov. Belcher, January 13, 1747-1748, \$2.25; Gov. Boone, November 28, 1760, 75 cents; and Acting Gov. Hamilton, June 16, 1746, \$6.50.

A petition from the College of New Jersey to the general assembly, January 2, 1781, brought \$31; another one from the inhabitants of Rahway, March 28, 1765, brought 30 cents; while one from Capt. Daniel Neil and officers of the Eastern Artillery Company, of New Jersey, September 16, 1776, sold for \$15.

The letter from Gov. Franklin to his attorney general, January 22, 1768, brought \$6.50, while another to the council and the general assembly, June 22, 1776, sold for \$50.

The letters from the following persons to Gov. Livingston sold for the prices affixed to them: Gen. Nathaniel Heard, April 8, 1777, \$2.50; and another from the same person, May 10, 1777, \$10; Capt. Frederick Frelinghuysen, August 25, 1777, \$35; Gen. Silas Newcomb, August 20, 1777, \$5.50; Gen. Matthias Williamson, September 26, 1776, \$16; Gen. Israel Putman, April 25, 1777, \$29.

The letter from Mahlon Dickerson to the legislature, October 27, 1815, accepting the governorship, brought \$2.20. The resignation of John De Hart as a member of Continental Congress in 1776 sold for \$22. The account of Abraham Clark against the State for his attendance in the Continental Congress from November 15, 1782, to

October 31, 1783, brought \$47. The report of the commissioners for building the secretary's office at Perth Amboy, October 8 to December 2, 1762, sold for \$7.50. The pay warrant of Ellis Cook, as a deputy in the Provincial Congress, March 2, 1776, brought \$13. The document appointing Joseph Woodruff "Water bayliffe and public notary of the county of Salem," August 26, 1703, sold for \$23. And the application of Agnes Heard to the Middlesex County court, July 21, 1761, to keep a public house went for \$2.

ACCESSIBILITY OF PUBLIC RECORDS.

Generally there is no difficulty in gaining access to the public papers in any well-regulated record office. Where these public repositories are overcrowded, the records are not only insufficiently protected against fire and theft, but they are not easily accessible.

The situation is entirely different with the public records in private possession. If a person is granted permission to examine any public papers he is fortunate enough to locate in private possession, he must be subjected to the vexatious delays incident to obtaining the desired permission, besides the traveling expenses attached thereto. In so many instances persons will positively deny that they have possession of any public records when they have, and by other persons they will regard it as an intrusion to be asked the question.

It is impossible for persons to gain access to public records possessed by private interests, such as historical and genealogical societies, semipublic libraries, and the like, unless you are a member of the institution having them, duly elected, and upon payment of the annual dues. Some exceptions are made to this general rule by certain institutions as a matter of grace, however, where persons desire access to special records for a limited time, providing you pay the fees they exact for the privilege. To illustrate, a member of this committee, during the past summer, asked permission from one of these institutions to examine the original answer to the Elizabethtown bill in chancery, and he received the following reply:

In reply to your favor of the 11th instant, this society has in its possession the original manuscript of the answer to the Elizabethtown bill in chancery. We will allow you to examine this manuscript in our society building, but, as a nonmember of the society, we will have to charge you \$1 a day during the time that you are examining it. It can not be taken out of the office of the society, and we can not, under any circumstances, permit it to be photographed.

The famous original Elizabethtown bill of chancery is properly possessed by the chancery office in Trenton, while the original answer thereto is unlawfully retained by certain private interests beyond the State, demanding fees from the citizens of New Jersey for the privilege of examining one of its own State documents.

GENERAL REMARKS.

Thus we might continue to relate other innumerable details concerning the condition of our public records. We can only report what we said in the beginning: "Of all the States of the Union New Jersey has premier cause and greatest need for care in protecting its records of the past, and in safeguarding the making of its records now and for the future."

Where are the public credentials of New Jersey? The original grants and kindred papers are in private possession, as are many of the original journals of the general assembly; the journals of the Provincial Congress and of the constitutional convention of 1776; messages and official correspondence of the governors; petitions to the general assembly; court dockets and minutes; town and township records; and other innumerable records and manuscripts of priceless value.

They have all been abstracted from the official files, and many have been thrown out of public office as junk by careless and ignorant officials. They have been given away by the sacred instrument of the last will and testament, and otherwise disposed of. They have been mutilated and destroyed for personal gain. Again, many of these valuable historic records have been floating around the auction houses of the country for the past 70 years, sold and resold, and the spoils of the plunder divided between the auctioneers and the marauder. These conditions are startling and shocking to the senses of mankind in this age of civilization. The evil should be immediately stamped out for all time.

No less abominable, however, is the condition of the public records of certain municipalities of the State, from which we have been fortunate in obtaining any information whatever relative to the extent of their archives and records. Take the cities of Perth Amboy and Burlington, for example. Their clerks substantially tell us that they have no records for the first 250 years of their incorporated existence; and the records in most of the remaining municipalities we have specifically referred to are practically in the same condition.

The extent of the records in other political divisions of the State yet remains to be seen. If these conditions are not checked, the present records of many of these offices will be obliterated 50 years hence.

Because of the advanced position which New Jersey has taken upon educational lines through the annual appropriation of millions of dollars to enhance and extend our public school system, the rising generation is steadily preparing for a far keener appreciation of the history of the State and the neighborhood in which they live; and noth-

ing could be more conducive to their enlightenment than the preservation, collation, retrieval, and the accessibility of our public records.

II. CALENDAR OF PUBLIC PAPERS SELECTED FROM A THOUSAND OR MORE MANUSCRIPTS IN PRIVATE POSSESSION.

ROYAL GRANTS—POWER OF GOVERNMENT, ETC.

Original lease for a year from James, Duke of York, to Lords Berkeley and Carteret for the whole of New Jersey, June 23, 1664. Original release of the same, June 24, 1664.

Original lease for a year from James, Duke of York, to Sir George Carteret for half of the northern portion of New Jersey, July 28, 1674. Original release of the same, July 29, 1674.

Original quintipartite deed dividing the Province into East and West Jersey differently from the grant to Sir George Carteret in July, 1674, dated July 1, 1676.

Original release from James, Duke of York, to Sir George Carteret (the grandson and heir of the first Sir George) for all of East Jersey, dated Sept 10, 1680.

Original release of Elizabeth Carteret, widow and executrix, and the trustees of Sir George to the first twelve proprietors for all of East Jersey, Jan 1, 1682.

Original release of James, Duke of York, to Edward Byllinge et al. for West Jersey, Aug 6, 1680.

"The fundamental constitutions" sent to the Province of New Jersey in 1683 by the twenty-four proprietors

Memorial of the proprietors of East Jersey with proposals upon which they offer to surrender their government to the Crown, July 5, 1698

Original instrument of the surrender of the powers of government of the proprietors of East Jersey to King William III in 1702.

INSTRUCTIONS TO THE EXECUTIVE.

To Gov. Philip Carteret: July 31, 1674.

To Gov. William Burnet: Nov. 30, 1721; June 3, 1722; Feb. 23, 1723; Mar. 23, 1727.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES TO THE COUNCIL AND GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

From Gov. Jonathan Belcher: Feb. 22, 1750.

From Gov. Josiah Hardy: Jan. 8, 1762.

EXECUTIVE PROCLAMATIONS.

From Gov. Jeremiah Basse: May 24, 1698.

From Gov. Robert Hunter: Aug 9, 1711; Dec. 28, 1718.

From Gov. William Burnet: July 23, 1726.

EXECUTIVE CORRESPONDENCE.

Letter books of Gov. Jonathan Belcher, September, 1747, to October, 1748; October, 1750, to August, 1752; and July to December, 1755.

Letter books of Gov. Francis Bernard, 1758-1760.

Correspondence of the Earl of Dartmouth to Gov. William Franklin, 1773-1775.

Letter books of Gov. Lewis Morris, May, 1739, to March, 1746.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

Minutes of the governor's council, Dec. 8-10, 1746; Mar. 18-19, May 6-11, 1747. Manuscript declaration and protestation of the governor and council against James Carteret, May 28, 1672.

MINUTES OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL AND THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

Minutes of the Legislative Council: June 2-12, 1680; Oct. 19 to Nov. 2, 1681; Sept. 20 to Oct. 23, 1686; Mar. 12, 1687; Sept. 28, 1692.

Minutes of the General Assembly: 1751-1752; 1777-1779; 1780-1781; 1782-1784; 1786-1790; 1806-1808.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY—MISCELLANEOUS.

Return of the deputies elected to the General Assembly, May 22 to June 2, 1680.

Expulsion of William Douglass, member of the Legislative Council of Bergen, "on account of his being a Roman Catholic," June 10, 1680.

Document signed and sealed by the High Sheriff of Monmouth County, Apr. 1, 1772, certifying to the election of Edward Taylor and Richard Lawrence as members of the General Assembly.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS TO THE COUNCIL AND GENERAL ASSEMBLY, ETC.

Petition to the General Assembly for a lottery in Perth Amboy, May 20, 1765

Petition of the Goaler at Burlington to the Governor and Council, April 20, 1771.

Memorial of the Freeholders of Hunterdon County to their representatives in the General Assembly, May, 1771

Petitions and Memorials of the Eastern and Western Proprietors of New Jersey to the Legislature in 1775.

Petition from the Inhabitants of Toms River to the Council and General Assembly, Dec. 10, 1781.

Petition from John Fitch to the Legislature, Mar. 14, 1786, requesting a grant of the exclusive privilege of constructing boats impelled by steam.

Memorial to the Legislature in behalf of idiots, epileptics, and insane poor, 1845.

COMMITTEE OF SAFETY.

Votes and Proceedings of the Committee of Safety of New Jersey, January and March, 1776.

Proceedings of the Committee of Safety of Shrewsbury, from May 27, 1775, to Mar. 6, 1776.

Proceedings of the Committee of Correspondence of Shrewsbury, May 27, 1775, to Mar. 6, 1776.

Letter from the Committee of the People of Essex County to the Inhabitants of Monmouth County, June 13, 1774, commenting on the events at Boston regarding American liberties, and recommending a general meeting at New Brunswick on July 21.

Letter from the New York Committee of Safety to the Committee of Safety of New Jersey, Sept. 27, 1775.

Letter from Lord Sterling to the Committee of Safety, Mar. 17, 1776, relative to the necessity of suspending the operation of the civil law during the campaign.

Letter from the Committee of Inspection of Freehold to the Inhabitants of Shrewsbury, Mar. 6, 1775, urging the election of Delegates to the Provincial Congress.

PROVINCIAL CONGRESS.

Minutes of the Committee of Safety and Provincial Congress, Jan 11 to Feb. 6; Feb. 27 to Mar 2; June 21 to July 23, 1776.

Orders of the Provincial Congress and Convention of New Jersey relative to the militia, June 14 and Aug 11, 1776.

Articles of Association of the Freeholders and Inhabitants of Pequannock, Morris County, pledging to sustain the action of the Continental and Provincial Congresses, May, 1775.

Pledge of certain officers of the 1st Militia Regiment of Middlesex County, Feb. 24, 1776, to carry into execution the orders of the Provincial Congress.

COUNCIL OF SAFETY.

Memoranda of evidence against Tories for the Council of Safety, Dec. 1, 1776. Affidavit taken before the Council of Safety, Aug. 19, 1778, respecting the movement of the Indians on the frontiers.

Letter from Gen. Philemon Dickinson to the Council of Safety, Sept. 7, 1778.

CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION—1776.

Journals of the convention which framed the first Constitution of New Jersey in 1776.

BOUNDARY LINES.

Report of the attorney general on the ancient boundaries of the Province of New York, and showing the necessity of reannexing Connecticut, New Jersey, Delaware, and Pennsylvania, Aug. 6, 1691.

Application for the royal approval of the act of the Assembly for running the New Jersey-New York boundary line, 1753.

Decision of the commissioners to settle the boundary line between New Jersey and New York, Oct. 7, 1769.

CENSUS.

Census of Elizabethtown, Newark, Woodridge, Piscataway, Middletown, and Shrewsbury, Sept. 14, 1673.

CHURCHES.

Letter from Gov. Hunter to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Dec. 5, 1712, relative to their purchase of the Tatham house and plantation at Burlington.

Petition of John Bishop, Henry Rolph, and other freeholders and inhabitants of Woodbridge for a license to build an Episcopal Church, May 19, 1714

Charter of the Baptist Church in Hopewell, Hunterdon County, Dec. 5, 1769.

CIVIL OFFICERS.

Return of June 30, 1680, showing that John Ward and others were chosen overseers of Newark.

Return of New Jersey appointments, July 21, 30, 1680.

Return of July 21, 1680, showing certain persons chosen overseers of Piscataway.

Return of the town officers elected in Bergen, Aug. 17, 1680.

Salaries of the necessary officers in New Jersey, Dec. 13, 1705.

Return of the sheriffs of the several counties to be commissioned, Nov. 25, 1711.

COURTS.

Gloucester County docket—A—1754. September term, 1754, to December term, 1762.

Minutes of the Courts of General Sessions of the Peace and Common Pleas of Middlesex County, July 19–20, 1748; July 16–17, 1751.

Proceedings of the Freeholders and Justices of Essex County from 1735 to 1789.

Docket of Benj. Smith, justice of the peace in Trenton, beginning in 1788, which contains records of many marriages.

Papers containing the indictment of John Fenwick for assuming to be Lord Chief Proprietor, his trial, sentence, and appeal to the King denied, between October, 1676, and Aug. 22, 1678.

Names of the justices and clerk of the monthly courts at Elizabethtown, July 3, 1680.

Proceedings of the Court of Sessions held at Piscataway, Sept. 3, 1680.

Dates of commission of certain persons to be judges of the Court of Common Right in Monmouth County, Dec. 30, 1692.

Warrant issued at St. James appointing William Trent chief justice, Feb. 7, 1724.

Decree of the Court of Chancery, Aug. 20, 1744, in case of Daniel Smith vs. the Heirs and Executors of Gabriel Stelle.

ELECTIONS.

Schedule of votes cast in Sussex County in Oct., 1792, for Representatives in Congress, council, and assembly, and sheriffs and coroners.

ELIZABETHTOWN BILL.

Answer to the Elizabethtown bill in chancery.

ESTATES.

Petition of Thomas Olive, of Burlington, for letters of administration on the estate of Thomas Palmer, deceased, Oct. 31, 1681.

FERRIES.

Petition of Joseph Fitz Randolph to the assembly for exclusive ferry privileges between Staten Island and New Jersey, Apr. 23, 1729.

Petition of Anthony White, of New Jersey, to the assembly for a ferry from Staten Island and Bergen Point, July 10, 1764.

JUSTICES OF THE PEACE AND MAGISTRATES.

Return of magistrates elected in Bergen, Aug. 18, 1673; Aug. 25, 1674; July 27, 1681.

Return of the magistrates of Burlington, May 21, 1680.

Dates of commission of the several justices of the peace in Middlesex County in 1688.

LAND TITLES.

Claim of the inhabitants of Newark in 1766, by virtue of Indian purchases made by the first settlers thereof in 1667.

Opinion of the Council of East Jersey Proprietors concerning the invalidity of Nicoll's grants, and Indian purchases against the title of Berkeley and Carteret, given in 1700.

Authority from Lieut. Gov. Ingoldesby to John Rudyard to purchase land in West Jersey from the Indians, Nov. 17, 1703.

LOAN OFFICE.

Letter from Jona. Deare, clerk of the general assembly, to John Johnston, Nov. 23, 1776, transmitting an order of the house to transfer the loan office money to Richard Smith, treasurer.

Six books of accounts, bonds, mortgages, etc., of the commissioners of the loan office for Burlington County from 1776 to 1778, with sinking fund quotas of the several townships in the county from 1775 to 1784.

MILITIA.

Return of the officers appointed for the town of Bergen, Sept. 4, 1673.

Return of the officers of Elizabethtown, Newark, Woodbridge, Piscataway, Middletown, and Shrewsbury, Sept. 14, 1673

Military appointments for Freehold, Middletown, Shrewsbury, Manasquan, and Shark River, Mar 2, 1704.

Muster roll of Col. Richard Ingoldesby's independent company of grenadiers, Oct. 25, 1714.

List of substitutes furnished by certain persons to be enlisted in His Majesty's service, Aug, 1746

Pay roll of Capt. James Parker's company, May 8, 1747.

Orders to the officers of militia of Monmouth County to keep a watch at the highlands of Navisink, and to prepare signals and beacons, Apr. 24, 1755.

Muster roll of Capt. William Skinner's company, on the northern frontier, May 6, 1755.

List of officers recommended to the Provincial Congress for the 1st Somerset Regiment, Jan. 26, 1776.

Return of the officers of the Third New Jersey Continental Regiment, Oct. 26, 1776, with notes of their professional capacity.

Return of Gen. Newcomb's brigade, stationed at Woodbury, Nov. 18, 1777.

Muster and descriptive roll of Col. Frelinghuysen's recruits for the New Jersey Continental line, May 21, 1778.

Order book of Third New Jersey Continental Regiment, May 26 to Sept. 4, 1779.

PROPRIETORS OF EAST JERSEY.

Order of proprietors directing an examination into the affairs of the province, Oct. 21, 1685.

Settlements by receiver general of the quit rents with the people of Newark, Achqueckennuck, Bergen, Hackensack, Saddle River, Woodbridge, and Raritan River, 1707 to 1726.

Book of Accounts of the Treasurers and Agents, Sept. 12, 1771, to July 11, 1842.

PROPRIETORS OF WEST JERSEY.

Instructions of William Penn and others to the commissioners sent by them to West Jersey to arrange their affairs with John Fenwick and provide for the survey and settlement of the country, Aug. 6, 1676.

Account of the disposal of shares or proprieties by Edward Byllinge, from Mar. 12, 1676, to Aug. 21, 1678.

Protest of certain citizens to the assembly against a body styling themselves a Council of Proprietors for West New Jersey, Dec. 11, 1711.

Letters from Lewis Morris to his son, Lewis Morris, jr., dated Chelsea, Eng., Aug. 1 and 29, 1735, saying the West Jersey Society requests all their books and papers, excepting bonds, be sent to England; and requesting special information relative to the title of "Pamphilia," in Salem County.

PROVINCIAL AGENTS.

(20) Letters from Joseph Sherwood, agent for the Province in England, to Samuel Smith, treasurer, from 1761 to 1766.

Letter from the committee of the house of assembly, Dec. 7, 1769, informing Dr. Benjamin Franklin of his appointment as agent of the Province of New Jersey in England.

PUBLIC ACCOUNTS.

Accounts of Thomas Gordon, receiver general, of the revenue of the colony of New Jersey for two years, June 23, 1712.

Accounts of the paupers maintained by the township of Woodbridge from 1797 to 1801.

Accounts of Col. Peter Schuyler, as colonel and paymaster of the New Jersey Regiment in 1759 and 1760, as settled by a committee of the general assembly.

Accounts of Andrew Johnston, treasurer of East Jersey, from December, 1761, to May, 1763, submitted by his executors to the committee of the assembly.

Certificates of unpaid obligations of New Jersey, 1782.

RATABLES.

Ratables for Freehold Township, Monmouth County, in 1776.

RIOTS.

List of rioters in Middlesex County, called the Amboy riot, August, 1747.

List of persons indicted for high treason, in Amboy riots, August, 1747.

List of persons indicted for riots in Somerset County quarter sessions and removed into the supreme court, May, 1747.

List of rioters in Essex County returned upon a record of view filed in the supreme court in May term, 1746

Affidavits of certain persons taken by the council, Oct. 11-16, 1749, with reference to the riots in New Jersey, and the manner in which they pretend to hold their lands. The above five (5) papers laid before the legislative council by Gov. Belcher, Nov. 19, 1747.

A statement of facts concerning the riots and insurrections in New Jersey, and the remedies attempted by the governor and the legislature to put an end to them, reported to the council, Jan. 9, 1748, and agreed to by them.

TORIES.

Warrant of Gov. Livingston to arrest certain Tories, July 25, 1777.

Official estimates of the value of the property left by John Terrill, Philip Kearny, Thomas Crowell, and others, refugees, 1783.

TOWNS AND TOWNSHIPS.

Book containing original records of survey, deeds, and other legal instruments in Woodbridge from 1668 to 1731.

Privileges granted by the Dutch commissioners to the several towns in New Jersey, Aug. 18, 1673.

Directions of the proprietors in England for laying out "Perth Towne" (Perth Amboy), Sept. 21, 1683.

Chesterfield town docket, Burlington county, Dec. 15, 1692, to Dec. 2, 1711.

The poll of the freeholders of Hunterdon County, Oct. 9, 1738.

Petition of 404 inhabitants of Newark to the King in council, 1750.

Assessments made in Middletown in 1761.

Assessments made in Perth Amboy in 1801, 1803, and 1804.

Town committee minutes of Newark from 1811 to 1815.

TREASURY.

Deposition of Stephen Skinner, treasurer of East Jersey, as to the robbery of his office, July 25, 1768.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Names of persons who took the oaths at Elizabethtown, Shrewsbury, Middletown, Piscataway, Newark, and Woodbridge, September, 1673.

"Propositions for ye Settlement of Pamphilia by the Governor," 1699. Note: Pamphilia was in Salem County.

Letter from Gov. Cornbury to the inhabitants of Bergen, May 16, 1706, calling for stockades to be built to repel an attack on New York from a French squadron.

Letter from Thomas Gardiner, of Burlington, to Secretary Clarke, requesting him not to grant a license for the marriage of his daughter, May 3, 1711.

Papers concerning the instructions of the governor and council to Col. Abraham Van Camp, of Sussex County, November, 1754, to adopt measures for the protection of the inhabitants on the frontiers.

Orders for the arrest of Petrus Smoke, sheriff of Sussex County, and other persons for ousting Philip Swartwout from his lands, Oct. 11, 1759.

Papers relating to lands and settlers on the Passaic River, etc., from 1756 to 1773.

List of prisoners in Morristown goal, August, 1777, sent to the governor and council.

III. CALENDAR OF PUBLIC PAPERS SELECTED FROM SEVERAL THOUSAND MANUSCRIPTS SOLD OR OFFERED FOR SALE IN VARIOUS AUCTION HOUSES SINCE 1900.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES TO THE COUNCIL AND GENERAL ASSEMBLY OR LEGISLATURE.

From Gov. Jonathan Belcher: Aug. 20, 1747; Nov. 19, 1747; Dec. 19, 1747; Jan. 13, 1748; Jan. 19, 1748; Feb. 17, 1748; Oct. 21, 1748; Nov. 28, 1748; Sept. 28, 1749; Oct. 5, 1749; Feb. 22, 1751; Apr. 29, 1754; Aug. 7, 1755; May 31, 1757; Aug. 29, 1757.

From Gov. Francis Bernard: Mar. 10, 1759.
 From Gov. Joseph Bloomfield: Jan. 25, 1811.
 From Gov. Thomas Boone: Nov. 28, 1760; Apr. 1, 1761.
 From Gov. Mahlon Dickerson: Oct. 23, 1816.
 From Gov. William Franklin: Nov. 30, 1765; Nov. 21 1775.
 From Acting Gov. John Hamilton: June 16, 1746.
 From Gov. Josiah Hardy: Dec. 4, 1761; Sept. 21, 1762;¹ Dec. 10, 1761.¹
 From Gov. William Livingston: Aug. 29, 1780; Sept. 28, 1781; Dec. 9, 1782;
 June 12, 1783; Oct. 25, 1787; Jan. 8, 1790; May 19, 1792.
 From Gov. Lewis Morris: 1738; Oct., 1743.
 From Gov. William S. Pennington: Jan. 11, 1815.
 From Acting Gov. John Reading: 1758.
 From Gov. Isaac H. Williamson: Nov. 4, 1817; Jan. 15, 1818.

EXECUTIVE ANSWERS TO THE ADDRESSES OF THE ASSEMBLY.

From Gov. Jonathan Belcher: Aug. 1747; Nov. 17, 1748
 From Gov. Lewis Morris: 1738; 1740; (2) 1741; 1743; (2) 1745.

EXECUTIVE PROCLAMATION.

From Gov. William Burnet: Aug. 18, 1725; Apr. 3, 1727.
 From Acting Gov. John Hamilton: June 14, 1746.

EXECUTIVE PROCLAMATIONS.

Gov. Jonathan Belcher. Letter from the Lord Commissioners, Nov. 25, 1748.
 Gov. Joseph Bloomfield. Letter to Adjutant-General Hunt (no date).
 Gov. William Burnet. Letter from the Board of Trade, July 9, 1723.
 Gov. William Franklin. Letter to Cortlandt Skinner, Attorney General, Jan. 22, 1768; letter to the council and general assembly, June 22, 1776.
 Gov. Josiah Hardy. Letter to John Smith of Burlington, Nov. 8, 1762, giving his reasons for a constitutional council in New Jersey.
 Gov. Richard Howell. Letter from Thomas Jefferson, Apr. 26, 1793; letter from John Neilson, of New Brunswick, July 20, 1793; letter from Thomas Jefferson, Feb. 16, 1801.
 Gov. William Livingston. Letter from Elias Boudinot, Oct. 23, 1782; letters from the President of the Continental Congress, Dec. 14, 1779, April 13, 1783; letter from the Secretary of the Continental Congress, July 17, 1782; letter from the Continental Navy Board, Aug. 29, 1777; letter from Col. Elias Dayton, May 5, 1777; letter from Col. Samuel Forman, April 7, 1777; letter from Frederick Frelinghuysen, Aug. 20, 1777; letter from Gen. Alexander Hamilton, Sept. 26, 1789; letter from Gen. Nathaniel Heard, Apr. 8, 1777; letter from Robert L. Hooper, Nov., 1777; letter from William C. Houston, Dec. 20, 1779; letter from Thomas Jefferson, Aug. 18, 1790; letter from Gen. Benjamin Lincoln, Oct. 23, 1782; letters from Gen. William Maxwell, Jan. 24, 1777, Apr. 25, 1777; letters from Chief Justice Robert Morris, July 5, and Nov. 12, 1777; letter from Joseph Nourse, Jan. 19, 1778; letter from Samuel Osgood, Sept., 1786; letter from Gen. Israel Putnam, Apr. 25, 1777; letter from Justice Isaac Smith, Mar. 28, 1777; letter from Gen. John Stark, Oct. 18, 1776; letter from Gen. Adam Stephen, Oct. 22, 1776; letters from Justice John Cleves Symmes, June 29, 1777, Feb. 14, 1780; letter from Gen. George Washington, Sept. 3, 1781.
 Gov. William S. Pennington. Letter from Gen. Aaron Ogden, May 31, 1814; letter from Joseph Bloomfield, June 30, 1814.
 Gov. Thomas Pownall. Letter to Acting Gov. John Reading, Mar. 11, 1758.

¹ Imperfect copy.

MINUTES OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

Minutes of the governor and council, Sept. 26 to Oct. 26, 1770; Mar. 11 to May 16, 1774; July 18, 1777, to Oct. 7, 1780; Nov. 9, 1780, to Feb. 29, 1796.

EXECUTIVE—MISCELLANY.

A series of manuscript records, 1708–1784, comprising orders of the governors, lieutenant governors, acts of assembly, etc.

Addresses of the council and general assembly to the governors, and messages of the governors to the council, etc., from 1710 to 1749—18 pieces.

MINUTES OF THE COUNCIL AND GENERAL ASSEMBLY, ETC.

Minutes of the council and general assembly, June 13 to Aug. 21, 1766; Apr. 12 to May 7, 1768; Apr. 24 to Aug. 21, 1771; Nov. 21 to Dec. 20, 1771; Aug. 21 to Sept. 17, 1772; 1776.

A page from the original minutes of the general assembly, containing the resolution for sending commissioners to the New Haven convention to regulate labor, manufacturers, etc. (1776), signed by John Hart, speaker of the house.

Minutes of a council for the general assembly, Oct. 2, 1694.

Messages (3) of the council to the house of assembly in 1749–1750.

LETTERS ADDRESSED TO THE COUNCIL, GENERAL ASSEMBLY, OR LEGISLATURE.

Letter from Charles Reed to council, Sept. 7, 1757, saying that John Reading had refused to administer the government of New Jersey upon the death of Gov. Belcher.

Letter from Justice Robert Morris to the assembly with reference to the law limiting prices and withholding the necessities of life in New Jersey.

Letter from John Hancock, President of Congress, to the general assembly, Oct. 2, 1776.

Letter from Gen. William Winds to the legislature, Sept. 25, 1777.

Letter from officers of the New Jersey Brigade to the legislature, July 30, 1778.

Letter from Gov. Richard Howell to the legislature, Nov. 18, 1799.

Letter from Oliver H. Perry, acknowledging the vote of thanks of the legislature in 1813.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS TO THE GOVERNOR, COUNCIL, AND GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

Petition from the owners of Bloomaries in Morris County, Oct. 6, 1751, praying to be exempt from tax.

Petition from the inhabitants of Hanover Township, Morris County, Mar. 9, 1756, concerning the frontiers and supporting troops by tax.

Petition from the inhabitants of Princeton, Apr. 11, 1758, praying that barracks may be built there.

Petition from the inhabitants of Burlington County, Mar. 8, 1763, regarding the killing of sheep by dogs.

Petition of the inhabitants of Rahway, Mar. 28, 1765, for erecting a dam on Rahway River at Elizabethtown.

Petition of the inhabitants of Perth Amboy and Middlesex County, May 8, 1765, to rebuild the courthouse at Perth Amboy.

Petition by Rev. William Tennent, May 27, 1765, for reimbursement for the removal of the Indians from Cranbury to Brotherton.

Petition of Shepard Kollock, asking to be appointed State printer.

Memorial of the inhabitants of Bergen County, May 3, 1783, protesting to interpreting the 5th and 6th articles of the treaty with Great Britain so as to allow traitors, felons, robbers, murderers, etc., to return back and enjoy privileges of citizenship.

Petition of the inhabitants of Trenton and Nottingham, Feb 24, 1786, for corporate powers.

Petition of the citizens of Perth Amboy, May 29, 1786, for the general assembly to select that town for its sittings.

Petition from the inhabitants of Bethlehem Township, Hunterdon County, Oct. 16, 1794, against dividing the county

Petition of William Henry Harrison (9th President of the United States), Oct. 10, 1810, concerning his title to land in New Jersey.

Memorial of Aaron Ogden, Oct. 29, 1813, praying relief regarding steamboat navigation

Petition of the inhabitants of Maidenhead Township, Hunterdon County, Dec., 1815, asking the name of the township be changed to "Lawrence."

CONTINENTAL CONGRESS.

Resolution of the Continental Congress addressed to the convention of New Jersey in October, 1775, signed by the President and Secretary, calling for New Jersey troops in the Continental Army.

Resignation of John De Hart as a delegate in the Continental Congress, addressed to the General Assembly of New Jersey, dated Elizabethtown, Nov. 13, 1775, and giving reasons therefor.

Resolves of the Continental Congress of June 2 and Sept. 10, 1781, transmitted to the legislature.

Oaths of allegiance of the delegates of New Jersey in the Continental Congress between 1781 and 1783 required by law.

Receipt of Lambert Cadwalader to the State of New Jersey, Oct. 26, 1787, for pay as a delegate in the Continental Congress.

COMMITTEE OF SAFETY.

Miscellaneous papers from the Monmouth County Committee of Safety, Oct., 1775, relative to the capture of the tender of the sloop of war *Viper*.

Certificate of John Hart to the payment of the salary of John Pope, May 15, 1776, as a member of the Committee of Safety.

Deposition of Isaac Potter before the Committee of Safety, Apr. 7, 1777, against Joseph Salter, a Tory.

Affidavits of various residents of New Jersey, giving evidence before the Committee of Safety against their townsmen who were aiding and abetting the British, taken mostly before Gov. Livingston; 18 pieces.

PROVINCIAL CONGRESS.

Order for the payment of salary to Jesse Hand as a member of the New Jersey Provincial Congress, Feb. 27, 1776.

Pay warrant of Ellis Cook as a deputy in the Provincial Congress, Mar. 8, 1776.

Several letters on various subjects addressed to the Provincial Congress in 1775 and 1776.

COUNCIL OF SAFETY.

Original act of the general assembly forming the Council of Safety, March 15, 1777, signed by John Hart, speaker.

A page from the minutes of the Council of Safety, containing the minutes of Mar. 18 and 19, 1777.

CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF THE UNITED STATES IN 1787.

The original report of Peter Tallman concerning Articles of Federation and Union of the States.

Authenticated copy of the report of the Annapolis convention, Sept. 14, 1786, forwarded to the New Jersey Legislature, as to its decision as to the best mode of formulating a plan of Government or Constitution of the United States.

Petition of the delegates from New Jersey to the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia to the legislature, June 1, 1787, asking to be allowed to employ a secretary, messenger, and doorkeeper.

Original printed copy of the Constitution of the United States, transmitted to the legislature by its delegates in the Constitutional Convention in 1787.

Original copy of the amendments proposed to be added to the Constitution in 1789, presented to the legislature by the Congress of the United States.

ACADEMIES AND COLLEGES.

Petition by the trustees of the Newark Academy to the legislature, Nov. 11, 1794, for an act of incorporation.

Petition to the legislature in 1795 for a lottery to complete the academy in Nottingham.

Petition from the trustees of the College of New Jersey (Princeton University) to the legislature, for a lottery to raise \$25,000 to establish a professorship in mathematics and astronomy.

Petition of the College of New Jersey to the general assembly, Jan. 2, 1781, asking for a reduction in the quorum of members of the corporation, and relief for the damage done to the buildings by the enemy and by quartering the militia therein.

BOUNDARY PAPERS.

Agreement made between Daniel Coxe, governor of West Jersey, and Robert Barclay, governor of East Jersey, London, Sept. 5, 1688, determining the boundary lines between the two provinces.

Manuscript deed and map authorizing the survey for the boundary line between New Jersey and New York (New Jersey's copy), dated July 25, 1719.

Brief of claim on the part of New Jersey, and the proof offered in support of it, taken before the commissioners appointed by His Majesty, for settling the boundary line between that province and New York; answers and objections thereto made by the agents of New York, dated Sept. 28, 1769.

Petition of the eastern proprietors to the legislature, Dec. 6 1783, praying that the Lawrence line, ran in 1743, be confirmed and made final against all controversies.

Documents (19) relative to the boundary line between East and West Jersey, between 1775 and 1796; being mostly petitions to the general assembly.

CHURCHES.

Petition to the legislature for a lottery to build the Reformed Dutch Church of Bergen, 1794.

Petition to the legislature for a lottery to complete the Presbyterian Church in Caldwell, 1795

Petition to the legislature for a lottery in behalf of the First Presbyterian Church in Elizabeth.

Petition to the legislature for a lottery to rebuild St John's Church in Elizabeth, 1803.

Petition to the legislature by Col. Samuel Forman for a lottery of his farm for the benefit of the Episcopal Church of Fort Monmouth, 1795.

Petition to the legislature for a lottery to complete the Episcopal Church in New Brunswick, 1786.

Petition to the legislature for a lottery to complete the Presbyterian Church and Academy in Newton, 1801.

Petition to the legislature for a lottery to rebuild the Protestant Episcopal Church in Perth Amboy, 1787

Vestry minutes of St. Peter's Church at Perth Amboy, 1795-1796.

Petition to the legislature for a lottery to repair St. Peter's Episcopal Church at Spotswood, 1796.

Petition to the legislature for a lottery to finish the Presbyterian Church in Trenton, 1812.

Petition to the legislature for a lottery to build an addition to the First Presbyterian Church of Woodbridge, 1793.

CIVIL OFFICERS.

Return of officers elected in Hopewell Township, Hunterdon County, Mar. 2, 1761, and signed by John Hart.

Resignation of Abraham Clark as clerk of the house of assembly, June 11, 1766.

Certificate of election of Joel Fithian, sheriff, and James Ewing and Joshua Brick, coroners, in Cumberland County, Aug. 11, 1776.

Qualification of John Stevens as a member of the legislature. Sept. 7, 1777.

The affirmations of members of the general assembly in 1778-1779.

The bonds of John Stevens as State treasurer, Dec. 11, 1781, and Dec. 20, 1782.

Certificate of pay to Abraham Clark as a member of the assembly, Dec. 23, 1784.

Oath of Maskell Ewing as clerk of the general assembly, Oct. 26, 1790.

Letter of Richard Howell to the legislature, Nov. 1, 1798, accepting the office of governor.

Letters of Joseph Bloomfield to the legislature, Oct. 25, 1804, and Oct. 27, 1809, accepting the office of governor.

Letter of Mahlon Dickerson to the legislature, Oct. 27, 1815, accepting the office of governor.

COURTS.

Docket book of the supreme court, March term, 1763, to September term, 1770.

Docket book of the Burlington County court, June term, 1765, to October term, 1772.

Docket book of the Gloucester County court, April term, 1761, to April term, 1765.

Docket book of Garret Van Houten, justice of the peace in Bergen Township, Bergen County, from July 4, 1812, to Sept. 19, 1820.

Record book of cases for debt settled in court from June 13, 1812, to June 8, 1814, kept by the clerk of the court in Trenton, 300 pp.

Application of Agnes Heard to the Middlesex County court, July 21, 1761, for license to keep a "Public house of entertainment."

Petition of certain lawyers to the general assembly, May 30, 1765, praying that Frederick Smyth might be retained as chief justice.

Petition of Justice John Berrien to the governor, June 16, 1766, complaining of the chief justice appropriating all the fees of the court

Petition from the justices of the supreme court to the legislature, Sept., 1779, praying that the court may be fixed at some one place during the Revolutionary War.

Resignation of Joseph Bloomfield as attorney-general of New Jersey, May 16, 1792

Resignation of Mahlon Dickerson as justice of the supreme court, 1815.

Resignation of William Rossell as justice of the supreme court (18—).

ESTATES.

Inventory of the estate of Thomas Lambert, dated Feb 24, 1703, and signed by Gov. Cornbury

Petition of Samuel Dick, of Salem County, to the legislature, Oct 2, 1780, concerning the inheritance of Job Shreeve.

HIGHWAYS.

Petition of the inhabitants of the city and county of Burlington to the general assembly, Nov 25, 1747, for altering the road to Cooper's Creek.

Petition of the inhabitants of Essex County to the general assembly, Feb 14, 1674, in reference to opening a new road for traveling between Philadelphia and New York

Petition of the inhabitants of Elizabethtown to the legislature, May 28, 1765, for a road through Bergen.

MILITIA.

Petitions of several captains of the Somerset Militia to the Committee of Safety, July 31, 1775, relative to fines for neglect of militia duty.

Petition of officers of several companies of Minute-men in Monmouth County to the Committee of Safety, Sept. 29, 1775, recommending officers for commission.

Memorial of Jonathan Phillips and Philip Moore, of Maidenhead, to the Committee of Safety, Oct 16, 1775, offering services of the Minute-men.

Memorial of Aaron Longstreet, of Middlesex County, to the Committee of Safety, Oct. 18, 1775, offering his services as captain.

Recommendation for field officers by the militia of Cape May County to the Provincial Congress, Oct 22, 1775

Memorial of Seth Bowen, of Cumberland County, to the Provincial Congress, Dec. 1, 1775, offering his services as captain

Application of Benjamin Whittall, of Woodbury, to the Committee of Safety, Jan. 10, 1776, for a command in Col. Maxwell's regiment.

Petition of William Clark, of Burlington, to the Committee of Safety, Jan. 11, 1776, for lieutenantcy.

Memorial of Major Ephraim Anderson, of Hunterdon County, to the Committee of Safety, Jan. 12, 1776, for the appointment of field officer in Maxwell's regiment.

Petition of the officers of the 2d battalion of Cumberland County militia to the Provincial Congress, Jan. 16, 1776, recommending field officers.

Petition of the inhabitants of Newark to the Provincial Congress, Apr. 8, 1776, recommending Captain Wheeler to command a company of grenadiers.

Recommendations of the Monmouth County Committee of Safety, Apr. 17, 1776, favoring the appointment of Captain Stillwell to be appointed captain of the first company to be raised in the county.

Warrant of Abraham Clark on the treasurer, Apr. 18, 1776, for payment of arms and military stores

Letter from Joseph Borden to the convention of New Jersey, Aug. 11, 1776, giving number of troops raised in Burlington County, with names of the captains.

Petition of Captain Daniel Neill and officers of the Eastern Artillery Company to Gov Livingston, Sept. 16, 1776

Letter from Gen Matthias Williamson to Gov. Livingston, Sept 21, 1776, relative to the condition of the Eastern Artillery Company.

Instructions from the legislature to the commissioners appointed for raising four battalions for service in the Continental Army, 1776.

Letter from the field officers of the 3d battalion of Middlesex County Militia to the Council of Safety, 1776, recommending certain persons for commission.

Petition of the commissioned officers of the several regiments in Monmouth County to the legislature, Feb. 21, 1777, praying that Col David Forman may be appointed brigade commander.

An order given by the Council of Safety to Maj. Samuel Hayes of Essex County, July 10, 1777, for the apprehension of certain disaffected persons.

Letter from Gen Silas Newcomb to Gov. Livingston, Aug. 20, 1777, giving an account of the capture by Major Ewing of certain persons of Downs Township, Cumberland County.

Letter of Gov Livingston to Gen. Silas Newcomb, Sept 20, 1777, containing certain military instructions.

Letter from Gen. David Forman to Gov Livingston, June 9, 1780, giving an account of the capture of Captain Barnes Smock and others.

Instruction given by James Ewing, auditor of accounts, to John Little, pay master of the Gloucester Militia, Aug. 20, 1782.

Remonstrance of the officers of the New Jersey Brigade to the legislature, May 23, 1783.

Petition of Major John Conway to the legislature, Nov 13, 1783, relative to the settlement of his accounts and the history of his company.

Official list of the enrolled militia in the Lower Springfield Company, Burlington County, made Aug. 31, 1801.

OATHS OF ALLEGIANCE.

Oath of allegiance to King George II sworn to and subscribed by the mayor, common council, aldermen, and constables of Burlington between 1735 and 1758.

Oath of allegiance to the United States taken by certain citizens of Sussex County, 1787-1788.

Oath of allegiance of the judges and justices of Passaic County on its formation, in 1837, with dates of commission and the time they were severally sworn in.

PROVINCIAL AGENTS.

Letter from Richard Partridge, English agent of the colony of New Jersey, London, Jan 23, 1752, in reference to the surrender of the government of New Jersey to the Crown in 1702.

Accounts of Richard Partridge, English agent of the colony of New Jersey, with the colony of New Jersey, Dec. 9, 1750, to Jan. 15, 1755.

Order made in council by Gov. William Franklin on the treasurer, May 21, 1773, to pay Dr. Benjamin Franklin 25 pounds, proclamation money for services as agent of the province of New Jersey at the Court of Great Britain.

PUBLIC ACCOUNTS.

Accounts of Samuel Tucker, treasurer of New Jersey, Feb. 4, 1777.

Public account rendered by Abraham Clark to Gov. Livingston, Mar. 31, 1777.

Account of John Cleves Symmes with the State of New Jersey for furnishing arms and clothing in 1777.

Account rendered by Abraham Clark to the treasurer of New Jersey, June 30, 1784, for his attendance as a delegate in the Continental Congress from Nov. 15, 1782, to Oct. 31, 1783.

Account of Josiah Hornblower with the State of New Jersey, Dec. 17, 1786, for his attendance in Congress.

A letter from Abraham Clark to the legislature, Oct. 20, 1791, giving a detailed statement of the public accounts of New Jersey during the Revolutionary War.

Account of Abraham Clark with the State of New Jersey, Oct. 22, 1791.

Account of William S. Pennington against the State for services as circuit court judge, May 11, 1805.

RATABLES.

Return of the ratables for Saddle River Township, Bergen County, Aug. 20, 1811.

Return of the ratables of the city of Perth Amboy, taken in July, 1786.

REPORTS.

Report of the commissioners for building the secretary's office at Perth Amboy, Oct. 8 to Dec. 2, 1762.

Report of the New Jersey commissioners appointed to quiet the mutiny in the New Jersey brigade in January, 1781.

Joint report of the commissioners of New Jersey and Pennsylvania, settling the jurisdiction of the islands in the Delaware River, Dec. 2, 1785.

SLAVERY.

Petitions (6) from the inhabitants of Morris County to the legislature, about 1806, asking the repeal of the act of 1804 for the gradual abolition of slavery.

Petitions (6) from the inhabitants of Bergen County to the legislature, about 1806, asking the repeal of the act of 1804 for the gradual abolition of slavery.

Petition from the inhabitants of Burlington County to the legislature for an act for the gradual abolition of slavery in the State, dated 1796.

Petition from the inhabitants of Hunterdon County to the legislature for an act for the gradual abolition of slavery in the State, dated 1796.

TORIES.

List of suspected persons and Tories in Bergen County in 1776.

Petition of Daniel Grandin and other Tories in Salem goal to the governor and council, Mar. 19, 1777, asking for a speedy trial.

Letter from Gov. Livingston to Major Samuel Hayes, July 10, 1777, furnishing the names of the disaffected persons to be apprehended by his command and returned to the Council of Safety.

Warrant given by Gov. Livingston for the arrest of suspected persons in Hunterdon County, July 31, 1777.

Bond given to Gov. Livingston by Benjamin Barton of Sussex County, Aug. 29, 1777, agreeing to remain within two miles of his house.

Petition of Abraham Van Emburgh to the legislature in 1789 that he might be relieved of the inquisition found against him in 1778.

TOWN AND TOWNSHIP RECORDS.

Proceedings of a town meeting held in Elizabethtown, Mar. 10, 1767, for appointing the freeholders, surveyors, and overseers of the highways, overseers of the poor, and assessors.

Record book of Mansfield Township, Burlington County, from Jan. 1, 1697, to Sept. 15, 1773

Minutes of the town meeting at Perth Amboy, Apr. 13, 1795.

Record book of Saddle River Township, Bergen County, from 1789 to 1836. 300 pp.

TREASURY.

Papers (10) relating to the robbery of Jonathan Whilledin on Nov. 3, 1773, of money collected for taxes of Cape May County, with depositions.

Petition of certain prominent citizens of New Jersey to the general assembly, Jan. 12, 1774, requesting the removal of Stephen Skinner, treasurer of New Jersey, for shortage of his official accounts.

Papers (9) relating to the robbery of Samuel Tucker, treasurer of New Jersey, by the British, Nov. 30, 1776; containing his letter to the legislature, Jan. 20, 1777, explaining the affair, with affidavits

Documents (7) relative to the robbery of the State treasury in October, 1803, with depositions of various persons; and report of the committee appointed by the legislature.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Sundry petitions to the legislature by citizens asking to be reimbursed out of forfeited estates for damages sustained in the Revolution; for clemency in the cases of several Tories convicted of treason and sentenced to be hung, etc.

List of the freeholders of Somerset County in 1753.

Document appointing Joseph Woodruff "Water bayliffe and public notary of the county of Salem," Aug. 26, 1703.

Declaration by the governor and council denouncing the uprising of the people against the Quakers, Sept. 8, 1682.

General return of the buildings in the State of New Jersey owned or rented by the United States, May 6, 1780.

Warrant of Chief Justice Brearley to William Kelsey, sheriff of Cumberland County, Dec. 1, 1780, for the arrest of Richard Howell, attorney at law, for high treason.

Petition of the freeholders of Burlington County to the general assembly, Nov. 23, 1775, asking to have a resolution passed to discourage independency.

APPENDIX C.

SOUTH AMERICA AS A FIELD FOR AN HISTORICAL SURVEY.

By CHARLES E. CHAPMAN,
Assistant Professor of History, University of California.

SOUTH AMERICA AS A FIELD FOR AN HISTORICAL SURVEY.

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There can be no question that the excellent series of guides to material in foreign archives for the history of the United States, published by the Carnegie Institution, has already resulted in contributions to history, of recognized value, and enhanced our reputation in the world of scholarship, and will do so yet more in the future. It is hardly necessary to argue the value of these publications. A very real question arises, however, when one asks where such historical surveys ought now to be undertaken, whatever may be the institution or institutions to engage in the work. While the great war lasts, and perhaps for a number of years after its close, it will hardly be worth while to send men to Europe, and the same thing is true, in only less degree, as regards Asia. It is the purpose of this article to argue for a campaign in South America and to present certain data to show that the countries of the neighboring continent are apt to yield a rich harvest of valuable manuscript material, of which historians have as yet made little use. A preliminary question remains as to the method to be followed.

The plan of the Carnegie Institution has been to seek only such material as related directly to the history of what now constitutes the United States, and to make general descriptions of the archives and bundles, or volumes, in which it is found, selecting only what seemed to be the more important American items for individual mention, and omitting material, however important for other purposes, if it had no direct bearing on the history of the United States. The omission was justifiable in the case of guides to European archives, for it certainly is not necessary for American historians to do pioneer work in European history, or in the case of such works as Bolton's guide to materials in Mexico, where the purely local items concerning the United States were so numerous as to require a volume in themselves. As for Central and South America and the Caribbean area, however, it would seem well to modify the system thus far employed by the Carnegie Institution, to the extent of making general descriptions of all of the material, with an inclusion in the indi-

visually mentioned items of the more important documents with regard to the lands themselves where they are found, as well as those relating directly to the United States. Not much of the necessary pioneer work has yet been done in Latin America, and no people are better equipped with men and funds than ourselves, and except for Latin Americans, no others are more interested than we are. Many will agree with the writer that the two Americas are indissolubly bound up with each other, whether they like it or not, commercially, politically, and perhaps in yet other ways. It is becoming generally recognized that the United States can not live unto itself, as it has been doing in the past, and is it not well that our historical work should follow the trend of the present and probable future interests of the country? Who will deny that Latin America is a vital factor of inestimable importance in the foreign relations of this country? Is it not desirable, then, in our own interests, as well as in theirs, and in the interests of historical scholarship in general, that we should seek a better understanding of the Latin American countries through the study of their past?

During a visit of nearly six months in South America, in the year 1916, the writer had an opportunity to make a superficial survey of a number of important archives. The result of his investigations in Buenos Aires, Santiago, and Lima will now be set forth, not that they constitute a guide to the archives of those cities, although they may be useful as a preliminary, and without any assertion of entire accuracy or due proportion, but as some evidence to show that a South American historical survey, on the broad basis suggested in this article, would bring a rich return.

A. BUENOS AIRES.

1. *Archivo General de la Nación*.—This is one of the most important archives in South America, and the conditions for work are of the best. Nothing could exceed the courtesy of its chief, José I. Biedma, or its secretary, Augusto S. Mallié. Permission to work must be obtained from the Sub-Secretaría de Instrucción Pública, on previous advice of the head of the archive, but any duly accredited scholar may be almost sure of obtaining the necessary permit. Few archives are so entirely at the disposal of investigators, for all documents, without limitation as to date, are available, except such as may injure a third party. By law, all ministries of the Government are required to send their papers to the archive when they are five years old, but the law has not been very well complied with.

There are perhaps 10,000 or more bundles¹ in the archive, and they are gradually being bound into volumes, three men being employed

¹A "bundle," or *legajo*, as used in this article, may be estimated to contain about 2,000 pages of material, for a page of about 8½ by 11 inches.

on the work. By far the greater part of the documents relate to the colonial period, and in this respect the archive is extraordinarily rich; Senor Biedma believes it to be the richest archive in South America for Spanish colonial material, in part because the documents cover the whole region of the Río de la Plata country, extending even into Boliva, and in part due to the scattering of the formerly much richer archives of Peru. The collection here is especially valuable for matters of real hacienda, or finance, which, of course, was the foundation stone of Spanish colonial administration.

There is a most praiseworthy spirit of cooperation on the part of the archivists with historical workers; Biedma himself is a veritable enthusiast. Two volumes of documents have already been published by the archive, one for the revolutionary period, and the other of royal decrees (*cédulas*) from 1580 to near the close of the seventeenth century. Incidentally, a heater was installed in the room for investigators—a luxury that the archivists in other rooms, Biedma among them, did not enjoy for themselves.

2. *Museo del General Mitre*.—The valuable collections of this institution, which include books, coins, medals, and much else, as well as manuscripts, were given to the nation by General Mitre, who was not only an Argentine president, but an all-round scholar and historian as well. There are about 100,000 manuscripts of original correspondence, dating from the earliest colonial times, down to the year 1900. The museo has published 40 volumes of documents, but they are only a drop in the bucket, and relate almost wholly to Mitre's work. There is a one-volume index of colonial documents, but it is far from containing an indication of all the colonial documents in the collection. Investigators are free to use anything the museo has, and a rough, temporary index of manuscript material has been provided for their use. They may be sure of the cooperation of archive officials, among whom is the well-known Argentine scholar, Rómulo Sabala, secretary of the museo.

3. *Facultad de Filosofía y Letras*.—This college of the University of Buenos Aires is worth mentioning, not for the number of its manuscripts, though it is appreciable, but because of the work that it is doing under the efficient direction of scholars like Doctor Molinari and others. Fourteen volumes of documents have already been published.

4. *Other archives of Buenos Aires*.—Other archives, indicated to the writer as being particularly rich in manuscript materials, and more or less available to historical investigators, were those of the *Biblioteca Nacional*, *Biblioteca del Congreso*, *Archivo de Tribunales*, *Archivo de Correos*, and the private collections of Enrique Peña and Ramón Carcano.

B. SANTIAGO.

1. *Biblioteca Nacional*.—The archive of this library is by far the most valuable in Chile for historical students, since certain other Government archives are not open to the public. Conditions for investigators are nearly ideal. Permission to work is granted without any formalities whatever; all that one has to do is present himself and begin, and about the only rules are that one may not disfigure or steal a document. As yet not many investigators have taken advantage of the opportunity to use this archive, but they may be sure of a welcome when they do come. The director, Tomás Thayer, is not only one of the best known historical scholars in Chile, but is also the superlative of amiability and courtesy. North Americans have a certain claim on him, since he is descended from a Massachusetts family of the same name. His great-grandfather was captain of a "Boston ship," which was on its way to China, a little over a century ago. The voyage came to an untimely end at Valparaíso, and Señor Thayer's grandfather, who was also on board, took up his residence in Chile.

The archive contains material dating from the colonization of Chile, in the sixteenth century, down to the year 1817. Naturally, most of the documents are for the eighteenth century, but there are also a great many for the earlier periods. All are in an excellent state of preservation, for destruction from humidity and the book-worm are unknown in the excellent climate of Santiago; the writing in documents two centuries old is as clear as if written but yesterday. In addition, the most commendable care is taken of the collection. There are about 6,500 volumes, of approximately 700 pages each, which have already been bound. As much more material remains for binding. About 3,000 volumes relate to *Audiencias*—not to the territory embraced by the jurisdiction of an *audiencia*, as in the case of the well-known sets in the *Archivo General de Indias* of Seville, Spain, but to acts of the *audiencia* itself, such as cases at law and *residencias*. A three-volume catalogue of this set has already been published. There are nearly a thousand volumes of *Escribanos*, a set rich in materials for the social and economic life of colonial Chile. The set called *Contaduría*, dealing with affairs of *real hacienda*, contains about 5,000 volumes, commencing with the year 1609. Over a thousand volumes are devoted to the correspondence of the captain generals and related matters. There are about 500 volumes concerning the Jesuits in Chile, and these papers are valuable for historical data with regard to the Philippines, Panama, Porto Rico, and Mexico, because of the ramifications of the Jesuit order. In addition, there is a miscellaneous aggregation of volumes which can not be

characterized by a single word or phrase. Among these are the documents on which the Chilean historians Gay and Vicuña Mackenna relied in writing their works. The miscellaneous group also includes about 30 volumes of copies procured at the *Archivo General de Indias*. Señor Thayer believes that the archive over which he presides is the richest in South America in colonial material, a belief in which Señor Biedma, of Buenos Aires, would not share.

2. *Archivo Jeneral de Gobierno, and other Government archives.*—Except for matters related to courts of law, the official administrative papers of the Chilean Government, from 1817 to 1902, are kept in the *Archivo Jeneral de Gobierno*. The papers of later date than 1902 are to be found in the various ministries. Matters of justice are in the archive of the *Tribunales de Justicia*, where conditions are similar to those encountered in the *Archivo Jeneral*. The last-named archive contains some thirty thousand volumes of about seven hundred pages each, divided according to the ministry from which they came. All are well taken care of, and are kept in excellent, glass-fronted cases. A suitable person might obtain permission to use the archive, by applying to the minister in charge of the department from which the papers had come, but the collection is considered a private archive of the Government, and investigation is not invited.

C. LIMA.

1. *Scattered archives.*—The history of archives in Lima is a tale of the great number and extraordinary wealth of the documents, and of disintegration and lack of organization. Vast quantities of documents have undoubtedly been utterly lost, many have passed out of the country into foreign hands, and perhaps the majority that still remain have gone into private archives, which are usually inaccessible to historical scholars. Many notable Peruvian historians, such as Paz Soldán and Mendiburú, have relied upon documents belonging to themselves in compiling their histories, but the great majority of these private collections have not been made use of at all.

On October 9, 1916, while the writer was in Lima, a bill was introduced in the Peruvian Congress for the formation of a national archive, for the custody, preservation, deciphering, cataloguing, and publication of documents; documents of the colonial era and the first 50 years of the Republic were to be gathered there, being taken from the ministries and other governmental depositories where they now exist, and documents now in private hands were to be acquired, when possible. It is doubtful if anything comes of this, even if the bill is passed, for there is very little real interest in history in Peru, and no demand worth mentioning for organized historical or archival

work.¹ The bill itself calls for an appropriation of only one thousand pounds a year, out of which all expenses, salaries included, are to be taken.

2. *The national archive.*—A national archive, though not as an organized, working institution, already exists, the documents being in the care of the *Biblioteca Nacional* of Lima. The place where they are kept was closed, while the writer was in Lima, and no date seemed to have been set for its reopening.² It contains what is left of the once great public archive of Lima, with documents dating from the earliest colonial times down to the first year of the republic, in 1824. Since 1824 public documents have been kept in the different ministries of the government. The writer was told that existing archives would probably be open to students, but none of them ever come.

Even before the close of Spanish rule the dispersion of this wealth had begun, for retiring officials often carried away the documents that interested them. Under the republic not much thought was given to archive material, and great loss occurred through unlawful sales by grafting officials, local disturbances, lack of care, and ravages of the bookworm, which is very active in Lima. In 1878 a definite attempt was made to organize the archive, and 10 manuscript volumes of indices were prepared. At that time there were 1,401 bundles and 726 large folio volumes, principally devoted to *Tabacos*, with a considerable amount of material also under the headings of *Inquisición* and *Temporalidades-Jesuitas*. The figures follow: Bundles: *Temporalidades-Jesuitas*, 239; *Inquisición*, 361; *Censos*, 57; *Tabacos*, about 446; *Pólvora*, *naipes*, etc., about 64; *Audiencia de Cuzco*, 105. Folio volumes: *Temporalidades*, 79; *Tabacos*, 647.

The work done in 1878 was rendered of no avail by the disastrous war with Chile, which broke out in 1879. The national archive did not suffer from spoliation by the Chileans so much as some other institutions did; nevertheless, a great many documents were mutilated, others carried away to Chile, and many sold in Lima which have since been added to private collections; even the indices were lost. For several years the documents were thrown together almost utterly without care, but after the war was over an attempt at the physical preservation of the documents was made. In 1890 valuable colonial materials were taken from other depositories and added to the national archive. The principal sets in these acquisitions were

¹ Such were the views expressed to the writer by Dr. Carlos Wiesse, professor of history at the famous University of San Marcos, of Lima, and a historian of note, and by the indefatigable archæologist and historical scholar, Carlos Romero, of the Biblioteca Nacional of Lima.

² The information set forth in this paragraph was taken from the *Revista de archivos y bibliotecas nacionales* (now defunct), v. I, no. 1 (1901), pp. XIX-LXXXXII (sic), supplemented by conversation with Señor Carlos Romero.

Cajas Reales del Virreynato, Aduanas, Real Tribunal de Cuentas, and Tribunal del Consulado. Nobody seems to know how great a quantity of materials still remains in the archive, but there are probably upward of 2,000 bundles and nearly a thousand folio volumes.

3. *Biblioteca Nacional.*—This institution has a collection of 340 volumes of manuscripts, of which some 300 were the selection of the eminent Peruvian scholar, Ricardo Palma, from the documents of the national archive.¹ Naturally, these documents are of great value and some of them are being published from time to time in the *Colección de libros y documentos referentes á la historia del Perú*, edited by Señor Romero.

4. *Santo Domingo and San Francisco.*—The convents of these two orders, and those of other orders or churches, in less degree, have archives recording the activities of their organizations in Peru, mostly in the colonial era. Santo Domingo has 300 volumes of manuscripts, and San Francisco about half that number. Scholars would be permitted to use them.

D. OTHER ARCHIVES.

An indication has been given of only the principal archives of three South American capitals, and, in the case of those of Buenos Aires and Santiago, of those which are perhaps the best equipped and most progressive in the continent. If reports which the writer has heard on every hand may be believed, particularly the references made at the congress of bibliography and history, held at Buenos Aires in July, 1916, there are numerous repositories of unexplored material scattered over the southern Republics. One must not think, either, that all of the valuable materials are to be found in archives of the greater countries. For example, there are not less than 6,000 bundles in the national archive of Paraguay, most of them bearing on the colonial period, according to Señor Díaz Pérez, head of the *Biblioteca Nacional*, of Asunción.

In fine, materials in great quantity and probably of great value exist in South America. Publication of documents is going on at some of the principal archives, but even at the present commendable rate it would take a great many years, perhaps centuries, before the greater part of available material of value could be published. Is it not worth our while to make an organized effort to find out what exists?

¹ The forty-odd volumes, other than those selected by Palma, are of a miscellaneous nature. There is one manuscript volume of *cetreria* dated 1384. There is also a manuscript copy of about 1450 of López de Ayala's famous chronicle of the reigns of Pedro the Cruel and the kings immediately following.

IV. PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRTEENTH ANNUAL
CONFERENCE OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

CINCINNATI, DECEMBER 28, 1916.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRTEENTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

The thirteenth annual conference of historical societies was held Thursday, December 28, in McMickin Hall, University of Cincinnati. The room was not very accessible, so that there were not as many present as in 1915, but those who came were there for a purpose and were interested in the proceedings.

The chairman introduced Mr. Joseph Wilby, president of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, who welcomed the members of the conference. He spoke of the formation of the society in 1831, with the dual name, which gave it the nickname of "Hissoc." The "philosophy" in the title, he explained, was mainly in the way of keeping an even keel. It was organized in Columbus, and the best people have always been connected with it. After 18 years it moved to Cincinnati and joined the Cincinnati Historical Society which had been established in 1844. It has never received State aid, but has a fund of \$77,000, and receives \$10 a year from corporate members. Its nearest historical neighbors are the Filson Club at Louisville, and the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society at Columbus. By its charter it is to accumulate and preserve material for American history, but particularly for the history of Ohio, and this it has done, so that it has most complete collections for Cincinnati, for Hamilton County, and for Ohio, and indeed, a good showing for general history. For 11 years it has issued a quarterly, for publication is another provision of its charter. The society now has 27,000 bound volumes, 80,000 pamphlets, and much manuscript material. Mr. Wilby said there were two difficult propositions upon which to instruct the community; one, to preserve from waste much interesting family material; two, to keep for historical purposes of to-morrow much of what goes into the wastebaskets of this morning. He extended a cordial invitation to Van Wormer Hall, adjacent to the university, the home of the society.

The chairman, Prof. Harlow Lindley of the Indiana Historical Commission, opened the business of the conference with the following remarks:

Because of the limited time at our disposal and the fullness of our program, the chairman will make his introductory remarks very brief. The theme for our conference is a very timely one, especially for the middle section of our country.

We are just entering upon a series of State centennial activities. Indiana has occupied the stage during the year 1916. Then follow the States of Mississippi, Illinois, Alabama, Maine, and Missouri, and while these States are observing the anniversary of their admission into the sisterhood of States, others farther west are observing their semicentennials.

These years of attention to things historical will emphasize the need of a centralizing agency for the coordination, the conservation, and the direction of our historical interests. For instance, in the enthusiasm of the centennial anniversaries, many county and local historical societies will be either organized or rejuvenated. These are capable of performing valuable service, but the tendency will be, as it has been in the past, for them to languish for the want of intelligent direction and incentive.

A State historical society or commission should be able to so coordinate and direct the activities of these societies to the end that they might make distinct contributions to the State. Without a coordinating and supervising agency it is too much to expect that a desirable consummation will be realized.

In a questionnaire addressed by the Indiana Historical Commission to the county centennial chairman, covering various phases of this year's work, appeared this question: "What do you consider to have been the most helpful and permanent results of your celebration?" Two closely-related facts stand out above all others in the answers—the arousing of a new interest in State and local history, and the creation of a community spirit and consciousness. The two are supplementary to each other, and in a word express the vital significance of all celebrational activities, which we hope to do.

As our civilization becomes older we appreciate more and more the history of the past, and as a result the facts of local history are unearthed and rehearsed and pioneer heirlooms are rescued from the oblivion of a thousand attics and displayed to an appreciative citizenship. All this will present a tremendous potential asset to an enlightened citizenship. The important question thus arising is whether all this shall be conserved and utilized, or shall it be allowed to dissipate for want of proper focus and direction, and in order to secure permanent results it is vitally important that a supervising State agency be provided. With the encouragement and direction which a State agency could give, this very important work could be made to continue with system and benefit.

Thomas Lynch Montgomery, State librarian of Pennsylvania, was the first speaker. He told of the Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies, of which he is treasurer. He introduced the subject by referring to the organization of the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia in colonial days. It had some historical interests, but as science was more emphasized a little band broke away in 1824 and organized the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. In 1858 the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society was organized at Wilkes-Barre. These were the earliest historical societies, but gradually others sprang up all over the State.

The State library was established as a part of the legislative business of the State and for many years only such books were included as might help the legislator in understanding the philosophy of government and the making of the laws. An easy transition included books concerning the State and its various units and biographies of

its principal characters. It was not until comparatively modern times, however, that it became an historical library. The late Dr. William H. Egle, who was State librarian for 12 years, spent most of his appropriation on historical work. He himself edited a publication called "Notes and Queries," given up to genealogical data. He was editor of the Archives and gathered the material for his "History of Pennsylvania." There was not, however, even in his time, any specialization along these lines. It was simply a fact that he was more interested in the history of the State than in any other phase of the work. The speaker said when he first came to Harrisburg he saw at once the absolute need of a department to take care of the historical papers of the Commonwealth and, after providing for the salary of the custodian, a further sum was appropriated for the maintenance of the division of public records. This division took over all the historical papers which were not necessary in the performance of the daily work of the departments and repaired and bound them up chronologically for the use of students. Special attention was given to the military papers and in the publication of the fifth and sixth series of the Pennsylvania Archives were included all records of service which could be found in the various libraries of the country. A vast amount of local material had been collected by the county societies and many papers published for the infrequent meetings of such organizations. These papers were sent to members in good standing, but no list of such material was available. A few got together and organized a meeting in Harrisburg to arrange for some cooperation on the part of these societies, and the result was the formation of the Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies. The meeting of this Federation takes place each year in Harrisburg on the third Thursday of January. The features of these meetings are the presentation of a report giving a list of local societies, the names of their officers, the number of members, number of meetings held, and the titles of the publications issued, papers read, and addresses delivered in these various meetings. A further report gives the publications of the year concerning Pennsylvania and noteworthy works by Pennsylvanians. Last year there was added a new committee which deals with the necrology of the State. The federation numbers some 41 societies.

This federation acts as a historical clearing house for the various local organizations. Many efforts have been made to extend its activities but it has so far declined to be led from its original purpose.

Quite as important as the regular work of the meetings themselves is the association of the various people interested in local history. At this time new workers are continually looming up and forming affiliations with those interested along the same lines. The friendships thus made have been many in number, and as the delegates

often come a day before the meeting or stay until the following day, their association with the State library is that much the closer. One of the effects produced by these meetings was the formation of a committee to make recommendations as to marking the historic spots throughout the Commonwealth. In 1896 a very good report was issued upon the history of the frontier forts and recommendations were made at that time that each of these sites be appropriately marked. Nothing, however, was done, as no appropriation was made for this work. In 1913 it was thought better to provide a legislative enactment for a historical commission, to be appointed by the governor. Senator Sproul pushed the bill with a great deal of vigor, and it became a law at that session. This commission cooperates with the various associations in marking historic sites, with the result that almost all the frontier fort sites have been marked, and 15 descriptive monuments have been placed on the battlefield of Brandywine. The historical idea reaches its climax in the suggestion of Gov. Brumbaugh that a historical highway be mapped out by the highway commissioner for a boulevard extending from Washington's Crossing through Camp Hill, Pennypacker's Mills, Valley Forge, Paoli, and Brandywine. This boulevard, if built, will have adequate markers provided by the commission for its entire length, and would form a most interesting afternoon's trip through the most beautiful suburbs of Philadelphia.

Mr. A. F. Hunter, secretary of the Ontario Historical Society, Toronto, was unable to be present owing to the war, and his paper was read by the secretary, as follows:

FEDERATED HISTORICAL SOCIETIES IN ONTARIO.

By A. F. HUNTER.

For the first 10 years of its existence (1888-1898), the Ontario Historical Society was solely a federation of local historical societies. Then a departure in 1898 made an extension of its membership so as to include annual members at \$1 per year, as well as delegates from the local societies admitted without fee. The cramping experiences which had called for this revision of the constitution were thus removed, and the organization reestablished on a broader basis; but by including individual members directly it did not force the society to give up its federal character in its relations with the local societies.

This dual system of federating the historical societies at the same time that a general society is maintained, has worked fairly well, perhaps partly because of the fact that the act of the Ontario Legislature incorporating the provincial society adds to the affiliation between this organization and the local society a feature that is not usual, viz., the society in affiliation with the Ontario society becomes

thereby an incorporated society, with power to hold property, without having to go through the customary form of getting incorporation by an expensive process in the legal offices. The passing of resolutions by both societies, when duly recorded in the minutes of each, completes the incorporation of the applying society, as well as its affiliation, without further trouble and with no expense. The act which incorporates the Ontario society is chapter 108, Ontario Statutes, 1899. There is provision for levying an annual fee from each affiliated society, if necessary, but as these societies are needy (several of them receiving State aid as the central society does), the fee has not hitherto been levied.

In the administration of the dual function involved in the system, for the past 18 years no serious difficulty has arisen, although some mistakes occur on the part of those who do not understand the constitution; but this is a usual mishap in every line of work. There is no objection coming from either class of participants (annual members or delegates), so we may conclude that it is fairly workable.

Including the societies that were in existence at the time of the reorganization, 41 societies altogether have affiliated with the Ontario society, but of this number about half are decadent and moribund, as is usually the case with such organizations, the activity of each depending on the types of persons engaged in promoting it at any particular time.

It is not pretended that perfection has been reached, or that there are no defects. The divergent interests at play, for example, when all these societies are collecting books, pamphlets, and other materials for themselves, might become a stumbling-block, but it has proved to be held subordinate. And there is the chronic lack of funds, felt keenly by all active societies, but in the prosecution of this end this has not proved dispersive or destructive of good-will among the societies.

Amongst the accruing advantages it may be noted that the exchange of ideas on subjects relating to the management and welfare of the various societies is made easier, and is a useful factor to all. The promotion of an effort by one of the societies gets the benefit of the force of all when brought forward in the central society, as for example, a memorial or monument of some kind having a general, as well as a local, interest.

After the final settlement of the functions of the society on the above lines, some of the more active members realized that the large amount of historical material of an official kind in the executive departments of the provincial Government ought to receive special treatment. Accordingly they urged the appointment of an officer to take the care of the official records of the Province, and hence arose in 1903 the archives department of Ontario, which is authorized

to perform these services. With the Ontario Historical Society still pursuing the unofficial materials of history, and the archives department the official materials, there does not seem to be danger of overlapping of work.

In addition to these agencies, the historical department of the Provincial University, Toronto, has issued since 1896, a carefully edited Annual Review of Historical Publications relating to Canada, covering fully the historical literature of the Dominion in general, and of the Province in particular.

With all these different forces at work, therefore, the field of historical research for the Province, not to speak of the archives department at Ottawa, including in part the same ground, seems to be fairly well covered.

Dr. George N. Fuller, secretary of the Michigan Historical Commission, followed, on the relation of the commission to the local societies. He said:

Michigan has a State historical society, a State historical commission, and about a score of local pioneer and historical societies.

The State society had its origin in 1873 in the pioneer spirit of the county societies. Its first publications were mainly pioneer reminiscences contributed by members of the county societies, and its membership is still largely made up of pioneers and their descendants. It has now about 600 members distributed mainly in the counties containing the larger cities. The annual meeting is held in Lansing in May. An autumnal meeting and a midwinter meeting are held by invitation in other cities of the State.

In 1886, contemporary with the new general interest in historical study and with the change of the name of the State society from "Pioneer" to "Pioneer and Historical," the society began to publish, along with the pioneer reminiscences, series of documents transcribed mainly from Canadian archives through the public-spirited activity of Mr. C. M. Burton, of Detroit. To do this publishing the State granted funds ranging from \$500 to \$4,000 a year. With the steady increase of interest, however, in collecting and publishing source materials and properly caring for the earlier State archives there arose a demand for funds which the State refused to grant to the society as a private corporation, whereupon the trustees of the society, in harmony with the history department of the university and the governor of the State, secured in the legislature of 1913 an act creating the Michigan Historical Commission, a State department of history and archives, with an appropriation of \$5,000 a year in addition to practically unlimited printing facilities. As the governor appointed its six members mainly from the trustees of the society, and as the creative act gave unlimited power to the commission to cooperate with the society, the society received both an

administrative and a legal unity with the commission. It has with it a close administrative unity. For example, vacancies in the membership of the commission are filled, if possible, from the membership of the board of trustees of the society, and vice versa. The president of the State society is a member of the commission, the secretary of the society is secretary of the commission, and the members of the commission constitute a working majority of the trustees of the society. The two bodies act, therefore, in perfect harmony.

With the State society and the commission are in a manner affiliated the county pioneer and historical societies. It is the opinion of the State organizations that the county societies, if properly organized, officered, and encouraged, may become, as it were, active hands and fingers to the State in collecting valuable manuscript and printed materials now widely scattered in private homes. The commission is now attempting, both directly and through the membership of the society, to make very emphatic the need of systematically developing this collecting activity in all of the old pioneer societies, of reorganizing these societies upon this basis, and of forming new societies in the counties where there are none.

The process of establishing a new county society involves important preliminaries. Through our field worker, or by correspondence, we determine upon some one with the necessary initiative, energy, tact, and zeal for the work in a given county whom the president of the State society may appoint as the society's chief worker in the county. This person assists us in selecting similar representatives for the townships and cities, who are appointed in their respective townships chairmen of committees made up of vigorous and interested pioneers, and the teachers of the townships. It is through the teachers mainly that the homes are directly touched. The teachers encourage the children to report on what they find of historical value in their homes. Specific things to look for are mentioned in a circular which is supplied to the teachers by the commission and it is carried home by the children to the parents. These reports by the children are in some places made a part of the English work in the schools. The reports are sent by the teachers to our township representatives, who then get in touch directly with those homes which promise important finds. Reports of the township representatives are sent to our county representative, who, in turn, has the gist of the important reports published in a historical column in the county paper, which the people look for as a permanent feature. Through the county paper the township workers and the teachers are kept in eager touch with each other's finds. Our county workers send us clippings from the historical columns, together with whatever suggestions may occur for improving the work, and keep

us in touch with each county. We file these clippings at the office in the capitol, and from them we make up, from time to time, bulletins of information for wide distribution over the State. The quarterly bulletin of the commission, recently projected, will contain in its news column notice of the essential collections of materials made in the counties.

In most counties it is not difficult to find a competent person who is willing to do this work as a labor of love. Often it happens that this person can be chosen from the membership of the State society, but often in the organization of the work assistance is needed which incurs an expense beyond what a willing worker should be expected to defray. Quite recently the commission has considered favorably the question of paying annually to each chief worker in the counties a small sum to cover the necessary expenses, and to offer annual prizes for the best collection of original manuscript materials. In addition the commission has favorably considered the advisability of paying the expenses of the chief worker in each county to the annual meeting of the State society, at Lansing, to report upon these collections and to discuss methods and experiences.

Obviously this work could be carried on independently of county societies. But the society can have important functions. Its organization may focus public thinking aroused by this preliminary work, and afford an occasion for public expression of historical interest; it may bring to the chief worker of the county, who usually becomes the secretary of the society, a powerful social stimulus, and set each recurring meeting as an event toward which to work; it may bring clearly to the attention of all interested the ideals toward which the State society and the historical commission are working; and it may quicken public sentiment to instruct members of the legislature as to the wishes of the people respecting legislation in the interests of the history of the State. It is worthy of note that Gov. Ferris was one of the chief benefactors of the Mecosta County Historical Society, and that his successor, Gov. Sleeper, is president of the Huron County Historical Society.

When the time is ripe in a county for the organization of the society, an appropriate appeal is made through the newspapers of the county summing up the results of the preliminary work, calling attention to the functions of a county society in aiding the State work, and publishing a constitution for the proposed new society to be changed to suit local conditions at the time of the meeting. Such a constitution the historical commission has published in its Bulletin No. 2, which is intended to secure uniformity of organization throughout the State and to relate the county societies through the proper officers and activities organically with the State society. A little before the time set for the first meeting, which is usually held

at the county seat, our State field worker, as a representative of the State society and of the commission, goes to the county and assists the local worker in making the needful preparations for the meeting. This representative is present at the meeting and speaks upon the work of the State society and the commission, the benefits to be derived from affiliation of the local society with the State society, and accepts new memberships in that body. Each member of the new society receives a copy of the commission's bulletin entitled, "Suggestions for local historical societies and writers in Michigan," which contains a constitution and by-laws, and brief paragraphs on such subjects as the function of the local historical society, the elements of a successful society, arousing and directing individual interest in collecting source materials, curious versus useful materials, interviewing pioneers, charting Indian mounds, marking historic sites, celebrating anniversaries, the use of group pride in the study of foreign elements of the population, the relation of the school to the society, local clubs as centers of interest in history, the public library and the local museum, methods of preserving clippings and manuscripts, general suggestions to writers of local history, suggestions for the treatment of a large settlement area, suggestions for a sketch of county history, types of outlines for sketch of township history. At this time special stress is laid upon the collecting of historical materials, rather than upon the writing of history. It is urged that original materials such as letters, diaries, memoranda, journals, notebooks, anything readable left by the pioneers, be read at the society's meetings, as well as papers compiled from them.

The officering of the county society usually includes all of our active preliminary workers. Our county worker is naturally a candidate for secretary, and the township workers for corresponding secretaries. An active president is chosen from among the pioneers of the county. An executive committee is named to include generally the mayor of the county-seat, city or village, the president of the chamber of commerce, or corresponding organization of business men, the county-school commissioner, the superintendent of schools, the city librarian, and the president of the society. The society's secretary is also secretary of the executive committee.

There need only be mentioned further the possibilities in getting the young people interested who have had the advantage of attending the State university or some of the numerous colleges of the State. Of all people in the State the young need to be schooled in the function of the study of State history, and the young college folk are their natural leaders. To encourage the attention of young people in the public schools to State history, a prize contest has recently been organized by the Michigan Daughters of the American Revolution and the Michigan Federation of Women's Clubs, cooperating

with the Historical Commission and the State Department of Public Instruction. The prize essays for 1915-16 are published in the commissions's bulletin No. 8.

The county pioneer society, as largely a social gathering, has performed in the history of the State an important function, of gathering pioneer reminiscences and keeping alive an interest in the past. In all counties where these societies exist the pioneers are found in heartiest sympathy with the recent movement which has come along with the new interest in studying the State's history and are willing in every way to help to reorganize the old societies for greater efficiency in collecting historical materials. To make the new societies efficient, however, the State recognizes, as it does with everything else that it really believes in as being for the good of the State, that it must provide the necessary financial assistance.

Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, of the Illinois State Historical Library, followed. She told of the growth of historical societies in Illinois, the formation of the State society, the organization of the State historical library, of which in 1903 the State Historical Society was made a department. In Illinois there are 102 counties, and there are 36 county societies (at present nearly all affiliated with the State society). This includes the great Chicago society, which has very "modestly affiliated." These affiliated societies on December 7, 1916, held a meeting for the first time. Delegates were present, reports were read, but no papers. It was a very great success. Every society reports its officers and activities yearly. The effect has been beneficial on the State society, and it is hoped also on the local societies.

The discussion closed with an elaborately prepared paper on the Bay State Historical League, by Nathaniel T. Kidder, vice president of the Bay State Historical League.

BAY STATE HISTORICAL LEAGUE.

By NATHANIEL T. KIDDER.

When President Smith, of the Bay State Historical League, asked me to go to Cincinnati as a delegate to the conference of historical societies I did not at first realize that I was expected to read a paper about the league, and while appreciating that one must not criticize the judgment of his superior officer, I can not help thinking that a better choice might have been made. However, having undertaken to give some account of the origin, work, and aims of the league, I had first to decide how to get together materials to aid me, and the best method seemed to be to collect all available printed matter emanating from the organization. I wrote to many of the early members, I sent a circular letter to all the societies in the league setting forth my

desire to get a complete set of all publications, including notices of meetings—this set to be deposited with the Milton Historical Society if possible—but asking for loans where items were too much prized to be given. The response has been most gratifying and has resulted in my obtaining, or at least seeing, nearly all of the publications. The list of these shows where each item may be seen, the larger part being with the Milton Society. The league should have a set as well.

The sketch of the Bay State Historical League, which follows, is made up almost wholly from the material thus collected. It may be noted here that the league has no State affiliation; that it depends for its funds entirely on the annual fees of the constituent societies; and that these societies are represented by delegates, as will be seen in the by-laws.

Publication I. It appears that the idea of a federation of historical societies, which at first was projected to include only Middlesex and Essex Counties, originated with John F. Ayer,¹ who was then president of the Somerville Historical Society. February 9, 1903, Mr. Ayer wrote to the presidents of seven historical societies, suggesting that they meet to consider federation.

March 3 four gentlemen, including Mr. Ayer, and representing four societies, met and discussed the desirability and feasibility of a federation, and it was decided to invite the societies in the counties already mentioned to send each a delegate to a meeting for further deliberation.

On March 13 such a meeting was held, all the societies of the two counties having been invited to be represented, and 12 societies were represented by 14 delegates. Mr. Ayer stated that the meeting was called to get the sentiment of the delegates as to the formation of a society by which certain historical societies might cooperate. He further stated that he felt that such a union, even if it gave only information of what each society was doing, and how doing it, might give an impetus to historical research. A committee on organization, consisting of seven members, was formed, to report at a meeting to be called by them when ready to report.

The committee on organization called a meeting, which was held April 3, 13 delegates from 12 societies being present, and made a report in the form of a set of by-laws. After careful discussion and some amendment the by-laws were adopted as below, and a temporary organization of the league was effected as follows: President, John F. Ayer, Somerville; secretary and treasurer, George O. Smith, Lexington; executive committee, F. Gaylord Cook (Cambridge), David H. Brown (Medford), George Tolman (Concord), and Howard Mudge Newhall (Lynn).

¹ See memoir by Somerville Society.

BY-LAWS.

ARTICLE I.

Name.—This league shall be called the Bay State Historical League.

ARTICLE II.

Objects.—The objects of this league shall be (1) to encourage the formation of historical societies; (2) to encourage the existing historical societies in prosecution of historical study and the dissemination of historical knowledge, in the institution and maintenance of historical memorials and anniversaries, the collection, preservation, and publication of historical material, and to bring such societies into a closer relation with one another; and (3) otherwise to promote historical interests.

ARTICLE III.

Membership.—This league shall consist of such of the following historical societies as shall, within three months of the adoption of these by-laws, fulfill the conditions of membership therein contained, and shall assent in writing to these by-laws by their representatives thereto duly authorized: Somerville, Medford, Malden, Lexington, Billerica, Bedford, Shepard of Cambridge, Danvers, Peabody, Essex Institute of Salem, Newburyport, Lynn, Watertown, South Natick, Wakefield, Arlington, Tufts College, Ipswich, Littleton, Concord, and Essex.

This league shall have power at any annual meeting or special meeting to add other historical societies to its membership, provided, however, that every application for membership in this league shall first have been approved by the executive committee thereof, and at least 10 days' notice of such application and approval shall have been given to each society belonging to the league.

ARTICLE IV.

Officers.—The officers of this league shall be a president, a secretary, a treasurer, and an executive committee of seven persons, consisting of the president, secretary, and treasurer, *ex officio*, and four others, of which seven not less than three persons shall constitute a quorum. Their duties shall be as are indicated in their respective names, and they shall be elected at the annual meeting, and shall hold office until their successors are elected. The treasurer shall pay no bills without the approval in writing of the executive committee.

ARTICLE V.

Meetings.—The league shall hold its annual meeting on the third Wednesday in May of each year, unless otherwise directed by the executive committee, and also such special meetings, and at such hours and places as shall be indicated in the call for the same by the executive committee; at any such annual meeting or special meeting each society belonging to this league shall be entitled to be represented by its president and secretary, or alternates, and to constitute a quorum at least five societies must be represented.

ARTICLE VI.

Dues.—Each society of this league shall pay, as a condition to admission to membership, an admission fee of \$2, and shall also pay an annual tax of \$1 in advance. Such annual tax shall be payable at each annual meeting for the year next ensuing, and the failure for one year after such annual meeting to pay such tax shall be deemed a forfeiture of membership in this league by such society, unless and until such forfeiture be waived by the league at any subsequent annual or special meeting.

ARTICLE VII.

Amendments.—The amendments to these by-laws, of which due notice shall have been given in the call of any annual meeting, may be adopted at such annual meeting by the vote of two-thirds of the societies then and there represented.

Publication II. The report of the executive committee made to the meeting of June 4, 1904, and issued as a leaflet, 9½ inches by 6½ inches, may be considered as Publication II if I am not mistaken. It has nearly disappeared from sight, and I am indebted to the Marblehead society for being able to see it. The text in this is practically all repeated in Publication IV as a part of the record of the 9th meeting.

Publication III shows a settling and clarifying of the objects and work of the league. As stated on the title page, it contains "a list of the societies comprising the league, with names of the secretaries; a list of titles and the writers of papers read before certain of its (the league's) members during the years 1902-1907."

The following is quoted from page 4:

The secretary of the Bay State Historical League will be pleased to answer communications from local historical societies anywhere in Massachusetts desiring information concerning the purposes of the league, or to arrange for a conference with the executive board with a view to increasing the interest in or efficiency of their organizations.

A list of officers of the league next follows for 1906-7. On page 6 we find a recommendation of very great practical value for struggling societies: "The executive committee recommends that the secretary of each local society add to his mailing list the addresses of the other societies which are members of the league, so that notices and other circular matter may be sent. Thus the experience of one society will be suggestive and beneficial to all the others."

Publication IV. Pages 5 to 41 are given to an account of proceedings at the meetings from which I cull details of moment in the league's history. Let me say at once that the proceedings of the league are too voluminous to quote at length, and that my excerpts are chosen not so much on a basis of giving the most notable events, as with the intention of illustrating the wide range of subjects covered by its meetings.

Perhaps it should be noted, too, that the league has no regular headquarters, but holds its meetings in various towns of the commonwealth, with the societies which comprise the league. Fifty meetings have been held in 17 cities and towns, with an average representation of about 20 societies.

The sixth meeting of persons interested in the formation of the Bay State Historical League, and which resulted in a permanent organization, was held May 20, 1903, in the home of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, 18 Somerset Street, Boston. It was voted that the executive committee notify the several historical societies of the State of the formation of the league and invite them to join.

At the seventh meeting, February 18, 1904, it was announced that a list of vital questions had been sent to the several societies of the

State. This was for the purpose of making a complete list of all the societies, their officers, members, work, aims, methods, publications, lectures, and collections, the intention being to publish these data in codified form. The matter was referred to a committee of one to bring in a report.

Mr. John Albree, as the committee of one just referred to above, reported at length at the eighth meeting of the league, held April 30, 1904. It does not appear that this report was printed in full, but many interesting details of the report and the discussion which followed are given in the pages of Publication IV. Stress was laid on the desirability of not only storing and preserving the records of the past, but also making them available for ready reference.

Thus early in the league's existence were discussed the main lines of work for local societies, and stress laid on the importance of preserving and filing the facts of history in the making. The work of one society suggests work for another, its subjects of discussion inspire, and its essays, when not dealing with strictly local subjects, may be repeated before other audiences. At the league's gatherings the members of the various societies meet, after the formal exercises, individuals interested in their own special lines exchange views and give and receive encouragement. Too narrow or even too broad a vision may leave out some detail worth observing, even as there is a middle distance which bifocal spectacles do not make clear. We do not always appreciate our local newspapers as they come out week by week, but files of old ones are at least curiosities and often prove of inestimable value. An item that Jedidiah Holbrook is reshingling his barn may some day prove a guidepost in biographical research. Some uniform system of filing all local material would save much time, and these meetings tend toward such a happy conclusion.

For all means of preserving the records of the past, and of the present as well, the league stands. It realizes that at present the number of individuals interested in this work is limited, but believes that a campaign of education should be carried on, teaching more and more the value of intelligent research and comparison of the past with the present. The events of to-day are better understood through a knowledge of the past. No person's experience is unique; we can all learn from the experience of others.

At the ninth meeting, held in Lexington, June 4, 1904, the executive committee presented a "plan of united action." The policy of the league was more definitely set forth, along the lines of the seventh and eighth meetings, and there was added the custom, since maintained, of listening to a short sketch of the town where the meeting is held and visiting the chief points of interest.

The tenth meeting, held in Boston, February 25, 1905, was especially interesting. Its chief feature was a paper read by Charles

J. H. Woodbury, of Lynn. This was afterwards printed and distributed among historical societies of the country under the title "Cooperation Among Local Historical Societies" (Waltham, Press of E. L. Barry, 1905).

Many suggestions were made of useful work, and a circular was sent to the societies belonging to the league which set forth the most important.

At the eleventh meeting Hon. Charles Francis Adams read a paper on "Town history, its value and study." *

At the thirteenth meeting, June 2, 1906, a vice president was for the first time elected.

The record of the fourteenth meeting shows that it had by that time become the custom for the society acting as host to provide a lunch.

At the seventeenth meeting Miss Helen T. Wild, of Medford, in the course of a paper there read, said that "the custom that many historical societies have of asking all the members to write out their genealogy as far back as possible, for the archives of the organization, is useful." From such simple beginnings an interest might grow which would mean much to the individual as well as to the archives of the society. Miss Wild cited an instance of a tax record serving as a proof of a man's age. Thus another class of record was proved worth studying. Her suggestion that children be taught history by taking them to an historical site and encouraging them to ask questions is a humane reversal perhaps of the ancient custom of taking them to the bounds and there beating them that they should remember the location.

At the eighteenth meeting among the speakers of the day was Sidney Perley, of Salem, who laid special stress on the value of genealogy.

Publication V begins with the records of the nineteenth meeting, April 18, 1908.

At the twenty-second meeting, June 12, 1909, the executive committee was directed to ask of each society belonging to the league a yearly report of its work and a list of its publications.

In the record of the twenty-fourth meeting we read:

Gen. John E. Gilman, of the Grand Army of the Republic, referred particularly to the final disposition of the relics of all Grand Army organizations. In accordance with the oath administered to every post commander, these must eventually be turned over, either to a local historical society or to the public library. It is, therefore, very important that the historical societies keep in close touch with the Grand Army posts.

Many extracts from the discussions, sometimes very spirited, held at various meetings might be made, had we more time. It should

always be borne in mind that the chief object of the league was and is to awaken interest among the delegates attending the meetings with the hope that they would inspire the members of their home societies.

One can read between the lines of the records that there was, up to about five years ago, some little difficulty at the financial end of affairs, as witness the change in article VI raising the annual tax from \$1 to \$2 in advance. Again, there seems to have been some difficulty in getting the component societies to make an annual report, as this was more than once suggested. As the league grew, rather more power was conferred upon the executive committee, as is shown by a vote conferring on the executive committee the power to appoint the nominating committee.

Before this audience it is not necessary to enlarge on the interest of searching for the records of the past, but what is not quite so obvious as the interest, when acquired, is the desirability, aye, the necessity, of spreading this interest amongst the public, so that the clearing out of old attics may be done with due consideration for the data which may be locked up in old diaries, letters, bills. It is one of the main objects of the Bay State Historical League to emphasize all this, and to get the warning to the housekeepers in all the Massachusetts villages before the last of the old attics are cleared out.

No intelligent study of history can be carried on without comparing notes with the outside world. If we are studying the history of a small township in Massachusetts or in Ohio, we very often find that we must get facts from over the border of our territory, and it is certainly encouraging to find that our neighboring towns are working on similar lines to ours and ready to cooperate in running to earth elusive facts which we are pursuing.

This volume of the publications ends with 13 pages of "speakers before the historical societies (belonging to the league) and their subjects," from 1908 to the date of issue. Such lists are, of course, full of suggestion.

Publication VI. The proceedings of the meetings of the league here recorded are not generally full reports of the meetings, but give in condensed form the chief items.

I now wish to mention a paper read at the meeting of April 26, 1913, "Methods of research to be used in local historical societies," by Charles K. Bolton, A. B., librarian of the Boston Athenaeum, a paper which he had read before the American Historical Association, and now repeated by request. Other speakers followed, and the discussion of the subject seems to have been unusually full, bringing out the importance of accumulating accurate data and using them skillfully.

The balance in the treasury of the league shows an improvement about this time. During two years 10 societies were added to the membership.

At the meeting of January 17, 1914, Mr. Edwin D. Mead read a paper on Benjamin Franklin, the day being the anniversary of his birth. The president of the Lynn society gave some description of the acquiring of that society's quarters. The meeting of April 25 was held in Lexington. The president of the local society said that the Lexington Society was fortunately situated in a fertile field for its work. His account of the accomplishments of the society was inspiring to anyone with similar aims, and brought forth the recommendation that every society try to have an attractive home, if possible an old historic house. Several delegates spoke of the work in progress by their home societies. The record of the meeting closes with a memorial to Ex-President John F. Ayer, who died on April 20, 1914. The last clause of this memorial reads: "To him should justly be awarded the honor of organizing the league, and he lived to see it securely established as an active influence in the work originally marked out for it."

The fall meeting of the league took the form of a field day in Greenfield and Deerfield. The business session was held in the rooms, then newly opened, of the Greenfield Historical Society on the evening of the first day of the excursion. Judge Francis Nims Thompson, of Greenfield, gave an address on the early history of the Deerfield Valley (set forth at length in Publication VI). The next day the visiting party went over the territory described in the address, with Judge Thompson as guide, and broke up in South Deerfield.

The meeting of January 16, 1915, was held in Milton. The subject of "How Can Children Best Be Taught the History of Their Own Towns?" was the chief question of the meeting. Some description was given also of the publications of various societies.

The meeting of April 10, 1915, at Framingham South Village, being the day following the fiftieth anniversary of the surrender of Gen. Robert E. Lee, was commemorative of that event. Col. Thomas L. Livermore read a paper on the Appomattox campaign, illustrated by a large map.

The next meeting was held in Plymouth. Then came the meeting of March 25, 1916, in the old statehouse in Boston, the home of the Bostonian Society, and the paper was by Mr. Worthington C. Ford, editor of the Massachusetts Historical Society, on "The Formation of Local Historical Societies."

Two more meetings, at Canton and Mendon, respectively, bring this story down to date, and I hope that my recapitulation has suc-

ceeded in its purpose—namely, to give you an idea of the history and objects of the Bay State Historical League.

It must be noted, before leaving the subject, that the secretary of the conference received letters or telegrams criticizing the Pennsylvania Federation, the Illinois State Historical Society plan of affiliation, and the Bay State League, but no one was present to offer criticisms verbally.

At the conclusion of Mr. Kidder's address the conference took up the business of its closer organization, as provided for in the appointment of a committee by the 1915 conference, consisting of the secretary; Dr. T. M. Owen, of Alabama; Dr. B. F. Shambaugh, of Iowa; and Dr. S. P. Heilman, of Pennsylvania. As this report had been incorporated in the report of the committee of two appointed by the council at the request of the conference of 1913, and as the latter report had been acted upon by the Council of the American Historical Association and was ready to be presented by Prof. A. C. McLaughlin of the council, Prof. McLaughlin was recognized and presented the report as follows:

REPORT TO THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL BY THE COMMITTEE ON A SURVEY OF THE
ORGANIZATION AND ACTIVITIES OF HISTORICAL AGENCIES IN THE UNITED STATES
AND CANADA.

To the Executive Council of the American Historical Association:

At the Tenth Annual Conference of Historical Societies, held in Charleston on December 29, 1913, the following resolutions were adopted:

Resolved by the Conference of Historical Societies of the American Historical Association, That we respectfully request the council of the American Historical Association to take the necessary steps for the preparation of a comprehensive survey of the organization and activities of historical agencies in the United States and Canada.

Resolved, further, That in our opinion this survey should contain a digest of the legislation in the different States relating to archives and historical activities, a brief account of the organization of all historical societies, State historical commissions, departments of archives and history, State historians, archival offices, historical libraries, and State libraries, so far as they have functions pertaining to history; and a bibliography of the publications issued by these agencies since the preparation of the Bibliography of American Historical Societies, contained in Volume II of the Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1905.

These resolutions were presented to the executive council at its meeting in Chicago on December 29, 1914, and were by vote referred to a committee of two to be appointed by the president. The undersigned were appointed such a committee and at once began by correspondence a thorough consideration of the matter thus referred to them.

It seemed best to your committee not to present a report last year since it desired to take advantage of discussion in the Conference of Historical Societies held in connection with the Washington meetings. Your committee believes that it is now able to present definite recommendations upon the various aspects of the matter referred to it.

I.

CONTINUATION OF GRIFFIN'S BIBLIOGRAPHY OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

The resolutions call for the consideration of "a bibliography of the publications issued by these agencies since the preparation of the Bibliography of American Historical Societies, contained in Volume II of the Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1905."

It will be remembered that in its annual report for 1895 the association published a bibliography of American and Canadian historical societies to 1895, prepared by Mr. A. P. C. Griffin, now of the Library of Congress. In its annual report for 1905 the association reprinted this bibliography, considerably expanded and brought down to the year 1905, inclusive. This bibliography lists the publications, from their respective beginnings, of 492 societies, associations, clubs, universities, State departments, and other organizations and institutions. It fills, with the index, 1,377 pages. Not only is each published volume listed with a table of its contents run in solid paragraphs, but such reprints as were accessible to the compiler are also included.

In considering the desirability of a continuation of Griffin's bibliography, your committee has not overlooked the fact that much of the material that would be included in such a continuation is also to be found in the annual bibliography subsidized by the association and known as Writings on American History. We do not, however, believe that this latter work makes the continuation of Griffin's bibliography superfluous. In the first place, Writings on American History contains only a selection of the items that would be entered in the proposed continuation. Furthermore, its form is not such that the publications of any given society can readily be segregated. We believe that there is need for a bibliography devoted exclusively to the publications of historical societies and other agencies, which shall enable the user readily to distinguish and check up the output of any given society. We believe this fact to be amply demonstrated by the proved value of Griffin's bibliography and of such works as Lasteyrie's bibliography of French historical societies.

We recommend, therefore, that the council authorize the continuation of Griffin's bibliography through the year 1915 or later, on a plan similar to that followed by Mr. Griffin, but excluding all reprints of articles otherwise noted. We recommend the publication of this continuation as Volume II of the annual report being published at the time of its completion. We estimate that it will make a volume of from 300 to 400 pages. We further recommend that the generous offer of the Newberry Library of Chicago to cooperate with the association, to the extent of allowing Dr. A. H. Shearer of its staff to compile the proposed continuation, be gratefully accepted. This cooperation makes it possible for the association to publish the bibliography at little or no expense except to its printing appropriation at the Government Printing Office.

II.

PREPARATION OF A HANDBOOK OF HISTORICAL AGENCIES IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA.

In the annual report of the association for 1905 there is published a "Report on methods of organization and work on the part of State and local historical societies," prepared by a special committee composed of Messrs. Reuben G. Thwaites, Benjamin F. Shambaugh, and Franklin L. Riley. This report contains statistical information, arranged in tabular form relating to 206 societies, State departments, etc., but does not include universities. The information given is grouped under the following heads: Date of organization, number of members, books and pamphlets in library, State appropriations and other income, remarks. There is also an appendix giving rather more detailed in-

formation respecting about 215 societies, most of which are already included in the tabular lists.

The report itself is in part made up of generalizations respecting the different kinds of societies, their organization, scope, and purpose, methods of work, etc., and is designed to be not only descriptive but constructive and suggestive.

In 1908 the Carnegie Institution of Washington published a handbook of learned societies and institutions in North and South America. In this volume reference is made to about 400 historical societies in the United States and Canada. In the case of the more important societies the information is grouped under the heads: Address, history, object, meetings, membership, publications, distribution. In the case of the smaller, especially the local societies, a very summary statement of a few lines is made to suffice.

The editors of *Minerva* have announced that one of the volumes of their *Handbuch der Gelehrten Welt* will be devoted to learned societies, but this publication will be in German, will be part of a series, will include only the most important of American historical societies, and the information respecting each society will of necessity be very brief and condensed.

The learned societies of Great Britain and Ireland publish an official year-book, in which one section of 28 pages is devoted to literary and historical societies. Only the larger organizations are included and the information given, which is very succinct, is arranged under the headings: Officers, object, meetings, membership, publications.

We believe that a handbook of the historical societies and other agencies of the United States and Canada is a desideratum. Such a handbook should include, arranged in geographic order, universities and colleges, libraries (in so far as they carry on historical activities of a distinctive nature), State departments of history and archives, official historical agencies of smaller political divisions, and historical societies. By the term historical societies we mean those organizations whose work and object are primarily historical, or are accomplished mainly by historical methods. Thus we would include archaeological societies, but not geographical societies.

The information respecting these various agencies should be grouped under such heads as follows: Legislation, history, form of government, officers, membership, objects and activities, meetings, collections (printed and manuscript, and museum objects), publications, income, invested funds, and property, etc. Not more than a page should be devoted to any one society or agency, and in the majority of cases half a page would suffice. We estimate that the proposed handbook would make a volume of about 400 pages.

Such a handbook would show the status of historical work in America at the time of its publication. It should be revised at regular intervals, say, of 10 years, and during the interim the current information necessary to keep the handbook up to date could be published in the manner which we recommend in the third section of this report. Even, however, if no provision can be made for continuing or revising the handbook, we believe such a comprehensive survey as we have described to be amply worth while.

It has been suggested that by cooperation among the national learned societies a general handbook or yearbook of American learned societies might be produced. Such an undertaking, however, is so large, as demonstrated by the experience of the Carnegie Institution, and is accompanied by such an expense, that we do not think it advisable (nor does it lie within the prescribed scope of our consideration) to recommend it to the council.

We believe that the undertaking which we propose can be carried out without expense to the association beyond a small sum for incidental expenses.

We recommend, therefore, that a committee be appointed whose duty it shall be to plan the details of such a handbook as we have described, to estimate its cost, to prepare a prospectus of it, to secure advance subscriptions for it from libraries, societies, individuals, etc., and, when the amount of its cost shall have been covered by advance subscriptions, to compile and publish it.

We believe that if possible it should be published separately, either through some publishing firm or by the association. If that prove to be impracticable we suggest that it be published as Volume II of one of the annual reports, with a reprint edition for the filling of advance subscriptions and post-publication orders; or, another possibility, that it be offered to the Bureau of Education.

We recommend the appropriation of \$75 for the incidental expenses of such a committee during 1917.

We realize that the compilation must be largely a labor of love if it is to be accomplished without incurring a considerable expense. We assume, therefore, that the committee, while maintaining a strict supervision over the general plan of the compilation, will secure as much voluntary assistance as it finds desirable. We would suggest, therefore, that the committee, if it be appointed, be a small one, consisting of not more than three members, and that it be empowered to add to itself such associate members as it may desire.

III.

ORGANIZATION AND ACTIVITIES OF THE CONFERENCE OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

While the matter of the organization and activities of the Conference of Historical Societies is not, by mention, included among the questions submitted to us, it is, in our opinion, so closely connected with them that we can not fail to give it careful consideration.

It will be remembered that the council at its meeting of November 27, 1903, voted, in accordance with a recommendation from the general committee, that a special session at the annual meeting of 1904 be set apart for the discussion of questions of interest to workers in State and local historical societies.

The program committee accordingly provided such a session at the Chicago meeting of 1904. At this session those present asked the council to provide for a similar session at the next annual meeting, which was done, the council also appointing the chairman and the secretary of the conference. This action was reported to the association and was approved by formal vote.

At the council meeting of December 28, 1905, it was voted to continue the conference for 1906 and a chairman and a secretary were again appointed.

Since then, without any further action by the council or by the association, the conference has been one of the fixed features of the program, and its chairman and secretary have been appointed in the same manner as the regular committees.

The present practice is to continue the secretary in office for a period of years in order to assure a desirable degree of continuity in the activities of the conference. The conference, through its secretary and chairman or through a special committee of its own appointment, provides its own program, although in the earlier years the program was arranged by the general program committee.

The conference has at various times appointed committees for special purposes. The most notable of these was the committee on cooperative activities appointed by the conference of 1907, which carried out an extensive search of Paris archives for material relating to the history of the Mississippi Valley, collecting for that purpose contributions amounting to nearly \$4,000.

Each year the secretary of the conference and the secretary of the association united in inviting all American and Canadian historical societies, about 400 in

number, to send delegates to the conference. At the same time a questionnaire is sent to the societies calling for information respecting officers, income, collections, publications, and new activities.

Ordinarily some 40 or 50 societies appoint delegates, to which are accorded at the annual meetings all the privileges of members of the association. Of the appointed delegates, however, relatively few attend the conference. About 90 or 100 of the societies supply the information asked for in the questionnaire, which information, in condensed form, is printed as an appendix to the proceedings of the conference, which are included in the annual report of the association.

The attendance at the conference has increased of late and now averages 75 to 100 persons.

Such, then, is the conference of historical societies at present. From a specialized session of the annual meetings it has developed into a partially self-governing meeting, though still wholly dependent upon the association.

Those who have attended the conference with a certain regularity and who are interested in its work feel that the time has come to infuse it with new life and to make of it an active agent for cooperation, for the dissemination of information, and for the exchange of ideas among historical societies.

Your committee believes that it is possible to accomplish this result. We believe that the conference should be made a semi-independent organization, self-governing in most matters, under the protectorate or auspices of the association. Furthermore, we believe that it should be, and can be made, self-supporting. Heretofore it has depended upon small appropriations from the association for the incidental expenses incurred by the secretary. This last year, 1916, the appropriation was only \$25, which is insufficient for even the sending of suitable invitations and questionnaires to the societies, leaving nothing for the correspondence during the year which should be an important function of the secretary.

Furthermore, it is essential that the proceedings of the conference, together with the information gathered from the societies, be published within a short time after the meeting, and not as now, a year or two later, when the interest in the proceedings has waned and when the information and statistics, long out of date, have lost all their practical value to the societies.

At the last conference, held in Washington in December, 1915, the future of the conference as an organization and as a meeting was discussed, and the consensus of opinion was in the direction that we have indicated. Furthermore, a committee was then appointed to continue and crystallize the discussion, and its conclusions, as communicated to us, are substantially the same as our own.

We recommend, therefore—

1. That the conference of historical societies be recognized as a semi-independent organization under the auspices of the American Historical Association.

2. That its secretary be appointed by the council of the association, and have the rank and functions of a committee chairman, reporting annually to the association.

3. That the conference appoint such other officers and committees as it may find expedient.

4. That the conference be supported by an annual assessment upon each society that becomes a member of it; such assessments to be upon the basis of 1 cent for each member of such societies, but no society to be assessed more than \$10 nor less than 25 cents. Commissions, State departments, surveys, etc., not organized as societies, to pay an annual fee of \$5.

5 That the conference have control of its own funds, but shall furnish an annual report of its expenditures and receipts to the association.

6. That the chairman of its program committee, or such officer as may be charged with the preparation of its program, shall be ex-officio a member of the program committee of the association.

7. That the conference publish, as soon as possible after the annual meeting of each year, a report of its proceedings together with such bibliographical and statistical information as shall in effect constitute an annual revision of the handbook and an annual continuation of the bibliography which we have described in the first two sections of this report.

8. That all publications of the conference be passed upon by the association's committee on publications, and be issued under the auspices of the association.

9. That finally an appropriation of \$50 for 1917 be made for the incidental expenses connected with the reorganization of the conference.

Such a plan as we have outlined would, we believe, vitalize the conference and would be instrumental in vitalizing many of the less active societies

When we consider that there are nearly 500 historical societies in the United States and Canada; that their total membership is upward of 50,000; that their aggregate property and resources have a value of several millions of dollars; and that their collections of books, manuscripts, and other historical material constitute an enormous and invaluable asset of the historical profession, it must be conceded that the association has in this vast field an unparalleled opportunity to stimulate activities, to encourage the undertaking of more worthy enterprises, to promote cooperation, and in general to advance the cause of history.

Respectfully submitted.

WALDO G. LELAND,
AUGUSTUS H. SHEARER.

Upon the presentation of this report, the secretary offered Part III as the report of the committee provided for by the conference of 1915. Upon motion of Mr. Montgomery it was voted on as a whole and adopted unanimously.¹

Upon motion the conference adjourned.

The following were present:

William Beer, Howard Memorial Library and Louisiana Historical Society, New Orleans, La.

Dr. S. J. Buck, Minnesota Historical Society.

Rev. William Busch, St. Paul Seminary, St. Paul, Minn.

D. E. Clark, State Historical Society of Iowa.

G. N. Fuller, Michigan Historical Commission.

George S. Godard, Connecticut State Library.

H. G. Green, West Virginia Department of Archives and History.

H. C. Hockett, Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society.

H. A. Kellar, McCormick Historical Association, Chicago.

Nathaniel T. Kidder, Milton Historical Society, Bay State Historical League, Colonial Society of Massachusetts.

¹ At the business meeting of the American Historical Association in the afternoon the plan as provided in Part III was adopted, so it is in effect; but as the conference took no further action, the details will be completed at the 1917 meeting.

Mrs. Lafferty, chairman historical research committee of the Kentucky Federation of Clubs, Lexington, Ky.

Rev. John Lamotte, Mount St. Mary's Seminary, Cincinnati.

Grant Leet, Washington, D. C.

Harlow Lindley, Indiana Historical Commission, Indiana Department of Archives.

W. MacDonald, Brown University.

A. C. McLaughlin, University of Chicago.

Mr. McMurray, Vanderbilt University.

Thomas P. Martin, Harvard Commission on Western History.

T. L. Montgomery, State Library, Pennsylvania.

V. H. Paltsits, New York Public Library.

B. S. Patterson, Ohio Valley Historical Association, Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania.

M. M. Quaife, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

C. H. Rammelkamp, Illinois State Historical Society.

James R. Robertson, Berea College, Kentucky.

F. H. Severance, Buffalo Historical Society.

Benjamin F. Shambaugh, State Historical Society of Iowa.

Augustus H. Shearer, secretary.

W. Stevens, University of Minnesota.

W. W. Sweet, De Pauw University.

R. C. Ballard Thruston, Filson Club.

Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, Illinois State Historical Society.

J. H. Wilby, Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio.

REPORTS OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES, 1916.

Questionnaires were sent out to about 375 societies; 89 replied, of which 8 reported for the first time. The first questionnaire was sent out in 1909. Since that time 248 societies have reported, 8 of which have answered every questionnaire. The years in which they sent answers may be found in the American Historical Association Annual Report for 1915. In the aggregate these reports form a storehouse of information about historical societies which, in the absence of a handbook, is quite valuable.

In the accounts of societies the following order is observed: Name of society, date of organization, secretary or other person receiving mail, address, number of members. Notes as to funds, new enterprises, additions to museum and library, and publications are added when given.

GENERAL.

American Society of Church History.—1888; reorganized, 1906; incorporated, 1916. Prof. William Walker Rockwell, 3041 Broadway, New York City. 143. Publications: Papers of the American Society of Church History, 2d. ser. v. 5 (in press); also in press the Life and Letters of Wessel Gansfort, by Edward Waite Miller (copies will be sent to all members). Incorporated March 30, 1916.

Naval History Society.—1909. Robert W. Neeser, 1618 Aeolian Hall, 35 West Forty-second Street, New York City. 530. Small endowment fund. Over 200 volumes and a number of important manuscript collections added. Publication: The Graves Papers, edited by Admiral F. E. Chadwick.

Swedish Historical Society of America.—1905. E. N. Andren, 2133-175 W. Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. 300. Publication: Yearbook.

ARIZONA.

Arizona Pioneers Historical Society.—1884. John E. Magee, 200 West Congress Street, Tucson. 239. State appropriation, \$1,250; donation, \$100.

CALIFORNIA.

Historical Society of Southern California.—1882. J. M. Guinn, 5539 Monte Vista Street, Los Angeles, Cal. 95. Publications: Annual Publication for 1915 and 1916, Volume X, parts 1 and 2.

CONNECTICUT.

The Mattituck Historical Society.—1877. Henry L. Rowland, 119 Main Street Waterbury, Conn.; assistant secretary, Lucy Peck Bush. 895. Funds: \$80,000. New enterprises: Annual exhibition of paintings by American artists; talks on the pictures; prize for the three best compositions by children; Saturday afternoon talks on Indians, as represented by the relics. Various additions to the museum and to the book collections. About to be printed: Second volume of society's publications, Tombstone Inscriptions, rate books, tax lists, etc.

New Haven Colony Historical Society.—1864. Thomas M. Prentice, 504 Orange Street, New Haven, Conn. 350. Funds: \$50,000. (\$6,000 the past year.) Collections of china, 200 pieces added. Publication: Annual report.

FLORIDA.

St. Augustine Institute of Science and Historical Society.—1884. F. B. Matthews. 81. Publication: Yearbook.

ILLINOIS.

Chicago Historical Society.—1857. Seymour Morris; assistant secretary, Caroline M. McIlvaine. 813; increase, 582. Funds: E. M. Watkin's bequest, \$1,000; total donations, \$1,158.44; new members' dues, \$6,851; total, \$8,009.44 (life membership dues constitute endowment fund of \$5,100). Additions: 163 museum objects plus unknown numbers in John F. Steward collections of stone artifacts; 600 books plus maps and manuscripts in J. F. Steward's collections. Publications: Yearbook, 1915; The Convention that Nominated Lincoln, by P. O. Ray. Proposed publications: History of Illinois and Michigan Canal, by J. W. Putnam; A Forgotten Incident of the Civil War, by Hon. Charles S. Cutting; Indians of Illinois, by Rolfe Linton.

German American Historical Society of Illinois.—1900 Max Baum, 1608 Mallers Building, Chicago, Ill. 240. Since 1912 a yearbook is published instead of a quarterly. Additions: About one dozen books of German-American interest. Publication: Geschichtsblätter. 386 pages.

McCormick Historical Association.—1885. Herbert A. Kellar, 675 Rush Street, Chicago. Members of the Cyrus H. McCormick family and others by invitation. A building for housing the library and museum will be completed in 1917. Collection is being prepared for cataloging. Models of agricultural machinery, especially reapers, are to be gathered from various depositories and placed in museum.

INDIANA.

Cass County Historical Society.—1907. Mrs. Ella Ballard, 100 Market Street, Logansport, Ind. 75. Lot donated for building; value, \$3,000. Additions: A few relics, some valuable books and papers. Publications: Newspaper articles.

Indiana Historical Commission.—1915. Harlow Lindley, State Library, Indianapolis, Ind. Nine appointed members. Supported by State appropriation. Publications: Constitution-making in Indiana, by Kittleborough, 2 volumes; Indiana as Seen by Early Travelers, by Lindley; Play party in Indiana, by Nolford; and eight Bulletins.

IOWA.

Jefferson County Historical Society.—1903. Hiram Heaton, Glendale, Iowa. 27. Funds: Dues, \$27. Proposed to pay an indebtedness of \$500 on a free park. Collection growing. Publications: In county papers.

State Historical Society of Iowa.—1857. Benjamin F. Shambaugh, Iowa City, Iowa. 650. Permanent annual support of \$20,000. Additions to book collections, 1,881. Publications: Iowa Journal of History and Politics (quarterly); History of Education in Iowa, Volume IV; History of Third Party Movements Since the Civil War, with special reference to Iowa; Statute Law-making in Iowa (Iowa Applied History Series, Vol. III).

MAINE.

Bangor Historical Society. 1864. Edward M. Blanding, 46 Madison Street, Bangor, Me. 225. Additions to Museum Collections, 225, bringing total up to 683; 729 volumes and pamphlets added; total, 3,213. Publication: *Proceedings* 1914-15.

Maine Genealogical Society.—1884. LeRoy F. Tobie, 457 Cumberland Avenue, Portland, Me. 250-300. On January 1, 1917, total number of bound volumes, 3,943; pamphlets, 3,246.

MARYLAND.

Maryland Historical Society.—1844. Richard Henry Spencer, Baltimore, Md. 769; increase of 86. Funds: \$30,600; other income, \$3,344.55. Additions: Carroll papers; 7 volumes of photographs of Cecil Monthly Meeting of Friends, 1 volume First Methodist Church. Publications: *Maryland Historical Magazine*, volume 11; *Maryland Archives*, volume 36, for the State.

MASSACHUSETTS.

American Antiquarian Society.—1812. Clarence L. Brigham, librarian, Worcester, Mass. 175. Productive funds: \$313,000. Additions, October, 1915, to October, 1916: 2,060 volumes, 3,513 pamphlets, 551 miscellaneous. Publication: *Proceedings*.

The Bostonian Society.—1881. Charles F. Read, clerk, Old State House, Boston. 1,125. Permanent fund of \$60,000; increase in 1916, \$3,000. Many additions to collections; also, about 50 books and 100 pamphlets. Publications: *Annual Proceedings* 1916, 91 pages; Publications, Volume XII, about 150 pages.

Cambridge Historical Society.—1905. Samuel F. Batchelder, 721 Tremont Building, Boston, Mass. Limited to 200. Annual subscription of \$3. Additions: Portraits of Henry Vassall and wife, of Copley (circular 1750). Publication: Annual volume of proceedings. Proposed publication: Letters of John Holmes (brother of Oliver Wendell Holmes).

Clinton Historical Society.—1903. Wellington E. Parkhurst, 98 Cedar Street, Clinton, Mass. 108. F. T. Holder endowment, \$23,540. Various additions to collections and library.

The Concord Antiquarian Society.—1886. Henry F. Smith, jr., Concord, Mass. 121.

The Essex Institute.—1848. George Francis Dow, Salem, Mass. 570. Resources: \$336,626.62 (\$125,000 of which is building), Received: Hammond collection of clocks and watches (184 items); F. H. Lee collection of furniture, costumes, etc.; the Waters-Withington collection of genealogical manuscripts and English gleanings; 45,000 wills, parish registers, abstracts, etc. Publications: *Essex County Court Records*, volume 5 (1672-74); *Probate Records of Essex County*, volume 1 (1635-64); *Vital Records of Salem*, volume 1; *Inscriptions in Central Burying Ground*, Boston; *Historical Collections*, volume 52; *Visitor's Guide to Salem*, new edition; *Annual Report*, etc.

Fitchburg Historical Society.—1892. Ebenezer Bailey, 298 Main Street, Fitchburg, Mass. 200. Endowments: \$2,775; \$500 added during year. Additions: 126 relics, 1,150 bound volumes.

Haverhill Historical Society.—1892. Mrs. Mabel D. Mason, 3 Belvidere Road, Haverhill, Mass. 325. Many additions to museum collections and library.

- The Malden Historical Society*.—1887. George Walter Chamberlain, 29 Hillside Avenue, Malden, Mass. 160. Invested funds: \$650. Propose arrangement of library. Publication: Register of the Malden Historical Society No. 4, 114 pages.
- Marblehead Historical Society*.—1898. Miss Hannah Tutt, 15 Washington Street, Marblehead, Mass. 400. 100 additions to museum collections.
- Medford Historical Society*.—1896. George S. T. Fuller, 7 Alfred Street, Medford, Mass. 135. New enterprises: Erection of new building for permanent home. Publication: Historical Register.
- Military Historical Society of Massachusetts*.—1876. William Ropes Trask, 40 State Street, Boston, Mass. 200.
- Milton Historical Society*.—1905. Miss Eleanor P. Martin, 64 Maple Street, Milton, Mass. 365. Life membership fees in a permanent fund, now about \$500. Recently began preparation of a bibliography of Milton. Museum collections about 110; book collections about 220. Publication: President's address, on occasion of tenth anniversary of the society.
- Oakham Historical Society*.—1898. Prof. Henry B. Wright, Yale College, New Haven, Conn. 60. Funds. \$70.
- Roxbury Historical Society*.—1901. Walter R. Meins, Roxbury, Mass. 304. New enterprises: Annual award of a gold medal to the student of the Roxbury Latin School submitting best essay on Roxbury history. First medal, 1916. Subject of essay, The Influence of Joseph Warren on American Liberty. Prize-winning essay will be published annually in society's yearbook. Publication: Yearbook.
- Rumford Historical Association*.—1877. Andrew R. Linscott, 2 Poole Street, North Woburn, Mass. 201. \$2,389 in savings bank. The main object of this association was to preserve and keep in repair the birthplace of Count Rumford. The house has been bought, repaired, and kept open to visitors.
- Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities*.—1910. Mr. William Plummer Appleton, 9 Ashburton Place, Boston. 1506. Permanent funds March 1, 1916, \$10,981.34; December 13, 1916, \$18,630.56. Have acquired Harrison Gray Otis house, Boston, and made progress toward getting "Scotch" Boardman house, Saugus. Many miscellaneous objects added for museum collection; also many thousands of photographic and other New England views, and many books and pamphlets. Publications: Volume VII of the Bulletin, a May and a December number.
- Westborough Historical Society*.—1889. Miss Annie R. Newcomb, 61 South Street, Westboro, Mass. 100. Funds: \$150; this includes the general fund and publishing fund. We are hoping to procure a hall.

MICHIGAN.

- Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society*.—1874. George N. Fuller, Capitol, Lansing, Mich. 600. Financed mainly by the Michigan Historical Commission. New enterprises: Organization of county historical societies as collecting agencies. Auxiliary of the Historical Commission.
- Michigan Historical Commission*.—1913. George N. Fuller, Capitol, Lansing, Mich. 6. \$6,000 per year; increase of \$1,000 over 1913. New enterprises: Manuscript collecting, calendaring, cataloging, publishing of State historical material. Publications: Volume 39 of Collections, old series; Volume 1. University series, George N. Fuller, Social and Economic Beginnings of Michigan.

MINNESOTA.

Minnesota Historical Society.—1849. Solon J. Buck, superintendent, St. Paul, Minn. 409 active. Receives \$20,000 annually from State. New enterprises: Field agent appointed to survey county and other local archives and search for historical material. Publications: *Minnesota Historical Bulletin*, volume 1, Nos 5-8, completing volume.

MISSOURI.

Missouri Historical Society.—1866. Charles P. Pettus, Jefferson Memorial Building, St. Louis. 600. Bequest of \$500 annually for 20 years. New enterprises: Restoration of tombstone of Francois Duquette, at St. Charles, Mo. Additions: Portraits of prominent Missourians; a Revolutionary War flag; flags carried by Federal troops in Missouri regiments during Civil War; large collection of coins; two large collections of books, one by gift and the other by bequest; also, 200 volumes of the *St. Louis Republic*, 1808-1911; 154 volumes of the *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, *Globe Democrat and Times*, 1900-1910. Publication: *A reporter's Lincoln*, by Walter B. Stevens.

Missouri Baptist Historical Society.—1885. Dr. E. C. Griffith, Liberty, Mo. 43 life; 9 annual. Cooperating with Missouri General Baptist Association, Committee on Baptist History; planning to assist in Missouri centennial. Publications. *Missouri Baptist Biography*, volume 1, 1914; volume 2, 1916.

Pike County Historical Society.—1904. Clayton Keith, Louisiana, Mo. 150. New enterprises: Marking the historic site of old Buffalo Fort and two graves of Revolutionary soldiers. Additions: Some Abraham Lincoln relics and Hanks family relics; a few books, including Sir Gilbert Parker's gift of Publications of the European War. We shall articulate with the State Historical Society at Columbia. This has been the most active year of our existence. Publication: *The Jackson Family Sketch, 1765-1916*, by C. Keith.

The State Historical Society of Missouri.—1898. Floyd C. Shoemaker, Columbia, Mo. 1285. Funds: 1915-16, \$13,600. New enterprise: Missouri Centennial Celebration in 1920 and 1921; organization of Centennial Committee of 1,000 of the society. Additions 1915-16: Books, 6,135; pamphlets, 12,632. Publication: *The Missouri Historical Review*.

MONTANA.

State Historical and Miscellaneous Library.—1865. W. Y. Pemberton, Librarian, Helena, Mont. No members. State appropriation. New enterprise: Collection of pioneer stories.

NEVADA.

Nevada Historical Society.—1904. Prof. Jeanne Elizabeth Wier, 844 North Center Street, Reno, Nev. 200. \$5,000 for biennium from State; small amount from dues. New enterprise: Organization of Pioneer Society, 1914. Several thousand additions to museum collections; numerous books added. Volume of historical papers now in press.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Manchester Historical Association.—1896. Fred W. Lamb, 452 Merrimack Street, Manchester, N. H. 230. Yearly dues of \$1; life membership of \$25. Small addition to collections.

NEW JERSEY.

New Jersey Historical Society.—1845. Corresponding secretary, A. V. D. Honeyman, Plainfield, N. J.; recording secretary, Rev. J. T. Folsom, 912 South Sixteenth Street, Newark, N. J. 900. Bequests: \$10,000 from Miss Alice W. Haynes; \$2,000 from Miss L. Cotheal Smith. The society has taken part in the celebration of Newark's two hundred and fiftieth anniversary. 205 additions to museum collections; also 827 volumes, 825 pamphlets, 1,513 manuscripts. Publications: N. J. Archives, first series, volume 28; Proceedings, new series, volume 1, Nos. 1 and 2; Collections, volume 9. The State has appropriated \$3,000 for publishing volumes of New Jersey Archives.

Hunterdon County Historical Society.—1885. Hiram E. Deats, Flemington, N. J. 51. Income from dues. One loan exhibition of Indian relics.

The Salem County Historical Society.—1884. George W. Price, Salem, N. J. 80. Funds by annual dues. Additions of china, Japanese prints, oil paintings.

NEW YORK.

Buffalo Historical Society.—1862. Frank H. Severance, Historical Building, Buffalo. 600. \$2,000 improvement of museum. Additions: Fine collection of Indian baskets; also Oriental (Japanese and Chinese) objects; from Gen. Francis V. Greene, 800 volumes relating to American wars. Publications, volume 19.

The New York Historical Society.—1804. James Benedict, 170 Central Park West. 1,000. Endowments: \$1,073,628.49; increase of \$1,000 during the year 1916. Six portraits added to art gallery; to December 22, 1916, 946 volumes and 1,349 pamphlets added. Publications: Revolutionary Muster Rolls and Minutes of a Board of British Officers in New York, 1781; three volumes of Collections of the New York Historical Society, 1914, 1915, 1916.

New York State Historical Association.—1889. Frederick B. Richards, Glen Falls, N. Y. Over 1,000. Life membership fund \$700 at 6 per cent, \$515 79 at 3 per cent. Now working to secure legislation to purchase the Saratoga battle field. Publications: Volume XIV of Proceedings; Volume XV in printer's hands. In 1913 made by statute, custodian of Bennington battle field at Hoosick Falls, N. Y., but property not bought by State till 1915, when association took charge of it.

The Pennsylvania Society.—1899. Barr Ferree, 249 West Thirteenth Street, New York. 1,600. Publications: Yearbook, 1916; United States and the War. Both edited by Barr Ferree.

Society of Pennsylvania Women in New York.—1913. Mrs. William Harrison Brown, 249 West Thirteenth Street, New York. 250. Publication: Manual, 1916.

OHIO.

Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio.—1831. Charles T. Greve, Van Worman Library Building, Burnet Woods, Cincinnati, Ohio. 91. Funds: \$74,728.39. Book collections: Total number, 26,997. Publication: Quarterly.

Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society.—1885. E. O. Randall, Columbus. 350. Property valued at \$7,500,000. 2,000 books added. Current expenses and funds for publications from State appropriations. Publication: one volume, Publications.

Sandusky County Pioneer and Historical Association.—1874. Basil Meek, Fremont. 100. County allows \$100 a year. Publication: Yearbook.

OREGON.

Oregon Historical Society.—1898. Prof. F. G. Young, Eugene, Oreg.; assistant secretary, 207 Second Street, Portland, Oreg. 668. Additions to collections: 160 objects; 390 volumes; 1,847 pamphlets; 8,500 newspapers; 1,907 documents (chiefly in manuscript form). Publication: Quarterly. All property held by the society in trust for the State. Report covers only nine months.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Bucks County Historical Society.—1880. Clarence D. Hotchkiss, Doylestown, Pa. 800. Mercer Colonial Museum added 1916; additions to museum during 1916, 15,000 specimens—total, 19,000; additions to the library, books 500—several thousand manuscripts; totals, bound volumes 5,000, pamphlets 1,000; manuscripts not catalogued. Endowment: Museum, \$125,000; library, \$2,000; Publication fund approximately \$1,500.

Church Historical Society.—1900. William Ives Rutter, jr., 525 South Forty-first Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 173. Publication: Proceedings.

Delaware County Historical Society.—1895. Charles Palmer, 12 East Fifth Street, Chester, Pa. 116. Parts from old houses preserved. About 40 additions to book collections.

The Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania.—1892. James Emlen, 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 298. Funds: \$6,690.87; \$705 increase. Publication: Volume VI, No. 2, Publications.

Historical Society of Montgomery County, Pa.—1881. Mrs. A. Conrad Jones, Conshohocken, Pa. 400. Dues, \$1; \$200 from commissioners annually. 145 donations of museum objects. Additions to book collections: From one estate, 200 and over, mostly scrapbooks, notebooks covering 35 years, and pamphlets, European war, England—total for library, 415. Publications, volume 4 still in press. May be issued in 1917.

Lebanon County Historical Society.—1898. S. P. Heilman, Hathaway Park, Lebanon, Pa. 175. Funds: Dues, \$1; entrance fees; \$200 from the county commissioners; about \$356 in 1916. Secured in 1916 permanent home in the Lebanon Y. M. C. A. Building. Publications: Volume VI, Nos. 14, 15, 16, and 17.

The Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia.—1857. John W. Townsend, 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia. 48. Additions: 93 coins and medals, 181 books. Publication: Proceedings, volume 27.

Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies.—1905. S. P. Heilman, Hathaway Park, Lebanon, Pa. 42 societies. \$2 annual dues from each component society, plus a \$2,000 State appropriation made in 1907, but now almost, if not entirely, expended. Publication: Acts and proceedings, eleventh annual meeting, January 20, 1916.

The Snyder County Historical Society.—1897. W. M. Schnure, Selinsgrove, Pa. 75. Reorganized, 1913. New enterprises: The Susquehanna Trail, a modern highway between Elmira, N. Y., and Harrisburg, Pa., a good-road movement. This highway will traverse the scenic and historic Indian trail and post-road routes of long ago. About 200 books and pamphlets added. Publications: Bulletin No. 7 of volume 1; Proceedings of the One hundred and sixtieth Anniversary of Penns Creek Massacre, held at Selinsgrove, Pa., on October 14, 15, 16, 1916.

Washington County Historical Society.—1901. Miss Jane S. Hall. 200 Funds: Membership dues and \$200 appropriated by county commissioners. Additions: 40 biographies of local families; old schoolbooks; autograph copies of books by local authors. Hon. Boyd Crumrine, president of the society for 14 years, died September 21, 1916.

RHODE ISLAND.

Newport Historical Society.—1854. John P. Sanborn, Newport, R. I. 450 Extensive building additions. Deposits and gifts of many collections; over 500 pamphlets and books added. Publication: Quarterly Bulletin.

Rhode Island Citizens' Historical Association.—1883. Mrs. Caroline A. P. Weeden, 578 Smith Street, Providence, R. I. 247. Funds (increase): \$220. Usual local historical outings, two or three each month; auto outings to Connecticut and Massachusetts. For 1917, plans for usual historical trips; also to unite in town celebrations, monument raising, or pageants.

Rhode Island Historical Society.—1822. Howard W. Preston, 68 Waterman Street, Providence, R. I. 400. Funds: \$55,000. 100,000 manuscripts, known as the Albert C. Greene and Richard Ward Greene collection, was received this year. Publications: Museum illustrating the history of the State; Necrology; Treasurer's reports.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

South Carolina Historical Society.—1857. Mabel L. Webber, Charleston, S. C. 230. Additions to book collections: 225 volumes, 300 pamphlets. Publication: South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine.

SOUTH DAKOTA.

State Historical Society of South Dakota.—1901. Doane Robinson, Pierre, S. Dak. 100. Supported by State appropriation; for biennium ending July 1, 1917, \$17,780. We have begun critical explorations of ancient sites of Indian villages. Most important addition is the Verendrye Plate buried at Fort Pierre March 30, 1743, in evidence of the French claim to the Northwest. Publications: Volume VIII, Collection of materials of history; Sixteenth annual review of progress in South Dakota; History of Initiative and Referendum in South Dakota; Tenth report upon South Dakota vital statistics.

TENNESSEE.

Tennessee Historical Society.—1849. St. George L. Sioussat, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. 227. Endowment fund, \$10,000, established in 1917. Publication: Tennessee Historical Magazine, Volume II.

WASHINGTON.

Washington State Historical Society.—1891. W. P. Bonney, 401 North Cliff Avenue, Tacoma, Wash. 200. Biennial appropriation State fund maintenance, \$17,000. Pictures, relics, etc., received from State G. A. R., also repository for D. A. R. and Dixie Daughters; State library of the Loyal Legion received. Anticipate an appropriation from State fund for addition to building.

WISCONSIN.

Manitowoc County Historical Society.—1905. Ralph G. Plumb, Manitowoc, Wis. 20.

Sauk County Historical Society.—1905. H. K. Page, Baraboo, Wis. 70. Many pioneer and archeological relics added.

State Historical Society of Wisconsin.—1849. M. M. Quaife, Madison, Wis. 750. Total of private funds, \$107,699.89; largest support is from State appropriations. Publications: October, 1915–October, 1916. Wisconsin Historical Collections, vols. 22, 23; Proceedings, 1915; Bulletins of Information, Nos 83–85.

Walworth County Historical Society.—1898. Grant D. Harrington, Elkhorn, Wis. 30. Beckwith collection added to library.

Waukesha County Historical Society.—1906. Julia A. Lapham, Oconomowoc, Wis. 162. Funds: Membership dues. At the request of this society the United States Geographical Board changed the name of Government Hill, in Waukesha County, to Lapham Peak in honor of Dr. I. A. Lapham; a boulder with a bronze tablet furnished by the society will be dedicated in the spring. Additions: A large number of pictures of pioneers; papers and documents relating to the early history of Waukesha County; museum now numbers some 3,500 objects; earliest directory of Waukesha, 1857. Publications: The Norwegian settlement in the town of Muskego, by A. O. Barton; Reminiscences of a pioneer, by W. R. Calkins.

The Wisconsin Archeological Society.—1903. Charles Edward Brown, Madison, Wis. 400. Placed metal marker on Indian effigy mound in Devils Lake State Park and boulder monument on site of White Crow's village at Lake Koshkonong. Publication: Wisconsin Archeologist, 4 numbers.

WYOMING.

Wyoming Historical Society.—1895. Miss Frances A. Davis, State Library, Cheyenne, Wyo. 9. Contingent fund of \$250 per year. Endeavoring to collect written books, manuscripts, etc., and particularly Wyoming material.

CANADA.

Essex Historical Society.—1904. Andrew Braid, Windsor, Ontario. 70. Continuing work of erecting memorial tablets at historical spots along this part of the Canadian border. Valuable collection of British coins from the time of Henry II to present, purchased from a collection. We expect to publish a third volume of papers read at meetings during 1917.

Huron Institute.—1907 David D. Williams, Collingwood, Ontario, Canada. 60. Many local pictures of buildings, boats, harbors, etc., added to collections.

Niagara Historical Society.—1895. Mrs. E. Ascher, Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario. 250. 29 additions to museum, 45 to book collections. Publications: Reprint of No. 13; No. 28, Family History.

Nova Scotia Historical Society.—1878. Harry Piers, Halifax, N. S. 425. 65 books, 50 pamphlets added.

Ontario Historical Society.—1888. A. F. Hunter, Normal School Building, Toronto, Canada. 448. Additions: Several museum objects; 218 volumes, 317 pamphlets added in 1915–16. Publications: Annual Report for 1915; Papers and Records, Vol. XIV.

Société historique de Montréal (Canada).—1858. Napoléon Brisebois, Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, 340 Rue Saint-Denis, Montreal, Canada. 60. New enterprises: La publication d'un Dictionnaire historique du Canada; Aperçu des travaux de la Société Historique de Montréal de 1758–1917.

Women's Canadian Historical Society of Ottawa.—1898. Mrs. B. Billings, Kil-larney Apartments, Ottawa. 160. An old historic building has been loaned to us by the city (unused registry office), and we will now have a place for our library, and our intention is also to have a museum in connection with our work. Publications: Report 1915–1916; reprint, vol. 1, Transactions.

V. PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONFERENCE OF HEREDITARY
PATRIOTIC SOCIETIES.

CINCINNATI, DECEMBER 27, 1916.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONFERENCE OF HEREDITARY PATRIOTIC SOCIETIES.

The Conference of the Hereditary Patriotic Societies was held at the Hotel Sinton on the afternoon of December 27, 1916. It was preceded by a luncheon of the representatives present, some 50 in number. Mr. Harry Brent Mackoy, ex-president of the Society of Colonial Wars in the State of Ohio, and ex-president of the Ohio Sons of the Revolution, presided, and in his introductory remarks stated the purpose of the conference—viz, to consider practical and desirable plans of closer cooperation between the historical associations and the hereditary patriotic societies. He said:

Members of the American Historical Association and of the Hereditary Patriotic Societies:

At the Eighth Annual Conference of Historical Societies, held in connection with the meeting of the American Historical Association in Buffalo, December 29, 1911, a discussion was had of the hereditary patriotic societies, with special reference to their productive work.

As preliminary to that conference, a questionnaire had been addressed to the various societies of the Colonial period, of the Revolution, and of the War of 1812 in the following form:

1. What contributions, if any, have been made by the patriotic and hereditary organizations in which you are interested (so far as they relate to the times mentioned in accompanying letter), in the way of prizes, scholarships, etc., for historical essays or the study of history, or both?
2. If you answer the foregoing question affirmatively, state what restrictions or conditions, if any, are imposed upon applicants or contestants, explaining briefly the plan of choosing questions, submitting papers, etc.
3. Have the organizations referred to above in which you are interested ever undertaken or accomplished any historical research or publication work of a serious character? If so, state what and when. (Copies of such publications, where available, will be most gladly welcomed.)
4. What, if anything, has been accomplished by such organizations in the way of locating or marking historical sites, preserving historical buildings, etc.?
5. What, if anything, has been accomplished by such organizations in the way of collecting and preserving historical records or manuscripts, relics, etc.?
6. What other productive historical work not included in the above questions has been accomplished by such organizations?

The results of the information obtained through replies to the foregoing questionnaire were submitted to the conference in the form of a paper by your chairman, which may be found in the Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1911, pages 263-278.

No generalizations were attempted in that paper, but in the discussion which ensued Prof. William Libbey, of Princeton, suggested that there was need of some plan of operation, or cooperation, between the two classes of societies, historical and patriotic. At the close of the discussion the conference voted that the council of the American Historical Association be requested to appoint a committee to consider the historical activities of hereditary and patriotic societies.

Your chairman is not definitely advised as to the progress which has been made by that committee, but the present conference is one of the means whereby it is hoped that the desired cooperation between such societies and the historical associations, the American and others, may be brought nearer to accomplishment. It is the object of this session to hear and consider desirable and practicable plans for bringing these various organizations into a closer and more harmonious relationship.

While there are many individuals belonging to the hereditary patriotic societies who have been engaged in productive historical work, and while there are also some societies of the kind which have been carrying on regular and systematic work of the same sort, the large majority of members of the hereditary and patriotic organizations are not sharing in or benefited by this branch of their activities. Moreover, the historical associations are not receiving the encouragement and assistance which they could and no doubt would obtain from a nearer connection with the hereditary patriotic societies.

It is readily apparent to anyone who has watched the development of the more serious-minded societies of the latter kind, especially among the women (for I am compelled to admit their superiority in these undertakings), that their fields of labor are very similar to those of the historical associations. In a statement issued by one of the latter a few years ago, the following were enumerated as the lines of work which it proposed to do, viz:

1. Identifying and preparing a list of former historic characters of this vicinity; collecting and preserving any manuscript collections left by such. (This work has already been undertaken by the historical manuscripts committee.)
2. The teaching of civics and history; the use of local history material in the public schools. (This work has already been undertaken by the committee on local history in the public schools.)
3. Archaeology and prehistoric remains.
4. The collection of historic relics; identifying and marking historic buildings and sites; tracing and marking historic trails and roads.
5. The coordination and expansion of the work of hereditary patriotic societies and similar organizations, especially in the celebration of historic days, making lists of soldiers of the various national conflicts, identifying and marking their graves, organizing juvenile patriotic clubs, etc.
6. The collection of private libraries of special historical value; the utilization of the historical resources of public libraries.
7. The work of local historical societies and the publication activities of the same.

The first, fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh of the above-mentioned activities may be very properly undertaken by hereditary patriotic societies, and, in numerous instances, they are being successfully carried on by them.

Some organizations are making a specialty of one certain branch of historical work; others are attempting to do two or three kinds; many, we regret to say, are not accomplishing anything. The problem is how to bring it about so that all such societies may do this work systematically, intelligently, carefully, and with the greatest benefit to all. There is now a great loss of energy, much duplication of effort, and false and inaccurate knowledge, arising in part from the failure of the hereditary patriotic societies to cooperate with the students of history. On the other hand, there are many historians who are eagerly waiting for the opportunity which these societies may give them to cooperate along lines of mutual interest and advantage.

As an instance of the lack of historical knowledge existing among the hereditary patriotic societies it is recalled that two or three years ago a gentleman in a neighboring city was asked to pass on merits of certain prize essays submitted under the auspices of one such organization on the subject of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. During the course of reading the essays it

developed that some of them were concerning themselves with George Rogers Clark; and it came out that several members of the organization had announced the title as being about George Rogers Clark, thinking him the same person who had gone on the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

Quite the opposite is the case of a local historian who has performed most valuable services for one society in obtaining the names of revolutionary soldiers buried in his county. As part of his task he has ransacked the Federal, State, and county records, as well as private collections of papers and letters, and has personally located and visited nearly 300 burial grounds, public and private, in the county, a number of which had long since been forgotten. He is still engaged on his labor of love, and each year adds more names to the long list of heroes on the bronze tablet erected by the society to their memory.

The nature of the historical work to be performed in a community varies with its location. In the East there are more sites to be marked than in the West, dating from the colonial and Revolutionary periods, but personal relics and manuscript collections often travel long distances. The unearthing of these latter is frequently of greater value than the determination of old buildings, graves, or historic trails and roads; and it is along such lines that the members of hereditary patriotic societies can frequently be of most assistance. Many of them have in their possession, or under their control, letters, journals, account books, and even public records, which have been the property of or entrusted to some deceased ancestor, that would be of inestimable value to the historian.

A few years ago a committee of the Ohio Valley Historical Association began the task of locating and helping to preserve the manuscript collections of this valley. It prepared and sent out a large number of letters containing the following statement, viz:

Plans are being perfected by this association for systematically preserving manuscripts relating to the Ohio Valley now in the possession of private individuals. It is the purpose of the association first to locate these manuscripts and ascertain the value of their contents. They will then be indexed in a way which will make them easily accessible to all students of history, where access to same will be allowed. It is our object to secure the original manuscripts, however, and we shall merely recommend that they be safely placed in some institution where they will receive proper care and be easy of access to those interested.

As the first step toward the above work, we must secure full and accurate lists of the important historic characters who lived in or who have been identified with each section of the Ohio Valley, and also of the present owners of valuable manuscript collections. With this in view we request you to fill out and return the attached form for information as soon as you can conveniently do so.

In response to its communications the committee received many interesting replies. One lady in West Virginia furnished a long list of persons in that State who had valuable papers and relics in their possession. Unfortunately, for some reason the committee was never able to complete its undertaking, but your chairman has no doubt that the results would have been most profitable could this plan have been carried out as originally contemplated.

The purpose of this meeting, as your chairman understands it, is to receive, consider, and possibly to act upon suggestions which may be offered for a scheme of mutual cooperation in some such ways as have been here mentioned. By learning what has been accomplished elsewhere we may each improve and enlarge our own spheres of activity, and perhaps the points of contact may be more numerous even than we imagine. The representatives of a half dozen organizations have been invited to tell us, therefore, what they have done, to explain how they have been working along historical lines, and we may then discover what are the modes in which they and the rest of us can cooperate with one another and how we can not only work together for the advantage

of ourselves but for the advancement of the cause of history in which all of us should be and are vitally interested.

The first paper was a report of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America, by Cornelia Bartow Williams, historian general.

The National Society of the Colonial Dames of America is composed of 40 corporate societies. Its 8,000 members, lineal descendants of the early settlers who founded this Nation, are associated together to do honor to the virtues and valor of their forefathers and to impress upon the young the sacred obligation of upholding the principles which are the cornerstone of this Republic. In order to inform the different State societies of the achievements of each one, circular letters are exchanged annually, and at the biennial councils at Washington the national committees present reports of the accomplishments in their departments. By order of the council of 1912 a pamphlet was printed the following year, containing 120 pages descriptive of the aims, ideals, and accomplishments of the society since its beginning in 1891. This work prepared by Mrs. Joseph R. Lamar, our present president, is of immense value not alone to our own membership, but to all interested in the lines of work accomplished by this historic-patriotic society. The following report is compiled from above sources, special emphasis being given, as requested, to educational and constructive work during the last five years.

First in regard to educational work:

In order to diffuse knowledge concerning the past most of the societies make a study of American history, writing papers and essays on the colonial period, and many are collecting books, some for reference at home and others for distribution among the smaller towns of the State. They not only have traveling libraries, but also lantern slides and photographs that are sent from school to school in remote places. Connecticut, for example, appropriates \$250 annually for patriotic purposes through the medium of the public library committee appointed by the State board of education. In 1916 their 100 libraries were circulated 168 times and 53 portfolios of photographs of men and places of note 54 times. In 1915 nine new portfolios containing 30 pictures each were added to this collection. Four steropticon lectures were loaned to libraries, schools, institutions, churches, missions, etc.

Historical lectures are given by most societies in public schools and libraries. In Ohio these lectures have resulted in the preparation of pamphlets on the history of the 13 colonies, thus introducing a supplementary course of American history of the colonial period into the public schools of the State. Three pamphlets are already completed—Colonial Virginia, New York, and Massachusetts, and a fourth is in preparation.

In order to create a popular interest in our colonial history, all the societies give prizes and scholarships in schools and colleges for excellence in American history or in the writing of historical essays. In Connecticut, in 1914, besides the 3 prizes given, 34 certificates of merit were awarded, showing the high-class work produced by this competition; and, in 1915, 815 circulars were sent out announcing the competition. In return, 260 essays were received, 47 more than the previous year, evidencing the growing popularity of this department.

This educational work is not confined to the native-born American, but is extended to the hosts of foreigners, who have come in such large numbers to our hospitable shores. Illinois was the pioneer in this work among immigrants, having classes in civics and United States history in settlements, and giving lectures to the various nationalities represented in Chicago. In 1912 the society published a *Primer of Civics and the Salient Points of American History*,

written by a native Bohemian, and the first beneficiary of the Illinois scholarship. This book is printed in Bohemian and English on parallel pages, the author holding the opinion that this information should be given to the immigrant at his first coming in his native tongue, so that he may be properly informed at the outset and before other and undesirable forces reach him. This book has been translated into Polish and Lithuanian.

Many of the other societies in Colorado, Missouri, Iowa, Wisconsin, Michigan, Indiana, Massachusetts, and Maryland have taken up this mission to the foreigner, endeavoring to point the good and excellent way to patriotic citizenship.

While this work is carried on in the North and West, the South has an equally interesting problem in the enlightenment of the mountaineers, those descendants of the Scotch-Irish, the Covenanters' cousins, who transplanted themselves from Ulster, in Ireland, to America to secure religious liberty.

Second in regard to constructive work:

A very important work is the marking of historic sites and buildings, and many of the societies have contributed notable work in this regard. Especially have the ancestral societies had a large part in suitably marking the earliest settlements and first landings, the forts and battlefields, and other places and events connected with the heroic men of the colonial period. Monuments have been erected and tablets placed throughout the States on the Atlantic seaboard, and the Western States are following this commendable example and are finding and permanently marking trails and roads and historic forts and settlements of bygone days.

From the long list of achievements I note the following:

Connecticut appropriates \$400 yearly to its committee on historical landmarks; marked the site of Fort Saybrook on the Connecticut River in 1913, and placed tablets on the wall of Center Church, Hartford, in memory of Rev. Thomas Hooker and Gov. John Haynes, in 1916.

Kansas is studying the trails of long ago, and has identified and marked the Coronado trail, the first path to the western part of the continent made by the Spanish in the sixteenth century.

Louisiana has recently restored three rooms in its beautiful old Cabildo, the executive mansion of Spanish occupancy, and has purchased a portion of Chalmette plantation, outside New Orleans, undertaking the patriotic task of preserving the house and the beautiful avenue of live oaks.

Massachusetts in 1914 placed a tablet at Southampton, England, commemorating the sailing of the *Mayflower*, and one at Jamestown to the memory of Maj. Daniel Gooking, 1612-1687.

North Carolina contributed toward a tablet erected in the capitol at Raleigh, by the Mecklenburg committee, to commemorate the earliest Declaration of Independence (May 20, 1775), a year before that in Philadelphia.

Pennsylvania in 1912 marked old stones on historic highways; repaired, recut, and reset 24 original milestones on the turnpike between Philadelphia and Trenton; placed a tablet at the site of Fort Pitt, gateway to Bradford Park; and marked the site of the giant oak which stood near the end of Forbes Road, built by Gen. Forbes on his military expedition against the French and Indians at Fort Duquesne (now Pittsburgh). In 1916, \$20,000 was raised in four months for a memorial window to Martha Washington in the chapel at Valley Forge.

Virginia has placed tablets on the walls of Washington and Lee University (in 1913), in the market place at Alexandria (in 1914), in the State capitol at Richmond to Nathaniel Bacon (in 1916); in 1914 two stained glass windows in St. George's Church, Gravesend, England, to the memory of Pocahontas; and in 1916 marked the Braddock Road at Alexandria and at Winchester, and the site of Braddock's landing at Hampton. The birthplaces of five Virginians, Presi-

dents of the United States, were marked with sundials—James Madison, James Monroe, Benjamin Harrison, John Tyler, and Woodrow Wilson. In 1912 a portrait of Dolly Madison was presented to the White House in Washington.

The preservation of manuscripts and records forms a very important branch of endeavor, and some are being put in permanent printed form so that they may reach the eye of many students of Colonial days.

The national society published, in 1911, the Letters of Richard Henry Lee (1762 to 1778); in 1912 the Correspondence of William Shirley, Governor of Massachusetts and Military Commandant in America, 1731 to 1760; and in 1916, Travels in the American Colonies, 1690 to 1783.

California's contribution is the book compiled by Monnette on California chronology (1510-1860).

Connecticut has copied 100 church records. It subscribes \$300 yearly to the old house committee, which is making a laborious search for records, histories, and romances of old houses. In 1915 it added 54 completed histories of houses to the library, as against 36 the year previous. The societies in Connecticut, Rhode Island, Nebraska, and Indiana have followed the example of Delaware, which published in 1911 several stories of pioneer life under the title of *Once upon a Time in Delaware*, used as textbooks in the public school and approved by the board of education.

Delaware, in connection with the public archives commission, assisted in making up a set of record books for the State, one set containing the marriage bonds of the "three counties," another set, original papers pertaining to the colonial and Revolutionary wars and the War of 1812.

Louisiana has cooperated with the American Historical Association at New Orleans in preserving books and manuscripts of Spanish and French rule, and has thereby rescued records of great value.

Maine has published two volumes, *Old Hallowell on the Kennebec*, and *Old Houses in Maine*. The society has a record of 129 interesting old houses, showing the development of the homes of Maine from the typical one-story cottage to the most stately mansion of the early nineteenth century.

To Massachusetts credit is due for the book on *Ecclesiastical Silver* in 1912, and a booklet on *Wax Portraits and Silhouettes*, in 1914.

Maryland is gathering traditions from old families and has become a bureau of identification of old portraits; and in 1914, after much search, discovered the delicate pencil-drawings (made by Van Huffel, a celebrated artist of his day) of the five American commissioners who signed the Treaty of Ghent in 1812—John Quincy Adams, James A. Bayard, Henry Clay, Jonathan Russell, and Albert Gallatin.

Mississippi is making historic research its main work and is associated with the State Department of Archives and History and has aided in rescuing much Spanish and French lore.

New Hampshire has recently discovered documents of great interest and value and has published an *Index of the Bibliography of the State from its Settlement to 1895*.

New Jersey is securing for its archives accurate copies and abstracts of records of historic value. The State bureau of vital statistics was established only in 1848, so for all previous data the genealogist and historian must depend upon family, church, Bible, and graveyard records.

New York's committee on history and tradition has done valuable work in collecting documents, papers, and records which will be of great service to investigators.

Ohio has been busy with its traditions and folklore, and its study of the customs of Indians, Spanish, French, Dutch, Swedish, and English.

Pennsylvania has published a book on Furnaces and Forges in Provincial Pennsylvania and made reprints of diaries and journals; also copies of epitaphs from colonial gravestones. This society has done notable work in collecting and cataloguing 967 records, from Bibles, wills, deeds, marriage certificates, and graveyards.

As to relics in the Smithsonian Institution at Washington, the national society has a continuous loan exhibition of interesting and valuable treasures. As articles are withdrawn by their owners, others are sent to fill vacancies, and here are continually on view all kinds of precious relics of the men and women of the colonial period.

Some of the corporate societies have also participated in local expositions. In 1912, in connection with the publishing of the Book on American Church Silver by Massachusetts, collections were gathered in Boston, New York, and Washington, from the various societies in Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, and Kentucky. Massachusetts subscribed \$1,500 in 1912 for the purchase of old ecclesiastical silver to be presented to the Boston Museum, and had an interesting exhibit of pewter; and in 1915 had placed in the Massachusetts building at the San Francisco exposition a collection of historical portraits, including 21 paintings and 23 engravings, among them one of Dorothy Quincy Hancock, to be hung later in the Quincy homestead, the society's headquarters at Quincy, Mass.

In 1912 Connecticut had at Hartford a marvelous exhibit of silver, which came from the family of John Cotton Smith.

Delaware had an exhibit in 1912 of old laces, fans, samplers, and miniatures.

Maryland had a notable exhibit of old laces, miniatures, furniture, and ecclesiastical silver at the Baltimore exposition in 1911, and the society also shared in the centenary of the Washington Monument in Baltimore, and in the Panama-Pacific Exposition in 1915.

New York furnished 13 of the 53 portraits in the Metropolitan Collection of Colonial Relics in 1911.

Virginia in 1911 employed Mr. Charles Incas Williams to restore the portraits of the Virginia Historical Society, which are the most valuable in this country.

Many of the ancestral societies of Connecticut, Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and South Carolina have been for years custodians of interesting old colonial houses, which have been restored and furnished with valuable furniture, silver, portraits, and other relics of the past. Each year sees an added interest in these museums of colonial treasures.

In 1914 Delaware bought an old mansion in Wilmington for a permanent home, and has restored it along colonial lines and furnished it in keeping with the period.

New Hampshire has recently acquired by gift the Ladd House at Portsmouth, the most perfect and elegant of the early New England homes, the first three-story house in the State, built in 1759.

New Jersey's permanent home is in the Old Barracks at Trenton, restored through the influence of the society and filled with valuable relics of the period. Its reproduction was the New Jersey building at the San Francisco exposition in 1915.

One of the national committees, that on "reciprocity" (with Ohio its chairman), has been instructed to report to the biennial council of 1918, specializing on a collection of photographs of restored buildings (their exterior and interior), of monuments and tablets and exhibitions of relics; these photographs

to be placed if possible in the Smithsonian Institution in Washington until such time as the Colonial Dames shall have fireproof quarters of their own.

The different corporate societies have all given more or less generously to the various objects undertaken by the National Society, such as the George Washington Memorial Building at Washington, which will contain a Colonial Dame room; the Titanic Memorial; the Book on Ecclesiastical Silver; the Katherine Cabell Cox Scholarship fund, a testimonial of affection and appreciation to our honorary president; the Restoration Fund for Sulgrave Manor, the home of Washington's English ancestors; the portrait of Washington now at Mount Vernon, which shall later hang on the walls of Sulgrave Manor in England; and they are now setting aside yearly certain sums for the Plymouth memorial celebration in 1920.

While our first thoughts as a society go back to the days and events that are gone, we are alive and responsive to the demands of the present, and are ready to support with loyalty and enthusiasm all measures that make for our country's welfare and for a useful and enlightened and patriotic citizenship.

Mrs. Thomas Kite, ex-vice president general, then reported on the Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

The National Society, Daughters of the American Revolution, was organized 26 years ago. It now has a membership of more than 100,000—a number probably not dreamed of by its founders. Its objects have been marking of graves of Revolutionary soldiers, historic sites, and buildings, also old trails and roads. All this has been and is being done to an amazing degree. Many a valuable historic spot or trail would have been lost forever to posterity had it not been for the zeal and persistence of some of the Daughters of the American Revolution. Our wonderful Memorial Continental Hall in Washington is a permanent witness to our ability to deal successfully with matters financial. The building and contents represent over \$750,000. It is rapidly becoming a depository for priceless relics, increasing in value every year. We are working along so many lines, any woman has but to make a choice for the outlet of her patriotic energies. The Children of the Republic clubs, founded by a member of Cincinnati Chapter, the late Mrs. John A. Murphy, is making good citizens of the children of foreign parents. The Girl Homemakers, founded by a member of Western Reserve Chapter, Cleveland, Mrs. William B. Neff, has educated poor girls how to cook, sew, and make comfortable homes. Patriotic education, another great work, demands our interests and has so many branches it would be impossible here to enumerate them. Of them all the establishing of southern mountain schools is most important, as it should be, for from them we are to reap the richest and quickest results of our labors. The United States Government demands from us each year an exhaustive report of our work to be sent to the Smithsonian Institution. It is an astonishing revelation to the many who know little or nothing about what we are doing. We established a wonderful record during the Spanish-American War, sending nurses and medical supplies under the instruction of the Surgeon General, where most needed. Many thousands of dollars were expended in that way.

As a society, we have publicly put ourselves upon record as being in favor or preparedness in all that the word implies. During the present war in Europe we have worked unceasingly for Belgian sufferers and in sending supplies in vast quantities to the Red Cross Society. We have done whatever was required for our own men on the Mexican border and offered our services to the extreme limit to the United States Government in case of war with any foreign power. Having proven the fact that we have accomplished great things in the past, should our own country be threatened with war we would prove anew

the power of 100,000 earnest, zealous, patriotic women. The wonderful statistics of our society, what we have done and are still doing, can be found in the reports of the Smithsonian Institution, and they make most interesting reading. In our research work, necessitated by the demand of proofs regarding the location of historic spots, old trails, etc., we have become great students of American history, reaping thereby delightful results of our work. We are becoming better informed each year along that line, and great deference is accorded us and our opinions from others not quite so well informed. Cincinnati Chapter has established a Fellowship of American History in the University of Cincinnati, the fellow receiving a stipend of \$100 a year from the investment. The only return to the chapter required is a thesis from the young man or woman holding the fellowship to be read before the chapter at its March meeting. Delightful papers have been given and much valuable information received. Prof. Isaac Cox, of the same university was our first fellow, and we feel honored to see him in his present position; we have a sense of proprietorship in him. The membership of 100,000 or more is divided among 1,500 chapters in the States, with one in Cuba, one in Honolulu, and one, the "Orient," in China. How far reaching our American zeal and influence.

Following Mrs. Kite's report the conference was told of the work of the Sons of the Revolution, by Jackson Walcott Sparrow, ex-president of the Ohio Society.

The hereditary patriotic societies in the United States were instituted to perpetuate the memory of the events of American colonial and Revolutionary history, and of the men who, in military and naval service, and in civil positions of trust and responsibility, by their acts and council assisted in the establishment, defense, and preservation of American colonies and of the achievement of American independence; for social enjoyment and intercourse; and also for the purpose of forming and fostering a love of country and a spirit of patriotism.

With these purposes in view, they seek to collect and preserve manuscripts and records; provide suitable commemoration of events in early American history; and locate and mark historical localities and objects.

These various societies have been very active in not only locating historical locations and objects, but also in erecting monuments and tablets; in locating and marking graves of soldiers and sailors of the various periods of early American history. They have held numerous prize essay contests, the subjects of which were of historical importance; they have done much toward preserving a love and respect for the flag and in aiding legislation along that line; and they have taken many steps toward instilling a love of country among those of foreign birth.

Especially active along all these lines have been the general society and the various State societies of the Sons of the Revolution, which have erected many monuments, especially throughout the eastern portion of the United States. As an example, I might state that the Ohio Society, Sons of the Revolution, in the last several years, has erected in the Hamilton County (Ohio) memorial building a tablet to the memory of the soldiers and sailors of the Revolution who are buried in that county, having on the same the name of each soldier or sailor. We have held prize-essay contests; conducted numerous patriotic religious services; helped to educate a number of boys of revolutionary ancestry at Berea College, Berea, Ky.; and helped to sustain and conduct a club of young men of foreign birth or parentage, at the meetings of which are discussed civics and historical matters.

The patriotic societies are in a great measure simply historical societies, though in a limited sense. Their membership can not be general, but is composed of lineal descendants of men who took part in the early history of this country. They are different from the ordinary historical societies in that they rather popularize the results of historical investigation, give life and color to the men and events of our formative epoch. All their activities are confined to commemoration of events which have taken place in American history solely.

The historical societies throughout the United States should endeavor in every way possible to affiliate with and aid the hereditary patriotic societies. The result of such aid will be of vast value, for the members of patriotic societies will bring to the study of history a certain personal feeling on account of the part the ancestors of such members had in forming the early history of this country.

I feel that the best way for the historical societies and patriotic societies to work together would be for each one of the large historical societies to have a department whose labor should be directly concerned with the patriotic societies; at least there should be a standing committee of each one of these historical societies in direct charge of that branch of history which concerns the hereditary patriotic societies.

The patriotic societies should keep in touch with the historical societies by having a membership in each of the largest and most important, and they should designate a member of the society as its representative at the meetings of the historical societies. Thus would the two societies, the historical society and the patriotic society, be able to keep in close touch with each other.

The next address was on the work of the Sons of the American Revolution, by R. C. Ballard Thruston, past president general.

Our organization is one of some 8 or 10 that has received its inspiration from the Revolutionary period, and so far as I know and believe, all of our patriotic organizations, regardless of the source of their inspiration, have practically the same patriotic, historic, and educational purposes, and therefore our work has not been confined to the Revolutionary period.

Our National Society of Sons of the American Revolution was organized at Fraunces Tavern, New York City, on April 30, 1889, by the consolidation of a number of State organizations of a similar character which deemed that it was wisest to have a national organization as the head of the movement rather than, as was then developing, a number of independent organizations scattered through the different States. At the present time we have societies in 46 States besides those in the District of Columbia, Hawaii, France, and the Far East, making 50 in all, many of which are subdivided into chapters.

The local work is generally carried on by the chapters or State organizations. They do the marking of historic spots and events, but the work of our national organization, as distinct from our State organizations, consists in dealing with matters in a larger field and on a larger scope—matters which the smaller organizations could not effect; and I propose to deal with the work of the national society rather than with that of the State and other subsidiary organizations.

REVOLUTIONARY RECORDS.

Our first annual meeting was held in the city of Louisville, Ky., in 1890. The attention of our Congress was then called to the fact that our Government's Revolutionary records were in boxes and barrels, and stuck away in garrets, basements, and other corners in the Government buildings in Washington or were in such shape that they were in no condition to benefit anybody and

liable to be destroyed. Efforts were made to see if we could not get the National Government to take hold of these archives and properly file and index them so that they could be utilized by future historians. Such resolutions were passed. A number of our members were in Congress, one of them being the Hon. Redfield Proctor, then president of our Vermont society, a Member of the United States Senate, and later Secretary of War. He introduced the desired bill in Congress. The justice of our plea appealed not only to our members but to others, and, though it took two or three years to get it through Congress, it was finally passed. As a result it took 20 years to properly file and index those papers. It required over 1,000,000 cards in the work that was finished some two or three years ago, and we now know that there were whole regiments who served in the American Revolution, of which not a single name of either officer or men had been preserved; that there were many, many companies where the names of only a few officers and none of the men had been preserved. The question of publishing this card index has been considered, but that is opposed because the work is still incomplete, and efforts have been made by the War Department and by our patriotic organizations to hasten the completion of these records as far as practicable.

The work on naval records was the outgrowth of a conference of some of our members at our congress held in Denver in 1907. There we found a similar state of affairs.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES BUILDING.

Subsequent acts of Congress have ordered the delivery to the War and Navy Departments of all muster rolls and other papers relating to those departments during our revolutionary period; but, unfortunately, the jealousies existing between the departments is such that they hold tenaciously to the records which they have. Some years ago—in doing historical investigation—I went to Washington in person and, in my efforts to delve into the national archives, I found they were in a most deplorable condition. Wondering why nothing had been done about this, I found the American Historical Association had, as far back as 1898, taken up this question. The thing has been fought diligently through Congress; bills have been passed, sometimes by one House and sometimes by the other House, and still we have not our national archives building. I took up the question with our District of Columbia society, whose members consist largely of retired Army and Navy officers, members connected with the different departments, etc. I asked them to suggest persons whom I might appoint on a national archives committee in the hope of doing something toward influencing Congress in this matter. I am glad to say that through the joint work of our committee and the American Historical Association we succeeded in getting through Congress an act appropriating \$5,000 for the purpose of studying the needs of our Government in this regard. This bill was passed shortly before the outbreak of the European war, and in it was a clause requiring the study of archive buildings in European countries. Such study, as you can readily understand, now is impracticable; and, unless we can get Congress to rescind that clause in the act, the appropriation will not be immediately available for the work. This amount is, of course, inadequate, but it is a start in the right direction, and I hope will lead to the much-needed archives building at some time in the future.

Through the establishment of such a building or department, the probabilities are that the jealousies of the various departments will be eliminated, and we may thus draw together into this building archives no longer current, so that they may be consulted by the historian and be of great benefit to us in other ways.

EDUCATION OF ALIENS.

A number of years ago Gen. Thomas M. Anderson, U. S. A., of Portland, Oreg., who commanded one of the divisions of our Army at the battle of Manila, in attendance on one of our congresses, stated we should do something toward making citizens out of the foreign-born who have come to our shores. Certain of our members who were deeply interested in the subject, prepared pamphlets. One of these was entitled "How to become an American citizen," another "The duties of the American citizen," and a third was the "Constitution of the United States." One of these has been translated into some 13 languages. They are used as textbooks in the night schools throughout the United States from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from the Lakes to the Gulf. They are in great demand and we distribute annually over 50,000 of them in this way. In fact, we are the only organization in the United States which to-day gives to any foreign born, free of charge, a copy of the Constitution of the United States in English. I was president general of our organization for two terms of one year each. During the first one of these we distributed some 50,000 of these pamphlets; during the second year, after distributing a like number, Commander John H. Moore, retired naval officer, who was chairman of this committee, came to me with the statement that the appropriation we had made for this purpose was exhausted, and that there was still a great demand for these pamphlets. He asked me what he should do. I told him to go ahead, and if the executive committee would not take up the question I would take up a collection and see that the bill was paid, for I did not believe our funds could be utilized to a much better purpose. So the second 50,000 was printed.

NATURALIZATION WORK.

At our national meeting at Syracuse, N. Y., several of us were discussing the question of administering the oath of allegiance to the foreign born. Those people come to our shores from European countries where they have been accustomed to impressive forms and ceremonies, and when they are taken into our courthouses, where the atmosphere is often foul, the floor filthy and dirty, where there are no decorations, no forms or ceremonies, and they are huddled together like cattle when the oath is administered to them, it being administered in such a way that no human being can understand to what he is swearing (about all that you can catch of the oath being the end of it when he says "so help me God") they are not, naturally, impressed with the significance of the oath.

We thought that a good work for us to take up would be to see if we could not get this state of affairs remedied. As a result, Judge Henry Stockbridge, of the supreme court of Maryland, Commander John H. Moore, of Washington, and Mr. A. Howard Clark, our secretary general and for 20 years secretary of the American Historical Association, prepared a letter which they thought should be sent out over my signature as president general to every judge in the United States having jurisdiction over the question of administering the oath of allegiance. There were over 3,000 of these letters sent out, and it was very interesting to see the answers to them. In one an eastern judge stated that he appreciated the recommendations, but his court was very busy and he administered the oath of allegiance to 200 aliens a day, on an average, 100 in the forenoon and 100 in the afternoon, and he could not spare the time for the formalities which we recommended. On the other hand, a judge in Oklahoma wrote me that he was very much interested in the letter. He believed the recommendations should be followed, but he had been on the bench four years and it had never been his good fortune to administer the oath to a single alien.

Should the occasion arise, he added, it would give him pleasure to consider favorably the suggestions which we had made. In the case of one of the judges in New York City the entire method of administering the oath of allegiance in his court was revolutionized as a result of these letters.

NATIONAL FLAG AND FLAG DAY.

I have personally taken a great deal of interest in the subject of the origin and evolution of our national flag, which subject has carried me into many different lines of study. In doing this I have come upon some very interesting information, as, for instance, the origin of Flag Day. Information regarding which was brought out at one of our annual meetings and published in our Yearbook (1914, pp 92-95). It seems that at the beginning of our great civil conflict Charles Dudley Warner was the editor of one of the papers in Hartford, Conn. One of his warm personal friends, Mr. Jonathan F. Morris, suggested to him the possibility of celebrating June 14, the anniversary of the origin of our flag, as a national holiday. Accordingly an editorial appeared in one of the papers on June 1, 1861, which was, so far as we have been able to learn, the first suggestion of the observance of this day. A bill for this purpose was introduced into Congress by the Representative of that district, but it did not pass.

At our annual meeting at San Francisco a year ago last July I made an address before the organization on the subject of the "Origin and evolution of our Flag." This was printed in our Yearbook for 1915 (pp. 257, etc.) and brought out information but little known. In order to give you the benefit of some of that I would state that as a result of these investigations we now know that during the American Revolution our Army fought throughout that entire war without being furnished any flags whatever by the National Government. Furthermore, we know that the Army of the United States fought throughout the entire War of 1812 without carrying the Stars and Stripes as national colors; and, indeed, the Stars and Stripes were not carried by any branch of our Army until 1834, when, for the first time, the Artillery was given that privilege. The Infantry then carried as national colors a blue flag with the United States arms on it. In 1841 the Infantry was given the privilege of carrying the Stars and Stripes as national colors, and what had been the national colors then became the regimental. The Cavalry was not given this privilege until 1887, or 22 years after the close of the Civil War. The published orders of our War Department prior to 1834 often mention national and regimental colors, but they do not define them, and it was in their regulations of that date, 1834, that they first defined these colors. If it were not for certain investigators who have gone deeply into this subject and for the original flags which are still in existence (being preserved at the quartermaster's depot at Philadelphia, in the chapel on Governor's Island, N. Y., and at the United States Military Academy at West Point), and those which were captured by the British and are in Chelsea Hospital in London, we would not to-day know what our Army did carry as national colors during that period. At the surrender of Hull at Detroit (Aug. 16, 1812) the British captured both national and regimental colors of the Fourth Infantry. These are confirmatory of the statements that I have just made.

The flags which were captured by the British are in a very bad state of preservation. Three reports have been made on them, one to the British Government, another at a subsequent date, and a third made for me. I had the flags photographed, but their condition is such that the photographs show but little, and the descriptions of the flags in the three reports do not agree. Only

two of these flags are Stars and Stripes. They were both captured from ships. The other flags are either national or regimental colors of the Regular Army, State, or local flags.

Since this address was published additional information has been obtained filling in one of the gaps in the history of our flag, and that was embodied in my address made before our congress in Newark, N. J., last year. This additional data was published in our Yearbook for 1916 (pp 219-20).

We have, of course, like all other patriotic organizations, taken an interest in the subject of a national-flag law, and we are doing whatever is necessary to insure the payment of proper respect to our flag as the emblem of our country. Louisiana is one of the few slave States that has passed a flag law, and they are now, chiefly through efforts of the members of our organization, preparing to pass a bill requiring the national flag to be flown over public schools, with suitable ceremonies accompanying reveille and retreat.

WASHINGTON JOURNEY PILGRIMAGE.

A few years ago a suggestion was made that the members of our organization make a pilgrimage from Philadelphia to Cambridge; the trip as made by President Washington when, after being elected as general and commander in chief of the United States Army, he took command of our infant army then besieging the British in Boston. The committee having charge of this consisted of 15; 3 from each of the five States—Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, Connecticut, and Massachusetts—through which Gen. Washington went on that trip. Each of those State societies appointed other committees, and the trip was a wonderful success. The members of these committees hunted up every bit of information that could be obtained bearing on that trip as Gen. Washington made it, as a result of which we published a book giving the history of that trip, which, so far as I know and believe, is the only full and complete history of that journey as made by Gen. Washington ever published.

MEMORIAL COMMITTEE.

A few years ago we appointed a committee to take up the history of the Declaration of Independence and that of the lives of the signers. Our original intention was to ask our societies of each of the original thirteen Colonies to gather together that information with reference to each of their own signers, and then for the national society to publish these brochures as a whole. Some of our State organizations did that, but our national society appointed a committee to take up and carry on the work. While I was president general I received a letter from Gen. Charles L. Davis, of Schenectady, N. Y., the president general of a national organization, the Descendants of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence, stating that he noticed from a recent publication that we had a committee appointed to do the very work for which their organization was founded, and suggesting that, to avoid duplicating the work and to hasten the accomplishment of their purpose, we have our two organizations work in accord. This has been done, and we now have a joint committee engaged in this work. It is developing information regarding the Declaration of Independence that few people have any conception of, and it has given to us who are studying the question a grander and broader idea of that instrument and its signers than we had ever before.

Few people realize that our Declaration of Independence was thrust upon us by the French Government. Our forefathers were not then anxious to take such a drastic step, but France could not enter into any treaties with us unless she had some excuse to recognize us as an independent nation.

Therefore such a move was necessary. Virginia instructed her delegates to introduce such a resolution into Congress, which was done by Richard Henry Lee on June 7, 1776, as follows:

Resolved, That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved.

That it is expedient forthwith to take the most effectual measures for forming foreign alliances.

That a plan of confederation be prepared and transmitted to the respective colonies for their approbation.

A few days later a committee was appointed to draft a declaration to serve as a preamble to the independence resolution. It is not generally known that this independence resolution was really passed on July 2, 1776, and on July 4 there was passed what we now recognize as the Declaration of Independence, which included the independence resolution, and that was not passed unanimously. The fact is the delegates from New York did not vote, as they had not been instructed by the New York Provincial Congress. Delaware had three representatives, one of whom was absent. Of the other two, one was for and the other opposed to the Declaration of Independence. The one who was for it sent a messenger for Caesar Rodney, the absentee, who rode all night and landed in Philadelphia in time to vote, and thus the vote of Delaware was cast for the declaration.

In Pennsylvania there were nine delegates, two of whom were so bitterly opposed to it that they vacated their seats, leaving seven. Of those seven, two were so much incensed at the prospective acts of Congress that they absented themselves from the meeting on July 4, which left five. Of those five, three voted for and two against it. Thus, the vote of Pennsylvania was cast for the declaration.

Few people realize that on July 4, the declaration was signed by only two, Mr. John Hancock, the president, and Charles Thomson, the secretary. On July 19, Congress ordered the declaration passed on the 4th to be engrossed on parchment and signed by every member of Congress. This resolution was to insure its continued support by all the members, and was the outgrowth of the statement of Franklin, "We must, indeed, all hang together, or most assuredly we shall all hang separately." Accordingly, it was signed on August 2 by those who were then present. Of the 56 signers it is said that some 14 of them signed by proxy; certain it is that seven of those present on July 4, who voted for it never signed it, and seven of those who did sign it were not members of Congress at the time of its passage. At any rate all of this and much more we hope to bring out at the time of the completion of the work of this joint committee.

LIBERTY BELL.

Now, just one other little matter which, strictly speaking, does not belong to the work of our national organization, but was so universal that it comes very nearly being so. When the Liberty Bell went to the Pacific coast last year and returned eastward, it was hailed throughout its whole journey by patriotic citizens who were anxious to see it. Members of our local organizations were in every instance prominent in seeing to the patriotic reception of the bell, and in a number of instances they issued some little pamphlets or folders giving some history of the bell itself. The little folder which I have here is one which I wrote after a great deal of investigation, and which was distributed by our Kentucky society at the time the bell was in Louisville.

Few of us realize that this bell was in existence long before the Declaration of Independence, and, notwithstanding the pretty story to the contrary, that it was not rung on July 4 at the time of the passage of the Declaration of Independence. Our love and veneration for this old bell is due more to its connection with the events of the period rather than to that of any individual occasion.

The following report of the National Society of United States Daughters of 1812 was presented by Mrs. Robert Hall Wiles, president national:

This society is organized to commemorate the great achievements of the American Government in its civil, military, and naval departments during the 30 years following the American Revolution. This historical period begins with the first treaty of peace with Great Britain, which acknowledged our independence, and extends to the Treaty of Ghent, which forever established us as an independent Nation in the estimation of the world.

Unlike the men's hereditary patriotic societies, which commemorate the services of our ancestors in war alone, the women's societies have always recognized services in peace as well. The men have organized the Sons of the Colonial Wars, the women the Colonial Dames, the latter society, like the former, recognizing service in the colonial wars, and also distinguished civil services, such as the governorship of the Colonies and the founding of Harvard and Yale colleges, to mention but two among many forms of devotion to the higher interests of the people. The men have the Sons of the American Revolution, eligibility to membership depending upon descent from those who rendered military or naval service, while the Daughters of the American Revolution admit to membership, in addition, those descended from men who gave material aid to the cause of freedom, or who unequivocally sustained this cause, as, for instance, the committees of correspondence, or the committees of safety, or the colonial legislatures.

Again, the Sons of the War of 1812 grant membership only to descendants of soldiers and sailors of that war, while the United States Daughters of 1812 omit the word "war" from their title, and, in addition to recognizing the smallest service during the war of 1812, they give equal honor to the great civil achievements during the period preceding that war.

We all hope that our national rights and our national honor may be fully and steadfastly maintained without another war; yet, with Washington, who was "first in peace," and Jackson, who was "first in war," during our 30-year period, we believe that we must be adequately prepared at all times to resist aggression. Such necessary and wise preparation includes not only an army and a navy instantly ready for any emergency, but a civil government, strong, united, efficient, and just, commanding respect both at home and abroad, and able to carry on all the multifarious governmental activities of a democracy.

The society which I have the honor to represent to-day, therefore, commemorates the careers of the men who laid down their arms after the Revolution, many of whom, having risked their lives in battle for their country, continued to devote their all to her service; and to their splendid valor in war, they added equally splendid wisdom in constructive government. They crystallized the diverse elements of the colonial system into a permanent republic united and controlled by the Constitution.

To such an audience as this I need not enlarge upon the great merits of the United States Constitution. Suffice it, to recall the words of Gladstone, "It is the most wonderful instrument ever struck off by the hand of man."

We also in this period have the ordinance of 1787, which forever consecrated the great Northwest Territory to freedom from slavery and to free schools.

We have the beginning and the firm establishment of the judicial system of the United States—a system which has ever had the respect of intelligent citizens, and which is to-day the model for an international tribunal of justice which shall settle disputes between nations without recourse to the sword, as our Supreme Court has for more than a century, with one exception, settled disputes between the States.

We have the early beginnings of our diplomatic history with such great names as those of John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, and Benjamin Franklin signed to our first treaty after the Revolution—that with Prussia in 1785.

The four Presidents of the United States during our period had rendered immense services to the Revolutionary cause. Washington, first President, had been commander in chief of the Army; John Adams, second President, was a recognized leader of the party of independence in the Continental Congress, for a time was at the head of the War Department, and, later, was minister to France; Thomas Jefferson, third President, was the author of the Declaration of Independence; James Madison, fourth President, was, with Hamilton, largely instrumental in securing the ratification of the Constitution, and had been a member of the Continental Congress in 1780 when under 30 years of age. Surely the achievements of these great men and of their fellow workers in peace are no less worthy of commemoration than their bravery and self-sacrifice during the Revolution.

When the second war of independence came they and their sons showed the same steadfast devotion to the ideals of freedom, and the same willingness to give their all for their country. Andrew Jackson, the greatest general of the War of 1812, had been taken prisoner as a young boy during the Revolution because he refused to brush a British officer's boots. William Henry Harrison, the hero of Tippecanoe and of the battle of the Thames, was a son of a signer of the Declaration of Independence. Both these generals later gained the presidency because of the distinction and glory they had attained in military victories. Zachary Taylor, also a President of the United States, was a major in the War of 1812 and the hero of Buena Vista in the Mexican War.

These distinguished examples, and many more from our earlier and later history, illustrate the truth that the same qualities of mind and character, the same patriotism which make a man heroic in war times, make him illustrious in national service in time of peace.

Therefore the United States Daughters of 1812 study the whole history of government during our 30-year period, and strive to keep alive memories of the victories, both of peace and war.

We give books of history and of historical fiction to the grammar and high schools. We give medals and cash prizes to school children for the best essays upon subjects relating to our period of history. We give framed historical pictures to schools, orphan asylums, and houses of refuge. We give the United States flag to militia companies and to battle ships, to schools, playgrounds, and social settlements. Our Commodore Perry Chapter, of Cleveland, has set an example which might well be followed all over the country, in giving a United States flag to the Federal court room in which foreigners are naturalized as American citizens. We place flagpoles upon historic spots, above which we keep the flag ever floating. Thus, the California branch has recently placed a flag 22 by 11 feet on a pole 80 feet high on the site of old Fort Moore.

If the whole printed history of the deeds of the War of 1812 were wiped out it could be largely rewritten from the tablets, monuments, and other memorials placed by this society. We have honored Capt. Isaac Hull, of *Old Ironsides*,

by a granite monument in his birthplace, Derby, Conn.; Capt. Lawrence of the *Chesapeake*, whose dying words, "Don't give up the ship," have often since furnished an inspiring battle cry; Capt. Perry, whose famous victory at Lake Erie is only more famous than his dispatch, "We have met the enemy and they are ours;" Capt. McDonough, whom Col. Roosevelt calls the greatest naval commander in our history down to the time of the War between the States. We have memorialized Capt. Decatur in the navy yard at Philadelphia; Capt. Bainbridge, at his birthplace, Princeton, N. J.; and many other commanders of sea and land forces.

The Louisiana branch of our society obtained from Congress the money for the completion of the monument on the field of Chalmette, commemorating the Battle of New Orleans, and Congress and the State made this branch of our society perpetual custodians of the monument and of the field in which it stands.

The Michigan branch erected in the city of Detroit a superb monument to Gen. Macomb

The Illinois branch placed in the statehouse at Springfield, a bronze bas relief, 6 by 4 feet in size, in honor of the Illinois Rangers in the War of 1812. This is a life-sized figure of a soldier holding an old flintlock musket and clad in the frontier costume of the day—loose hunting shirt, buckskin leggings, moccasins, and coonskin cap. In the background is a block fort, such as were common in the Indian warfare of the time. The original plaster model of the bas relief we placed in the memorial hall of the public library, Chicago.

The Illinois branch obtained, by act of the legislature, the return by the State of Illinois to the city of New Orleans, of a banner captured by Illinois cavalry from Louisiana cavalry in 1863, which banner is believed to have been embroidered by the ladies of New Orleans and presented by them to Gen. Jackson in 1814. The banner was returned in commemoration of 50 years of peace between North and South.

The New York branch placed a tablet in the post chapel at West Point in honor of the soldiers of 1812.

Upon many battle grounds we have placed tablets recounting their history; the Alabama branch, a tablet at Horseshoe Bend; the Buffalo chapter, one at Lundy's Lane; while the Little Rock chapter, in far-away Arkansas, erected a granite boulder to the memory of Gen. James Miller, hero of Lundy's Lane, who was also the first territorial governor of that State.

The Jefferson County Chapter, of New York, placed a boulder and a tablet at Sackett's Harbor.

The Dolly Madison Chapter, of Pittsburgh, a beautiful sundial in memory of the Pittsburgh Blues.

The Connecticut branch, a tablet at Stonington recalling the repulse of the British at that point

The Maine branch presented a boulder and tablet to the city of Portland "in memory of the brave soldiers and sailors who served their country in the War of 1812 and maintained our independence."

The Maryland branch has placed three English cannon, captured at North Point in 1814, in a prominent position in Baltimore

The Buffalo (New York) Chapter placed a tablet on the "Old Castle" at Fort Niagara, built by the French in 1726, later occupied by the English, and finally by the United States.

It would be a long story to tell you of all these memorials, and, however interesting each individual item, the repetition would simply be a catalogue of valuable historical and patriotic work actually accomplished.

I will therefore close this partial recital of our memorials to events and heroes of the War of 1812 by mentioning that the District of Columbia branch has placed a tablet in the Octagon House in Washington, where the treaty of Ghent was signed, and the Delaware branch one at Dover in memory of James Ashton Bayard, one of the five United States commissioners who signed the treaty of Ghent.

Among the many memorials not relating to the War of 1812 I can mention only a few for fear of wearying you: The Missouri branch has placed a beautiful bas relief in the Jefferson Memorial Building at St. Louis, which memorializes the pioneer settlers of that State. The Virginia branch unveiled a marble tablet at Mason's Hall, Richmond, marking the home for 130 years of Richmond-Randolph Lodge No. 19. This house was used as a military hospital during the War of 1812.

The Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry Chapter, of Ilion, N. Y., has erected a boulder and tablet on the spot where 100 years ago Eliphalet Remington made his first rifle in the little smithy which was the beginning of the great Remington factories now sending guns and typewriters all over the world.

The memorials of historical events have often taken forms not only of preserving history, but at the same time of giving benefits to the living. Thus the Dolly Madison Chapter, of Pittsburgh, erected a drinking fountain on the site of the old arsenal. This fountain was unveiled by President Taft—an honor highly appreciated by the society. Another drinking fountain was erected in New York City at One hundred and eighty-first Street by the Andrew Jackson Chapter, and the New York State branch placed one at the Seaman's Church Institute.

Sedalia, Mo., gave a four-dial tower clock to the county courthouse in honor of Gen. David Thomson, who led the Kentucky troops to victory at the battle of the Thames.

The Society has placed hundreds of its official bronze markers upon the graves of soldiers and sailors of 1812, after verifying the service of the men from the United States Government records. Tablets have often been erected containing the names of all the soldiers and sailors of 1812 known to be buried in one vicinity.

The national society placed a six-panel stained-glass window in St. Michael's Church, Dartmoor, England, in memory of the United States prisoners of war buried there and of those who helped build the church while imprisoned.

The national society also gave to the city hall in Baltimore an original piece of sculpture representing the American eagle holding the American flag. This was in honor of the centenary of the writing of the Star Spangled Banner during the bombardment of Fort McHenry.

It would again be much in the nature of a catalogue if I should attempt to tell you the good causes to which we have given money and personal service: Spanish War relief; the Red Cross, in peace and in war; Belgian relief; Montenegrin relief; French Army hospitals; Civil War nurses; Clara Barton memorial; needy real daughters of the heroes of 1812; scholarships in the mountain schools of Tennessee, Kentucky, and the Ozarks; books sent to Alaska, the Philippines, Cuba, and with many other comforts to our war ships, and navy yards and Army posts; tablets marking the Jackson Highway in Alabama and the Harrison Trail in Ohio; teaching American history and the duties of citizenship in social settlements.

Our memorials to the leaders of our own society who have been taken from us have been beautiful in their helpfulness to the living—notably an exquisite hand-carved reading desk given to a mission chapel in memory of Wisconsin's

beloved president, Mrs. Catlin, and a granite bench given to a public park in Omaha in honor of the founder of the Nebraska branch, Mrs. Gates

Some of the States have published the lineage of their members, running back to the man through whom they have eligibility to this society and giving the record of his service to his country in full.

Many valuable historical records have been saved from destruction. Others which were fading have been copied and placed in public depositories.

This society has taken a notable and a worthy part, often as leader and instigator, in the centennial celebrations of the events of the War of 1812.

We observe all our national holidays, and, by patriotic and historical addresses on such occasions, and also at our regular meetings, we strive to preserve vividly the memory and the spirit of the early days of this Republic and to imbue the present generation with the ideals of justice and freedom dear to our ancestors, making the men and women of to-day worthy descendants, fitted intellectually and morally to transmit to the future, undiminished and undefiled, the priceless blessings of free and orderly government.

The last address was by Mr. Elmer L. Foote, of the Society of Colonial Wars, of Ohio, on "Historic Landmarks." Mr. Foote's talk was beautifully illustrated by stereopticon views.

Upon the conclusion of the foregoing a discussion followed, during which the chairman read the report of the manuscripts commission to the Council of the American Historical Association, in which attention was called to the assistance which might be given by hereditary patriotic societies in the collecting, preserving, and rendering accessible many private manuscripts of historical value. This seemed to be the most feasible and direct method of coordinating the activities of these organizations with those of the historical associations.

At the close of the discussion a resolution was adopted by the conference that the Council of the American Historical Association be requested to appoint a committee, to be composed of representatives from that association and the hereditary patriotic societies, the duties of which committee should be to prepare and submit to such organizations and to the historical associations of the country definite suggestions for a method of cooperation between them in various lines of historical work.

VI. REPORT OF A CONFERENCE ON THE ORGANIZATION
OF A UNIVERSITY CENTER FOR HIGHER
STUDIES IN WASHINGTON.

CINCINNATI, DECEMBER 27, 1916.

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REPORT OF A CONFERENCE HELD IN CINCINNATI, DECEMBER 27,
1916, ON THE ORGANIZATION OF A UNIVERSITY CENTER FOR
HIGHER STUDIES IN WASHINGTON.

At a conference held at Columbia University in May, 1916, a committee of five was appointed to consider the possibility of establishing a residential center in Washington for graduate students in history, economics, and political science. This committee, after holding meetings in Washington and New York, issued the following call for a conference to be held in Cincinnati on December 27:

WASHINGTON, D. C., December 18, 1916.

To departments of history, political science, and economics:

A conference will be held in Cincinnati on Wednesday, December 27, at 5 p. m. for the purpose of discussing the establishment of a residential center at Washington where graduate students may utilize the opportunities for research and special study afforded by the libraries, archives, and other collections of the National Government.

This matter was first considered at a conference held at Columbia University last May, when the undersigned were appointed a committee to prepare a plan for the establishment of such a center and to call a second conference for the purpose of taking action on the report of the committee. The report of the committee is now being printed and will, if possible, be distributed by mail in two or three days. In any event, it will be on distribution at Cincinnati.

The committee asks that your department designate some member to attend the conference and to participate in its proceedings. Please notify the secretary of the committee at the above address of such appointments as may be made.

The place of meeting will be announced at the bureaus of registration of the historical and political science associations in Cincinnati.

This invitation is sent to the departments of history, political science, and economics which have graduate students; also to the Pan American Union, the Library of Congress, the Smithsonian Institution, the Bureau of Education, the Carnegie Institution of Washington, the Institute for Government Research in Washington, to the American historical, political science, and economic associations, and to the American Society of International Law.

Temporary committee: Dana C. Munro, Princeton University, chairman; Charles A. Beard, Columbia University; Albert Bushnell Hart, Harvard University; Gaillard Hunt, Library of Congress; Waldo G. Leland, Carnegie Institution of Washington, secretary.

The conference was attended by about 40 representatives of departments of history, economics, and political science in the various universities. It was presided over by Prof. Charles H. Hull, of Cornell University. The following report of the committee of five

and a draft of a proposed constitution of the university center were presented for discussion:

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF FIVE ON THE ORGANIZATION OF A UNIVERSITY CENTER
FOR HIGHER STUDIES IN WASHINGTON.

To members of the departments of history, political science, and economics in American universities:

On May 13, 1916, there was held at Columbia University, upon call by Prof. R. M. McElroy, of Princeton, a conference composed of representatives of the departments of history and political science or government in Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Princeton, and Johns Hopkins Universities, and in the Universities of Pennsylvania and Michigan, and of representatives of the Library of Congress and of the Carnegie Institution of Washington. The purpose of this conference was to discuss a plan proposed by Prof. McElroy for the establishment in Washington of a residential center where graduate students might, under supervision and for varying periods of residence, utilize the opportunities for research and special study afforded by the libraries, archives, and other collections of the National Government.

After a full discussion of the various possibilities of this plan and of the numerous suggestions gathered by Prof. McElroy through correspondence, or offered in the conference, it was unanimously decided that it was desirable for American universities to cooperate in the establishment of such a center.

The undersigned were appointed a committee to prepare a plan for the organization of the center and to present the same to a second conference of university representatives. This committee has held meetings in Washington and New York and has carried on a considerable correspondence with the larger universities and now presents the results of its deliberations in the form of the accompanying draft of a constitution.

Realizing, however, that the proposed constitution is of necessity a summary document, dealing only with fundamental principles, the committee begs leave to supplement it with an account of what it conceives to be the characteristic features and the immediate possibilities of the project.

It is unnecessary to dwell at length upon the very great resources afforded by the various collections in Washington to students of history, politics, economics, and allied subjects. The Library of Congress is especially rich in the published public documents not only of the United States and of the several States but of foreign governments as well. Its collections of American newspapers and of printed works relating to America (including Americana) are hardly surpassed, except in certain special directions, by those of any other library. In the field of cartography and maps it leads all other American libraries, while in the field of cultural history its collections of music and of prints give it a leading position. Especially notable are its manuscript collections, which far exceed those of any other American library. Not only does it possess such groups as the records of the Virginia Company, the Peter Force papers, the archives of the Continental Congress, and the personal and official papers of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Van Buren, Jackson, Breckinridge, and many other national figures, but it has also the commercial papers of large business houses, the original Spanish archives of New Mexico, and the equivalent of nearly 1,000 volumes of transcripts of documents relating to colonial and to early nineteenth century America from the archives of England, Spain, France, and Mexico, these transcripts being but a part of the collection of this class of material which is in process of formation.

The collections of the Library of Congress are supplemented in special fields by those of the libraries of the various executive departments, notably the Departments of State, War, and Navy, and the Bureau of Education, to which should be added the Pan American Union.

As to the archives of the Government, it is sufficient to remark that they constitute the fundamental source of nearly all phases of national history since 1789, and that the archives of the Land Office, of the Office of Indian Affairs, of the Census Bureau, and of other bureaus in the Departments of Commerce and Labor and of the Interior, as well as the archives of the Post Office Department, are as indispensable to the student of certain phases of regional and local history as they are to the student of politics and economics.

Finally, should be mentioned the National Museum, with its large and rapidly increasing collections of illustrative material.

Such, then, are some of the resources of the Capital, resources which are still too little known and used but the appreciation of which is rapidly increasing among scholars. The intention of the Government, as evidenced by the act of Congress of March 3, 1901, and by the consistent policy of executive officials, is to make these resources available to students. One of the principal objects of the proposed center is to effect an informal cooperation between the Government and the universities, for the fulfillment of these intentions.

Such a center as is proposed will be in effect a Washington adjunct to the departments of history, political science, and economics of those universities which cooperate to establish and maintain it. It is assumed that only such students will be sent to Washington by their respective departments as are fully qualified to derive advantages from the facilities which the center will afford. Presumably such students will be those of the most advanced standing in graduate studies whose work has reached such a point that they may be given leave of absence, and whose work is furthermore of such a nature as to make research in the collections of Washington highly desirable if not absolutely necessary. The question as to which students shall be sent to Washington is a matter for determination by the respective departments and the arrangements for their terms of residence will be made between those departments and the authorities of the center. In order that the center may as fully as possible correspond to the needs of the cooperating universities, the latter will, through the council, control its government and administration. It should be remarked that the purpose of the present plan is not to create an independent school or institute, but to provide a means of supplementing and rendering more effective facilities for research on the part of graduate students.

The proposed center will be international in character in so far as the cooperation of other American universities than those of the United States may be secured, either directly or through the Pan American Union. Furthermore, foreseeing that the time may well come when the scope of the center may be extended, the committee has thought it wise to provide for the admission of students from other than American universities and of others than students. It is assumed, however, that this provision will not be allowed to interfere in any way with the fulfillment of the principal purpose of the center.

An essential feature of the plan is that the students in the center shall conduct their work under proper supervision. The committee contemplates the appointment of a permanent director, but if this is found to be impracticable the expedient may be resorted to of engaging as temporary director some university official on leave of absence. In this event it would be desirable to engage some qualified person residing in Washington to serve as a permanent secretary. Indeed even with a permanent director the committee believes that it will be found advantageous to secure the services from time to time of visiting professors. By thus exercising an adequate supervision the work of students, especially if they be inexperienced in the use of original materials, will be much facilitated and rendered more effective. Furthermore it is planned, if that be found practicable, to provide short courses on appropriate subjects, to be given by visiting professors, and to arrange for conferences by officials of the Government and by other scholars residing permanently or temporarily in Washington.

Another important feature, and perhaps not the least valuable of the proposed center is that of community life. Students from different universities will come together and derive mutual stimulus from discussion of their special problems.

With regard to the material aspects of the center, it should be explained that what the committee has in mind is the rental and possibly later the purchase of one or more suitable houses in the immediate vicinity of the Library of Congress. Here will be provided separate arrangements for men and women, with private rooms and common living rooms. Ultimately it may be possible to arrange for meals to be taken in common in the residence. At first, however, it will doubtless be necessary to make other arrangements. Breakfast and dinner will probably be taken at a common table, either in a near-by boarding house or restaurant or in the café of the Library of Congress. The usual janitor and maid service will, of course, be provided.

It will doubtless be necessary, certainly at first, to charge a moderate room rental, not to exceed \$3 a week to residents. The charge for breakfast and dinners should not exceed \$4 a week and may be less. Residents will, of course, be obliged to pay for their own transportation to and from Washington unless that should be otherwise provided for by their respective universities. It is

possible that with a generous endowment the center may in time be able to give pecuniary assistance to students who are sent to Washington, but at the outset such a course can not be contemplated.

The committee estimates that the expenses of establishing the center and of maintaining it during the first year will amount to about \$7,000, and that the annual expense thereafter will be in the neighborhood of \$4,000. It assumes that the chief burden of the expense will be met by annual payments from the contributing universities, but it trusts that the plan may make so strong an appeal to the friends of the various institutions that they will contribute generously to its establishment.

The committee recommends that the conference before which this report is laid resolve itself into a committee of the whole house for the full discussion of the plan; that having adopted the proposed constitution, either in its present or in a modified form, it organize itself as a provisional council and proceed to elect a provisional governing board to be charged with securing the necessary funds and with the organization of the center; and finally that it provide for the organization of the permanent council and fix the time and place of its first meeting.

Respectfully submitted.

DANA C. MUNRO, Princeton University,

Chairman.

CHARLES A. BEARD, Columbia University.

ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, Harvard University.

GAILLARD HUNT, Library of Congress.

WALDO G. LELAND, Carnegie Institution of Washington,

Secretary.

CONSTITUTION.

I.

Name.—There is established in the District of Columbia a residence which shall be known as the University Center for Higher Studies in Washington.

II.

Object.—The object of the center is to provide for students in institutions of learning located in North and South America, a residence, where, under supervision and for varying periods, they may utilize the opportunities for research and special study afforded by the libraries, archives, collections, museums, and departments of the Government of the United States, as provided for in the act of Congress of March 3, 1901, especially in the fields of history, government, and economics, and allied subjects.

The center shall likewise be open, at the discretion of the governing board, and upon conditions to be fixed in individual cases, to other students and scholars of whatever country.

III.

Financial support.—The financial support of the University Center shall be derived from annual payments of not less than ——— dollars by institutions of learning located in North and South America. Such institutions as make the said annual payment shall be known as contributing institutions, and each contributing institution shall be entitled to representation and to one vote in the council.

The governing board may, at its discretion, solicit and receive contributions from others than the contributing institutions.

IV.

Government.—A Council: There shall be a council composed of representatives of the contributing institutions, each such institution to have one vote.

B. Governing board: There shall be a governing board consisting of five members elected annually by the council.

C. Advisory committee: There shall be an advisory committee, the members of which shall, from time to time, be named by the council, and on which shall be invited to serve the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Interior, the Librarian of Congress, the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, and the

director of the Pan American Union, or such representatives as they may respectively designate.

D. Organization and duties of the governing board: The governing board at its annual meeting shall choose a chairman and shall elect one of their own number to serve as secretary and treasurer, who shall receive such compensation, not to exceed \$300 per annum, and who shall perform such duties as the governing board may determine, rendering an annual account of all receipts and disbursements to the council.

The duties of the governing board shall be as follows:

1. To arrange for terms of residence for students from contributing institutions, and to determine the conditions upon which others may be admitted to the center.

2. To appoint a director who shall serve during the pleasure of the governing board and who shall have oversight of the residence center, and of the management of accounts, and who shall perform such other duties as the governing board may assign to him. The governing board shall fix his compensation and may arrange for clerical and other assistance.

3. To provide such systematic courses by officers of the contributing institutions and by others as may be found advisable; and to arrange, through the director, for additional lectures and conferences by officials of the Government and by others

4. To act as trustees; to lease or acquire premises and make such other contracts and business arrangements and perform such other acts as may be necessary for the conduct and maintenance of the center.

5. To report annually to the council, and to furnish such special reports as may be called for by the council or by members thereof.

V.

Meetings.—A. The council shall convene at least once in each year at such time and place as it may fix upon.

B. The governing board shall meet at least twice in each year, and one of the meetings shall be in the city of Washington.

C. The actual and necessary expenses of travel and subsistence shall be allowed to members of the governing board when attending its meetings

VI.

Amendments.—This constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of all contributing institutions at any meeting of the council, notice of such amendments having been given to all members of the council not less than one month previous to such meeting.

After discussion it was unanimously voted that those present approve the constitution in principle, and it was further unanimously voted that the chairman appoint a committee of five authorized and charged to bring the action of the conference to the attention of the American Historical Association, of the American Political Science Association, of the American Economic Association, and of any other association or institution likely, in the opinion of the committee, to be of assistance in establishing the university center, and to take such steps as in the judgment of the committee should be most likely to conduce to that end.

In accordance with this vote the chairman appointed Messrs. Munro, Beard, Hart, Hunt, and Leland, with authority to add to their number, if they wished, not more than two other persons.

The chairman of the conference informed the members of the committee of the action which had been taken, and, in accordance with the votes of the conference, the committee proceeded to ask the councils of the American Historical Association and of the American Political Science Association for a vote approving the plan as set forth in the committee's report. The councils of both of these associations voted to approve the plan.

Later the committee presented the matter of the proposed university center to the governmental officials named in the draft of a constitution as composing

an advisory committee. The Secretary of the Interior expressed his hearty approval in a personal conference with Messrs. Hunt and Leland. From the Secretary of State, the Librarian of Congress, the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, and the Director of the Pan American Union the following letters of approval were secured:

THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
Washington, February 12, 1917.

Prof. DANA C MUNRO,
*Chairman of the Committee of Five on the
University Center in Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR SIR: I have read the report of the committee of five on the proposed University Center for Higher Studies in Washington, and I have had its purpose explained to me by Mr. Leland and Mr. Hunt. I am in full sympathy with the idea and I am sure it will be the pleasure of this department to cooperate with the universities in carrying it out under normal conditions. Many of this department's facilities for scholarly research are available, and it is hoped that arrangements can be made to render other resources which can properly be opened to scholars equally accessible. With relation to these it should be noted, however, that a little patience must be exercised, because our building is so crowded and our staff of officers and clerks is so pressed with current duties. This should be a passing inconvenience, which I hope to see remedied in the near future. In the meantime I wish every success to a project which seems likely to bring the Government and the higher scholarship of the country into closer relationship, with benefit to both.

Yours, very truly,

(Signed) ROBERT LANSING.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS,
OFFICE OF THE LIBRARIAN,
Washington, January 5, 1917.

GENTLEMEN: I have read the report of the committee of five on the proposed University Center for Higher Studies in Washington, and I may remark, as something that almost goes without saying, that a plan which, if it is carried out, will increase the usefulness of the national library to American scholars can receive only appreciation and sympathy from me. It is always our effort to make the resources of the library available to those who will use them to good purpose, and we will cordially cooperate in a system by which scholars from the universities will be brought into closer contact with those resources.

Very respectfully,

(Signed) HERBERT PUTNAM, *Librarian.*

TO THE COMMITTEE OF FIVE ON THE ORGANIZATION OF A UNIVERSITY CENTER FOR
HIGHER STUDIES IN WASHINGTON.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,
Washington, March 29, 1917.

DEAR SIR: I have your letter of March 19 and have examined the plan for the establishment of a university center in Washington in connection with the study of history, economics, and politics. The Smithsonian Institution has always been glad to offer all possible facilities to students of natural science and, as in the past, will of course also do what may be practicable to advance the interests of historical research.

I can see large possibilities for good in a university center or centers to include science, art, literature, and the present plan applied to history and related subjects seems to me a wise beginning in that direction.

I regret that the multiplicity of official and private duties claiming my attention in the present condition of affairs prevents my giving the project the personal consideration that it deserves, but I assure you of my hearty indorsement of the proposed center and hope it may develop into broad fields of usefulness.

Very truly, yours,

(Signed) CHARLES WALCOTT, *Secretary.*

Mr WALDO G. LELAND,
*Department of Historical Research,
Carnegie Institution of Washington,
Washington, D. C.*

PAN AMERICAN UNION,
Washington, D. C., March 21, 1917.

DEAR MR. LELAND: I beg to acknowledge receipt of your esteemed note of March 19, relating to the establishment in Washington of a university center and the cooperation of the Pan American Union.

After reading carefully what you write and also the report of the committee of five I am glad to express my approval of the plan and to assure you as far as possible of the full cooperation of the Pan American Union and myself as its executive officer.

I desire to discuss the matter with the assistant director, Dr. Francisco Yanes, and with the proper committee of our governing board. Following this conference I will again communicate with you. In the meantime it will give me much pleasure to discuss with you the general project. It would also be advantageous if you could see fit to confer with Mr. Yanes, who gives special attention to the educational features of the Pan American Union

Yours, very truly,

(Signed) JOHN BARRETT.

Mr. WALDO G. LELAND,
Department of Historical Research,
Carnegie Institution of Washington,
1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

VII. MINUTES OF A CONFERENCE ON THE FOUNDATION
OF A JOURNAL OF LATIN-AMERICAN HISTORY.

CINCINNATI, DECEMBER 29, 1916.

MINUTES OF A CONFERENCE ON THE FOUNDATION OF A JOURNAL
OF LATIN-AMERICAN HISTORY HELD AT CINCINNATI, DECEMBER 29, 1916.

The plan for the foundation of a Journal of Latin-American History having been under consideration for some time among members of the American Historical Association who are interested in Latin America, a conference was arranged for the discussion of ways and means appertaining thereto at the annual meeting of the association in 1916, in Cincinnati. At the conference, with an attendance of about 30, the matter was given full consideration. Dr. Charles E. Chapman, of the University of California, who introduced the project, requested Dr. Justin H. Smith, of Boston, to preside over the conference, and Dr. James A. Robertson, of Washington, was appointed secretary. Without other preliminaries, Dr. Chapman was called upon to outline his project for the foundation of a Journal of Latin-American History. His remarks were as follows:

PROJECT FOR A JOURNAL OF LATIN-AMERICAN HISTORY.

I. THE NEED FOR SUCH A REVIEW.

A great many American students in the Latin-American field have for a long time wished that there might be some organ devoted to their interests. According to them, not only was there no single periodical adequate to their needs among the many which admit occasional Latin-American material, but also a combination of all readily accessible periodicals of this nature would hardly suffice for their needs. In other words, the field of Latin-American history was, and still is, almost wholly without organization. It would clearly be a great advantage to our students to have an organ devoted principally to Latin-American history, both as a medium for articles which do not find a necessary inclusion in periodicals already in existence and especially for bibliographical and other technical information which is now difficult or impossible of access. Furthermore, many of our students have felt that the general subject of Latin America and the relations of the United States with, and with regard to, Latin America is important enough to merit a review, and they are confident that it is a field which is going to advance out of its present relatively modest status into a leading position in our historical activities.

II. HOW THE IDEA AROSE.

The definite project for such a review, to be open also for material with regard to Spain and Portugal, and those parts of the United States once owned by Spain (but only so far as affected by Spanish contact), first took shape in my mind at the suggestion of the great Spanish historian, Rafael Altamira, during the special meeting of the American Historical Association at San Francisco, in the summer of 1915. A year later, in July, 1916, Dr. William Spence Robertson and I were delegates to the American Congress of Bibliography and History at Buenos Aires, and we found that such a review would fit in with the projects discussed at that congress, and would receive the hearty cooperation of Latin-American scholars. We thereupon sent a communication to the October number of the American Historical Review, proposing that a review be founded and suggesting the following editorial policy:

[Dr. Chapman here read the communication, with several additions, as follows:]

"1. That the said review should be devoted to the history (political, economic, social, and diplomatic, as well as narrative) and institutions of Spain, Portugal, and the Latin-American States. [Addition: Latin America should form the principal field. The field should also extend to those parts of the United States once owned by Spain.]

"2. That it follow the general style and arrangement of the American Historical Review, but with more space allotted to bibliography.

"3. That articles in Spanish and Portuguese be printed, as well as those in English. [Addition: Articles in French also]

"4. That the articles published be mainly those of such character that they can not find ready acceptance in the regional periodicals which already exist [Addition: This review would not compete with any existing reviews, but would really be a help to them.]"

Upon my return to this country a month ago this dinner was arranged for the discussion of the project.

III. THE FINANCIAL SITUATION.

On the advice of Dr. Jameson and Dr. Turner I made no attempt before this meeting to see whether financial support could be obtained, but I am able to present some data to you bearing upon that subject.

[Dr. Chapman here read the pertinent parts of a letter from the Waverly Press of Baltimore, as follows:]

"Under separate cover we are sending sample copy of the American Political Science Review, which embodies the general specifications we would recommend for your proposed publication.

"Regarding cost of such publication, based upon data given in your letter:

"Five hundred copies, 128 pages and cover, if set in 11-point type (foreign matter not to exceed 10 per cent), would cost, per issue, approximately \$225; 500 additional copies would each cost 11 cents. For pages set in smaller type there would of course be some additional charge.

"The cost of mailing an issue of 500 at second-class rates would be about \$3 25 to \$3 50. Printed wrappers, \$2. Wrapping and addressing, \$3 25. These are approximate figures, but very close to actual.

"The paper which we use and which is shown in the sample volume is one which we have made specially according to a formula which we have long been using, and which has been approved by the Bureau of Standards and Arthur D. Little Co., of Boston. It would be possible to reduce the cost slightly by the use of cheaper paper, but not materially, and we feel that this would be unwise as your journal will contain material which you would desire preserved, and the chemists have advised us that the paper which we are using insures permanency of record"

In addition comes the matter of editorial expense and cost of articles, which I do not feel competent to estimate, although I believe a fairly generous allowance should be made for both. Over against this there would be an income from subscriptions to the Review and from advertising. At the outset this sum would not be very great. At \$3 a year there might not be enough subscribers among men in the field and libraries to produce more than \$500 a year, although you will perhaps be willing to agree with me that this is a conservative estimate. This would leave a deficit of from \$500 to \$1,000 a year. If the Review should prove a success, however, the annual deficit would in time become much less through an increase in the number of subscribers, possibly more advertising, and a sale of the earlier numbers; but a subsidy will probably be necessary for many years in order to make expenses meet.

The chances for a subsidy are perhaps better for a magazine in this field than for almost any other that might be desired at present; at any rate, that is the opinion of several men with whom I have talked. Mr. George P. Brett, president of the Macmillan Co., is among those who believe that the problem of financing this particular periodical is not a difficult one at all. If the idea is taken up at this meeting he offers to furnish our organizing committee with a list of all the men who might be interested in the project. He also makes a further offer, which I think you will recognize is one of very definite advantage—the use of the Macmillan Co. imprint for the periodical. Nothing could more clearly indicate his approval of the idea.

IV. SYMPOSIUM OF THE LETTERS.

I think the most interesting thing I have to tell you is to let you know how men in the American historical profession view this plan. I sent out 72 letters, nearly all of which went to members of the American Historical Association believed to be interested in Latin-American history. If I missed anybody, the slight was unintentional. All but 12 answered—a praiseworthy record, I think. Of the 60 who did answer, 8 were noncommittal, 6 were opposed, and 46 announced themselves in favor of the project. The question most prominent with supporters of the plan was the financial one, and this was also alluded to by several of the opponents. I think it may be taken as the opinion of the writers that an adequate financial backing should be found before the magazine is launched.

Another point discussed was that of the name of the Review. Many objections were made to the term "Ibero-American." Other names suggested were "Hispanic-American Historical Review," "Latin-American Historical Review," "Spanish-American Historical Journal," "Journal of Spanish-American History," and "Journal of Latin-American History."

Three of the men who oppose the founding of the Review—the only ones to state the ground of their objection—believe that there are not enough men and sufficient equipment in this country to provide first-class articles for such a Review. On the other hand, letter upon letter expressed the opinion on that score that there could be no doubt of the success of the Review. It might also be argued that the very existence of the Review would result in an advance in our capacity to do good work; without the Review it is difficult to measure up to even our more or less present capabilities.

One prominent reason for supporting it was because of the relationships that it would engender with Latin America. Some viewed this matter from the standpoint of national affairs, and others from that of professional relations with Latin-American historians. Several writers urged that articles from Latin Americans in their own language be printed frequently.

A great many alluded to the purely professional advantages to our own men engaged in the Latin-American historical field.

[Continuing, Dr. Chapman read letters from the following gentlemen, to wit, Messrs. Lichtenstein (Northwestern), Klein (Harvard), Rowe (Pennsylvania), Bingham (Yale), Martin (Leland Stanford Junior), Bolton (California), Priestley (California), Shepherd (Columbia); from Willard Straight, Archer Huntington, John Barrett, Secretary McAdoo, and the President. Of the latter Dr. Chapman said:]

Finally, I wish to read you a letter of which we can not fail to take notice, coming from the source it does. If the Review is founded I should like to see this letter printed on the first page.

President Wilson's letter expresses his "very sincere approval of the project," and adds, "It is a most interesting one and ought to lead to very important results both for scholarship and for the increase of cordial feeling throughout the Americas."

V. MACHINERY FOR ACTION.

In conclusion, I wish to propose a resolution and two motions, all of which I think best to discuss together, although they may be voted separately. The resolution follows:

Resolved, by members and guests of the American Historical Association gathered at the group dinner to discuss the project to found a Latin-American Review, That the general project for such a Review seems to them a desirable one, provided adequate financial backing can be procured.

If you will pass this resolution, I shall feel that my efforts for the founding of the Review have not been wasted, whatever you may decide upon with regard to my motions.

I move—

1. That a committee of seven be chosen at this meeting to be called the committee on organization, with power to take all steps which may in their judgment seem best to found a Review coming within the general objects proposed in the project for an Ibero-American Historical Review, their power to include—

- (a) A right and a duty to seek an endowment to guarantee its permanence,
- (b) A right to select a name for the periodical.
- (c) A right to define the initial editorial policy of the Review.

(d) A right and a duty to provide for its initial organization and management.

(e) A right to set the date when publication shall begin, provided that date be not later than January, 1918.

(f) A right to dissolve without founding the Review.

(g) A right and a duty to do anything else which may seem desirable or necessary.

2. That a committee of three be chosen, to be called the nominating committee, with a single function, to be exercised once only—viz, a power, upon notification from the committee on organization, to make nominations for the first board of editors who shall be elected in such manner as may be prescribed by the committee on organization.

According to my views, members of this second committee should be men of high standing in the profession who are not, however, Latin Americanists. I regard such a committee as necessary, so as to allow members of the committee on organization to work with an entirely free hand, free from suspicion that they are working in their own interests, and yet free when the time comes to accept an election to the board of editors.

Thereupon, the resolution proposed by Dr. Chapman was unanimously approved. Following, Dr. Chapman moved his first motion, proposing as the committee on organization the following:

James A. Robertson, Washington, chairman; William R. Shepherd, Columbia University; Edward L. Stevenson, Hispanic Society; Hiram Bingham, Yale; Julius Klein, Harvard; Isaac J. Cox, Cincinnati, or Roland G. Usher, Washington University, St. Louis; and Herbert E. Bolton, California, the first five representing the East, and the Middle West and West each being represented by one member.

Dr. Cox immediately withdrew his name, leaving the name of Roland G. Usher.

On being duly seconded, the motion (including names) was amended to read "that a committee of nine," and that the names of Charles E. Chapman, California, and C. L. Chandler, of Chattanooga, Tenn., South American representative for freight traffic of the Southern Railway Co., and other railways, be added to the committee. The amendments, and then the original motion as amended, were passed.

Dr. Chapman attempted without success to withdraw, as he and Dr. William Spence Robertson had agreed only to set the ball rolling, and suggested that he would be embarrassed in reporting the result of the meeting to his colleague in the proposal.

Dr. Chapman formally moved his second suggestion, naming as a nominating committee Drs. J. F. Jameson, F. J. Turner, and Justin H. Smith. The motion was passed unanimously.

Re, the first motion, on motion by Roland G. Usher, with the requisite second, it was resolved that a quorum in the committee on organization should consist of three members.

Idem, by motion of Dr. Chapman, duly seconded, that upon the resignation or death of any member, the other members be empowered to elect his successor.

On motion by C. L. Chandler, duly seconded, it was unanimously resolved that Dr. Chapman be instructed to write to Dr. William Spence Robertson expressing the appreciation of those present of his scholarship and work.

On motion of Dr. Bonham, of Louisiana, duly seconded, it was unanimously resolved that a vote of thanks be extended to Drs. Chapman and Smith.

On motion, the meeting was adjourned *sine die*.

JAMES A. ROBERTSON, *Secretary*.

List of persons present at the conference: E. C. Barker, Austin, Tex.; E. J. Benton, Western Reserve; M. L. Bonham, Louisiana; E. W. Brandon, Oxford,

Ohio; G. L. Burr, Cornell University; C. L. Chandler, Harvard; C. E. Chapman, California; A. H. Clark, Cleveland; I. J. Cox, Cincinnati; G. S. Godard, Hartford; F. H. Hodder, Kansas; J. A. James, Northwestern; J. F. Jameson, Carnegie Institution; J. L. Kingsbury, Kirksville, Mo.; J. G. McDonald, Bloomington; T. M. Marshall, Idaho; T. P. Martin, Cambridge; Miss Irene T. Myers, Lexington, Ky.; V. H. Paltsits, New York Public Library; C. O. Paullin, Carnegie Institution; W. W. Pierson, jr., North Carolina; James A. Robertson, Washington, D. C.; W. L. Schurz, Michigan; Mrs. M. H. Stone, Saginaw, Mich.; F. J. Turner, Harvard; Roland G. Usher, Washington University, St. Louis.

VIII. TRIBUTE ASSESSMENTS IN THE ATHENIAN EMPIRE.

By HERBERT WING,
Dickinson College

TRIBUTE ASSESSMENTS IN THE ATHENIAN EMPIRE.

By HERBERT WING.

The decree of the Athenian assembly reconstituting the government of Chalkis after the revolt of Euboea in 447/6 to 446/5 contains this provision to which the people of Chalkis swear: "And I will pay the tribute to the Athenians which I may persuade the Athenians."¹ Like the Naxians,² the Thasians,³ and nearly all the other "allies" of Athens,⁴ the Chalkidians were reduced to the condition of subjects, although in official documents they were still called "allies."⁵ These cities ordinarily gave up the right to regulate their foreign policy⁶ and ceased to mint their own coins;⁷ their navies were reduced to insignificance;⁸ they were required to send important cases of a judicial character to Athens for trial,⁹ besides many cases involving contracts;¹⁰ finally they paid an annual tax or tribute to Athens.¹¹

The amount of this tax was originally fixed by Aristides in 478/7¹² at four hundred and sixty talents,¹³ or something over one-half million dollars. The cities were not heavily burdened to pay this "phoros," as the tribute was officially called, since the largest assessment known to us is thirty talents.¹⁴ Possibly, the earlier assessments were heavier; but as new cities like Karystos¹⁵ joined the Confederacy or League of Delos, out of which the Athenian Empire grew, and as money contributions were received instead of military or

¹ *Inscriptiones Graecae*, I, Supplement 27a, p. 10.

² *Thucydides*, I, 98 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, I, 100 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 98.

⁵ For instance, in the Chalkidic document here under consideration, cf. *In. Gr.* I, 10, 11.

⁶ Athens involved her allies in war without consulting them.

⁷ Very few cities coined money in this period except Kyzikos.

⁸ *Thuc.* I, 101 (Thasians); 117 (Samians).

⁹ *In. Gr.* I, Suppl. 27a (Chalkis); I, 9 (Erythrai); *Pseudo-Xenophon: Constitution of Athens*, I, 16; *Antiphon*, V, de Caede Her. 47.

¹⁰ *In. Gr.* II, 11.

¹¹ *Thuc.* I, 99, 101.

¹² *Aristotle, Constitution of Athens*, ch. 23.

¹³ *Ibid.*; *Thuc.* I, 96; *Plutarch, Aristides*, ch. 24.

¹⁴ *Aigina and Thasos*.

¹⁵ *Thuc.* I, 98.

naval service,¹⁶ the tribute from the individual cities tended to decline.¹⁷ Occasionally, as in the case of Thasos,¹⁸ the economic interests of the ally suffered because they conflicted with those of the superior power; but ordinarily there seems to have been little ground for complaint on this score. The requirement that certain kinds of suits should be tried in Athens was clumsily carried out because of the slowness of Athenian court procedure; but the advantage arising from the uniformity of practice overbalanced these objections.¹⁹ From the side of economic interest it must have been really a good thing for the allies to be members of the Empire, since they were given protection from foreign and Hellenic foes, a regulated freedom to trade, and good markets to trade in.²⁰ Piracy was suppressed.²¹

Why, then, do we find the cities apparently ready to revolt at every opportunity? It has been suggested to the writer that this restlessness was due to the clashes of parties in the various cities.²² Undoubtedly this played a large part. The account Thucydides gives of the Samian revolt and again of the Lesbian shows how the oligarchs conspired to overthrow the Athenian power.²³ But this merely indicates how revolts were effected, not why they were so frequent. The chief cause which Thucydides gives—remissness in performing treaty obligations—is obviously only secondary.²⁴ The state of mind of the cities seems to be the determining factor. The allies were for the most part Hellenes.²⁵ That means that they were almost incurably devoted to the idea that each city should be independent of all others. Because of this the relatively easy rule of Athens was called a tyranny. When the Peloponnesians went to war with Athens they used as a slogan the freeing of Greek cities now under a despotic rule. And the credulous cities grasped at the chance, with as little understanding of the real trend of affairs as had the fatuous, enthusiastic applauders of the Isthmian games in 196 B. C., not to mention those noble patriots whom Nero freed.²⁶ The only final result of these revolts was to put the cities again under the rule of foreigners, whether Athens herself or Sparta or the King of Persia.²⁷ The significant fact for this discussion is that the cause for these revolts was not real economic distress.

¹⁶ Thuc. I, 99; Plut., Cimon, ch. 11; Plut., Pericles, 12 ff.

¹⁷ An observable tendency in the quota lists

¹⁸ Thuc. I, 100.

¹⁹ See Ps. Xenophon, Constitution of Athens, generally, for this.

²⁰ Plutarch, Pericles, 12 ff. gives an account of the development of trade at Athens; cf. Ps. Xen., Const. Ath., passim.

²¹ Thuc. I, 98; Plut., Cimon, ch. 8; Thuc. VII, 57.

²² This is implied also in Ps. Xen., Const. of Ath. I, 14.

²³ Thuc. I, 115-117; III, 48.

²⁴ Thuc. I, 99.

²⁵ The Karians and Lykians were also members, although non-Greeks.

²⁶ For these allusions, see Plutarch: Flaminius.

²⁷ Thuc. I, 99.

The league had originally a synod which met at Delos and transacted affairs of general interest.²⁸ The treasury, too, was at Delos.²⁹ To that island the Hellenotamiai or Board of Hellenic Treasurers brought the tribute.³⁰ The god, or perhaps we should say his priests, was indemnified for the keeping of the money safely by the payment of one-sixtieth of the amount as "first-fruits."³¹ As time went on, however, and the number of independent allies was reduced to three, the Chians, the Lesbians, and the Samians,³² the meetings of the synod ceased.³³ The money of the League, including whatever was in the treasury, was brought to Athens and housed on the Acropolis.³⁴ In place of Apollo, it is Athena who now received the "first-fruits," a mina from the talent.³⁵

The transfer of the treasury from Delos to Athens was marked by a change in bookkeeping. The money which was usually paid at the time of the great Dionysia in March³⁶ was handed over in the presence of the Boulé and checked up by the Board of Thirty Auditors or Logistai.³⁷ In order to give the necessary publicity to this proceeding, the secretary of the Hellenotamiai³⁸ was required to publish on stone the names of the cities that paid the tribute and the amount of "first-fruits" paid by each. These "stelai" or marble slabs were then set up on the Acropolis for any comer to examine.³⁹ This practice was later followed when in 425 a reassessment of tribute was made.⁴⁰ Most of our information regarding the internal financial history of the Athenian Empire comes from the fragments of these inscriptions which have been recovered during the past hundred years from debris on and near the Acropolis.⁴¹

The accounts for the first 15 years of this new arrangement were inscribed on a single block of Pentelic marble.⁴² On the front of

²⁸ Thuc. I, 96, 97.

²⁹ Ibid. I, 96

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Though inscriptional evidence is wanting, the fact that meetings of the synod were held in the temple makes it probable that in the practice of giving "first-fruits" to the goddess Athens was merely following the early custom of thus honoring Apollo. Thuc. I, 96; cf. In. Gr. I, 226.

³² These cities alone had their own navies. Thuc. I, 117; III, 10. The Samians were made subjects in 440 B. C.

³³ There is no mention of these in extant literature or inscriptions after 454 B. C.

³⁴ Plut., Pericles, 12; Aristides, 25; Thuc. II, 13; Demosthenes, III, 01.III, 24; so others, but with varying estimates

³⁵ In. Gr. I, 226.

³⁶ Scholia to Aristophanes, Acharnians, 378, 504.

³⁷ Thuc. I, 96; Ps. Xen., Const. Ath. III, 2; In. Gr. I, 38, 226.

³⁸ See below for discussion of this secretary.

³⁹ This was the common practice.

⁴⁰ In. Gr. I, 37, 38.

⁴¹ Published by Pittakis, Rangabé, and Boeckh; then by U. Koehler, *Urkunden und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des delisch-attischen Bundes*, in *Abhandlungen der K. Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1869; and A. Kirchhoff, *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum*, I, 226-272.

⁴² In. Gr. I, 226-240.

the stone were cut those for years 1 through 6; on the left side, years 7 and 8; on the back, years 9 through 13; and on the right side, years 14 and 15.

Not all the accounts of these 15 years have been found, but enough has been recovered to make possible the restoration of the stele. This restoration consists in putting up the fragments in their proper positions on the stele and filling the lacunae with plaster. This reconstruction was made possible chiefly by the researches of Koehler⁴³ and Kirchhoff,⁴⁴ and has been carried out recently by the authorities of the Epigraphical Museum in Athens with the advice of A. Wilhelm. A few other fragments of the first stele have been found, but not put into their proper positions on the restored stele. The most important of these is a fragment of the thirteenth list, containing the names of several cities of the Nesiot or Island district.⁴⁵

The second stele is similar to the first, except that it contains only eight lists, years 16 through 23.⁴⁶

With the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War came apparently a decision to publish the accounts of the several years on separate stones.⁴⁷ Of these we have years 28,⁴⁸ 29,⁴⁹ and 34.⁵⁰ In addition we have the tribute assessment for 425/4.⁵¹

The problems of interest on which these stones give some information are the number of cities, the assessment and collection of tribute, the amount of tribute, the history of the empire.

Aristophanes suggests in his "Wasps"⁵² that there were 1,000 cities in the Athenian Empire. The quota lists give the names of about 325 cities, of which, however, fewer than 300 can be positively identified. Not all the names of these 300-odd cities could have been entered on the quota lists in any one year, since the longest quota list has room for only 225 names. The other hundred or more must have paid their tributes in groups with the recorded cities or else have failed to pay in a given year. In any case, the estimate of Aristophanes is greatly exaggerated. Two explanations have been given of his statement. One suggests⁵³ that the group system of payment was common throughout the Empire and that each city paid for two or three others. The objections to this view are cogent: First, we find usually explicit mention of these "syntelies" or groups in the quota lists or else the names of individual cities.⁵⁴ There is no

⁴³ In *Urkunden und Untersuchungen*, cited above, note 41.

⁴⁴ See note 41.

⁴⁵ Published by Woodward, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1908.

⁴⁶ In *Gr. I*, 241-249, 252, 253, 255, 256.

⁴⁷ No large stelae have survived except those already mentioned.

⁴⁸ In. *Gr. I*, 259, 266; *Hermes*, 31, p. 142.

⁴⁹ In. *Gr. I*, 257.

⁵⁰ In. *Gr. I*, 260.

⁵¹ In. *Gr. I*, 37.

⁵² *Ll.* 702-711.

⁵³ For instance, Boeckh, *Staatshaushaltung der Athener*, 11, 418-420.

⁵⁴ In. *Gr. I*, 284, 285.

reason to assume that other *syntelies* existed than those formally mentioned. Secondly, the names of the 300 cities contain many individual members of the "*syntelies*." The idea would then amount to "*syntelies of syntelies*" if these paid for several other cities. Thirdly, nearly half of these cities paid one-half talent or less. The amount of this tribute would exclude these cities from being groups.

The other explanation⁵⁵ is that Aristophanes was "talking big" and wished to have his hearers understand that he meant not only cities but villages and suburbs. Aside from the objections given above to the first explanation, we find that many cities are listed as paying tribute independently, though they are near neighbors to other cities. After all, why should we expect more exactness of statement in a comic poet of ancient Hellas than we do of that English bard who gave us Falstaff? Fancy trying to estimate the relative ability of townsmen and outlaws from a comparison of Falstaff's reports.

With regard to the assessment of tribute, there has been a marked tendency to follow without question the suggestion of Koehler, made 47 years ago, that "the allies were usually assessed every four years, this period running, at least after 454 B. C., from one Great Panathenaia to another. This festival was celebrated in the third year of every Olympiad. Shortly before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, probably in 437 B. C., the beginning of this tribute period was changed from the third to the fourth year of the Olympiad";⁵⁶ and again, "the quota lists show that assessments were made in 450 and 446 B. C., and this is evidence that the assessment was quadrennial even before the Peloponnesian War. Even after the beginning of the tribute period was changed, the assessment was made at the time of the Panathenaia (the lesser feast, of course, after the change)."⁵⁷

This view implies too great a regularity in these assessments. On *a priori* grounds one might object to a form of taxation which would make it impossible for a city to alter its assessment before the four-year period was completed, and one might ask why the lists were published annually if the assessments were in force for four years. We need not be content with *a priori* reasoning, since the quota lists give us direct light on the subject. We find some 44 changes in assessments which occurred in the period from 451-440, and which can be assigned to definite years or groups of years. Chalcedon, for example, paid 7½ talents in 452; 9 talents in 451; and 12 talents in 450. Changes occurred, therefore, both in 451 and 450.⁵⁸ Of

⁵⁵ Several persons have suggested this.

⁵⁶ Koehler's view, as given by Gilbert, *Constitutional Antiquities of Athens and Sparta* (Eng. Transl., 1895), II, 474-475.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, with references also to Ps. Nen., *Const. Ath.* III, 5; and *In. Gr.* I, 40. Cf. Koehler, *op. cit.*, 127, 134.

⁵⁸ *In. Gr.* I, 228 ff.

these 44 datable changes in assessments, 16 occurred in Panathenaic years—that is, years 450, 446, or 442, when the Great Panathenaia was celebrated—and 28 in the other nine years. In one year, 445 B. C., is there no change datable with certainty. This seems to bear out the view that changes were usually made at the time of Great Panathenaia, but it shows also that changes were made at various other times. The fact that a city like Chalcedon was allowed to change its tribute twice in three years shows that there was no definite period during which the assessment was in force. The reason why changes in assessment were most frequently made in Panathenaic years may be that since the allies were required to send offerings to the festival,⁵⁹ they found it most convenient then to present their claims for changes in tribute.

The idea of a change in the beginning of the tribute period in 437 B. C. arises from the fact that Koehler and Kirchhoff had dated the list which is now known as *In. Gr. I*, 243 as of that year. This list contains six changes from *In. Gr. I*, 242 and occurs in the fourth year of the Olympiad. Fimmen⁶⁰ has shown that *In. Gr. I*, 242 must be assigned to 435 and *In. Gr. I*, 243 to 434. The latter year saw the observance of the Great Panathenaia.

The other bit of evidence for the dating of the assessments is the assessment inscription for 425 B. C.⁶¹ This is the fourth year of an Olympiad. Its abundance of changes can be accounted for by the fact that in that year the tribute was nearly doubled by order of the assembly⁶² and a general reassessment was necessary.⁶³

The actual payment of the tributes occurred in the spring of the year at the time of the Great Dionysia. This dates the publishing of each year's accounts as in the spring.

The cities seem at first to have been listed without any regard to geographical relation.⁶⁴ The secretary of the fifth board of Hellenotamiai,⁶⁵ that for 450 B. C., arranged the cities in approximately the same groups in which we find them formally given in the twelfth year⁶⁶ and following. The secretaries for years 6,⁶⁷ 7,⁶⁸ and 8,⁶⁹ were apparently oblivious to the usefulness of this arrangement and went back to the haphazard disorder of the first four lists.⁷⁰ The idea

⁵⁹ *In. Gr. I*, 9 (Erythrai); 31 (Brea).

⁶⁰ *Mittheilungen des K. deutschen archaologischen Instituts zu Athen*, vol. XXXVIII.

⁶¹ *In. Gr. I*, 37.

⁶² Plutarch, *Aristides*, 24.

⁶³ The fact of this assessment is borne out by the increases in *In. Gr. I*, 37.

⁶⁴ U. Pedrolli, *I Tributi degli Alleati d'Atene*, in J. Beloch, *Studi di Storia antica*. Fasc. 1 (Rome, 1891), pp 101–207, esp. p. 101.

⁶⁵ *In. Gr. I*, 230.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 237.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 231.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 232.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 233.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 226–229.

was taken up again by the secretaries for years 9,⁷¹ 10,⁷² and 11,⁷³ and with the help of Satyros, an assistant secretary, was made formal in the year 12.⁷⁴ The fact of this anticipation of the later plan by the secretary of the fifth board has not been recognized before, but it can be proved by examination of the proportion of the cities arranged in groups of four or more from the same district. More than 60 per cent of the names of this list and of lists 9, 10, and 11, and of these only, occur in groups of four or more, whereas the other nine lists do not approach this proportion. In the fifth list there are one group of 4 Hellespontine cities; one each of 4 and of 5 Ionian cities; one of 6 Nesiot cities; one each of 4, 6, and 11 Karian cities; and one of 15 Thracian cities. In the year 12 and following⁷⁵ there are special rubrics for the five districts—namely, Ionian, Hellespontine, Thracian, Karian, Nesiot.

The original amount of tribute fixed by Aristides is supposed to be 460 talents.⁷⁶ Pericles is quoted as saying that Athens was receiving 600 talents a year from her allies at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War.⁷⁷ Plutarch says that during the war the tribute was raised to 1,300 talents.⁷⁸ Various modern scholars—notably Koehler,⁷⁹ Kirchhoff,⁸⁰ Busolt,⁸¹ Pedrolì,⁸² Cavaignac,⁸³ and Dinsmoor⁸⁴—have also estimated the tribute, basing their estimates on the quota lists, but they have arrived at widely differing conclusions. The reason for these discrepancies is that they assumed the existence of tribute periods and estimated the payment of tribute from figures occurring in the period. Now, it frequently happened that the tribute of a city changed in the supposed period. They then had to take one or the other figure as the normal assessment and thus reached different conclusions.

The proper method of procedure is, I believe, to take the individual year as the unit; carefully to estimate the number of places on the stone, which can be restored; examine the accounts of the various cities, and decide which are most probable restorations, because they paid both before and after the event; proceed in the same way with

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, I, 234.

⁷² *Ibid.*, I, 235.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, I, 236.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 237.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 237 ff.

⁷⁶ Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, ch 23.

⁷⁷ Thuc II, 13; Plut., *Aristides*, ch 24

⁷⁸ Plut., *Arist.*, 24.

⁷⁹ *Op. cit.*

⁸⁰ *Op. cit.*

⁸¹ *Der Phorols der athenischen Buender von 446/5 bis 426/5*, in *Philologus*, vol. 41 (1882), pp. 652-718.

⁸² *Op. cit.*

⁸³ *Etudes sur l'histoire financière d'Athènes au VIème siècle* (Paris, 1908). *Le trésor d'Athènes*.

⁸⁴ *Attic Building Accounts: The Parthenon*, in *American Journal of Archaeology*, vol. VII (1913), p. 65.

the quotas. Thus, one would avoid the danger of assuming the payment of tribute by more cities than could find a place on the stone. In attempting to apply these principles to the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth lists, I found that the number of cities, which could thus be restored with a high degree of probability, was nearly equal to the number of possible places on the stone, and that the cities I decided not to restore had little likelihood of paying in the year under consideration. An accidental means of verifying my method came in the Epigraphical Museum, in Athens, while I was working over the thirteenth list. I restored the names of something like a dozen Nesiot cites on the basis of the general similarity to the twelfth list. Then, I chanced on the actual fragment of stone which belonged in that space.⁸⁵ I found, to my pleasurable surprise, that all of my restorations were actually on the stone, but the order of two cities was reversed. This study should be extended, so far as practicable, to all the lists. Only after this is done does it appear possible to make an even approximately accurate estimate of the total amount of tribute paid.

The most interesting new light upon the history of the Empire has been thrown by the reconstruction of the second stele by D. Fimmen.⁸⁶ What he did may be briefly summarized thus: He discovered that the back of the stele had been engraved.⁸⁷ This made necessary a rearrangement of the known fragments. He assigned lists 16 through 19 to years 19 through 22. This threw In. Gr. I, 243, which had formerly been known as the eighteenth list into the twenty-first year. The list contains the name of a secretary of the Hellenotamiai ending in -kos from Keramos. Dinsmoor,⁸⁸ in working over the building inscription for the Propylaea, discovered that the only possible reading for the secretary of the Hellenotamiai given in the fourth year of the building (434 B. C.) was Protonikos from Keramos. An equating of these two facts gives us the full name for the In. Gr. I, 243, list and confirms the justness of assigning the list to 434 B. C. That the secretary mentioned in the quota lists was the secretary of the Hellenotamiai and not of the logistai is now generally accepted. The confusion arising from the reading in the third list⁸⁹ is now dispelled by the understanding of a verb omitted.

Fimmen's reconstruction of this stele brings our knowledge of the affairs in the Thracian district close to the time of the Peleponnesian War. Poteidaia, for example, was paying 6 talents in 435/4 and

⁸⁵ Actually published, but till then unknown to me, by Woodward, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1908.

⁸⁶ *Athenische Mittheilungen*, vol. 38

⁸⁷ I personally examined the stone in Athens and believe that he is right in his main conclusions

⁸⁸ *Attic Building Accounts: The Propylaea*, in *American Journal of Archaeology*, vol. VII (1913), pp. 371-398, esp. 396-397.

⁸⁹ In. Gr. I, 228.

fifteen talents in 433/2. This means that the supposed punisher of that city with others of the Thracian district for participating in the general restless movement of the time of the Samian War (440 B. C.) must be referred to a later time.⁹⁰ Poteidaia paid tribute as late as the spring of 432.

The interpretation of the special rubrics which occur on this stele needs to be examined in the light of these new discoveries of the time relations of the several lists; in particular, Busolt's interesting and stimulating article mentioned above offers food for thought.

To sum up the main conclusions of this paper, we find: (1) The number of cities in the Empire did not approach the thousand mentioned by Aristophanes, and probably did not exceed four hundred. (2) The plan of engraving the names on a stele in a list arrangement with regard to geographical location was first adopted by the secretary for 450; then imitated by the secretaries for 446 and following. (3) The assessments of the tribute were made for an indefinite period; and reassessments were made only on special occasions and at irregular intervals. These reassessments were most frequently made in Panathenaic years as a matter of convenience to the allies; but they also actually occurred in other years. (4) Estimates of tribute must be made on the basis of the study of individual years instead of periods of years. (5) The supposed change in the beginning of the tribute-period in 437 has no basis in fact. (6) The reconstruction of the second stele by Fimmen is confirmed by Dinsmoor's studies, and involves a readjustment of our interpretation of the history of the Empire between the Samian Revolt and the Peloponnesian War, especially with regard to the Thracian district.

⁹⁰ Busolt in *Philologus*, vol. 41 (1882), pp. 652-718. Cf. also West, the Chalcid League, ch. 1 (published as a bulletin by the University of Wisconsin).

IX. WHEN DID THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE AND
CIVILIZATION COME INTO BEING?

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WHEN DID THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE AND CIVILIZATION COME INTO BEING?

By P. VAN DEN VEN.

No one has ever contested the fact that the Byzantine Empire disappeared at the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, which disaster effected the complete destruction of the previous state of things in the Greek medieval world. There are in the history of mankind very few events which have brought with them so many radical changes in every branch of human life in so short a period. But disagreements are numerous when it is a question of establishing an initial date as regards the Byzantine Empire as well as the Byzantine civilization.

The division of history into periods is, as everyone knows, from its very nature, conventional and arbitrary, for history really never stops, and all the historical events are so connected with one another as to form an uninterrupted succession. But it would be impossible to master the enormous mass of facts in history without marking certain halting places which correspond, within reasonable limits, to reality, that is, to the beginning and the end of a definite evolution in society, in so far as this beginning and end may be perceived. This classification has also some importance as regards specialization of historical research. Byzantine studies to-day form a special field with its own means for particular investigation, and it is of practical utility to determine the extent of this branch of learning and not to trespass on the domain of other studies. There is a risk of failing to recognize in many cases the real character of events, especially their distant causes, if the investigator has poorly classified them in their ensemble and has left to specialists in neighboring fields the care of investigating facts directly connected with those of his own concern.

The difficulty of establishing a date beyond dispute, to mark the beginning of the Byzantine Empire and civilization, comes from the fact that it is hard to find an event which sets off in every aspect of life the starting point of the new evolution of the eastern world. Politically speaking, there is no fixed line of demarcation between the Roman and Byzantine Empires. Those who have given special attention to the Roman structure of the eastern State, that structure

which remained the real basis until the end, do not perceive any beginning of a new evolution and therefore do not admit the existence of an empire distinct from the Roman. They have considered, of course, above all, the political institutions. Some who have in addition investigated the social institutions, the church, art, literature, and private life, have been led to a different view. They discover a new type of state and civilization in the beginning of the fourth century. Let us briefly examine the arguments for each position and see if it is possible definitely to determine the beginning of the Byzantine era.

The supporters of the uninterrupted evolution of the Roman Empire down to the fifteenth century point with good reason to the fact that the so-called Byzantine Empire is heir and successor to the old Roman Empire. While in the west of the empire the civilization of ancient Rome was completely destroyed by the Germanic invasions, which thus prevented any continuity between the empire of Theodosius and that of Charlemagne, in the east there were for centuries no invasions, no sack of the capital by the barbarians, and therefore no interruption of the Roman life and the Roman State. There is no break in the continuity of the long series of Roman emperors from Augustus to Constantine VII, who was killed in 1453. The foundation of the Western Empire by Charlemagne has no importance in this connection, as it was an artificial creation which the legitimate emperors ruling at Constantinople never recognized, and which in turn never prevented these emperors from maintaining, theoretically at least, what they believed to be their rights over the western provinces of the old Roman State. The empire of Charlemagne did not replace the Western Roman Empire, for the latter never existed any more than an Eastern Roman Empire existed. There were sometimes several emperors, but always, theoretically and legally, only one empire. The separation made by Theodosius in 395 between the east and the west had only an administrative character, which did not at all alter the legal unity of the State. The abdication of Romulus Augustulus in 476 does not mark the end of the so-called Western Roman Empire. Its only effect was to replace the imperial authority in the hands of a single emperor—this emperor was recognized by the barbarians who dispossessed Romulus—and furthermore to reestablish the situation which existed under a sole ruler.¹

Because of these facts, therefore, certain historians reject the terms "Byzantine" or "Greek" which others apply to the Roman Empire in the east after Constantine the Great or Theodosius. They con-

¹ See J. B. Bury, *A History of the later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene*, I (1889), pp. v. ff.; J. Bryce, *The Holy Roman Empire* (1909), pp. 23 ff., 322 ff.; L. Hahn, *Das Kaiserthum* (*Das Erbe der Alten*, Heft VI) Leipzig, 1913, pp. 82 ff.

sider it identical with the old Roman Empire, "which endured, one and undivided, however changed and dismembered, from the first century B. C. to the fifteenth century A. D."² They only consent to call it late Roman, and, after the creation of a distinct western empire at Rome in 800, they call it Eastern Roman. Prof. J. B. Bury, the foremost of the historians of this opinion, maintains that all lines of demarcation which have been drawn between the Roman and Byzantine Empires are arbitrary, that "no Byzantine Empire ever began to exist, the Roman Empire did not come to an end till 1453."³ Great as were the changes undergone by this State since antiquity, it never ceased to be the Roman Empire; and if it changed from century to century, it was along a continuous line of development, so that we can not give it a new name, just as we can not give a new name to a man when he enters into a new period of his life, when he passes from youth to maturity and to old age. We designate a man as young and old, and so we may speak of the earlier and later ages of a kingdom or an empire.⁴ Since the publication of his excellent *History of the Later Roman Empire*, in 1889, Bury has not given up his point of view, as one can observe in the reading of his recent work, *The Constitution of the Late Roman Empire* (Cambridge, 1910), where he failed to mark any distinct period in the evolution of the form of government from the time of Augustus.

Another historian, L. Hahn, who is well known for his studies on the influence of Romanism in the Greek world, has called attention only to the Roman factor in the eastern part of the empire.⁵ He gives preeminence to this down to the time of Justinian, and he fails to show in the slightest degree the workings of any other element. He rejects almost completely the influence of the Orient,⁶ which in the mind of Fr. Cumont was particularly strong from the third century of the Roman Empire,⁷ and he does not appear to recognize any particular event as the starting point of a new evolution.

N. Jorga,⁸ impressed by the strength and the relative increase of the Roman element before Justinian, does not recognize Justinian as a Byzantine ruler. During the three centuries which followed the foundation of Constantinople, the Roman institutions were translated and adapted to the Greek surroundings, and that work was still in progress under Justinian. "The name Byzantine is given to the type of civilization slightly Roman, conspicuously Greek, and 'most Christian' (in the Greek sense also), which was thus pro-

² Bury, *op. cit.*, p. viii.

³ *Ibid.*, p. v.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. vi.

⁵ Ludwig, Hahn, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 56 ff.

⁷ Fr. Cumont, *Mithra*, p. xi.

⁸ *The Byzantine Empire* (London, 1907), pp. 3 ff.

duced. The name is appropriated to the result." Therefore, according to Jorga, Byzantinism begins only after Justinian, when it takes the place of Romanism. Finlay, Gregorovius, Zachariae von Lingenthal had been of the same opinion and had believed in the continuation of the Roman antiquity till the seventh century.⁹ Because of the lack of any racial feeling, adds Jorga, "the empire remained what it had always been, an agglomeration of nationalities, governed according to the Roman laws and holding a political ideal which had been formed at Rome."¹⁰ That political ideal slowly found a substitute in Christianity." The Roman empire became more and more the Christian world, the true Christian world, "orthodox" if not catholic. Rejecting the West as Arian under the Goths, as idolatrous during the dispute as to images, as perverters of dogma under the Pope, and anathematizing the Mussulmans without trying to convert them, it acquired the consciousness of holding the one and only Christian truth, and of thus being the new "chosen people" of the Lord.

It is not to be denied that for centuries after Constantine Romanism was very strong, and the best advocate of the beginning of Byzantinism in the fourth century, K. Krumbacher, acknowledges it distinctly:

Das gesamte Staatswesen, die Technik und die Grundsätze der äusseren und inneren Politik, Gesetzgebung und Verwaltung, Heer—und Flottenwesen lag als ungeheures Ergebnis theoretischer Studien, praktischen Sinnes und reicher Erfahrung fertig da, als der östliche Reichsteil selbständig wurde; und so sehr die Griechen sich hier bald als Herren im eigenen Hause fühlten, dieses unschätzbare Erbstück aus dem lateinischen Westen haben sie, trotz einzelner Änderungen in der Verwaltung (Themenverfassung) und anderen Teilen des Staates, prinzipiell niemals angetastet.¹¹

But, what separates Krumbacher's opinion from the others related above, is that it is not onesided; as we shall see, it takes into account the whole question, and weighs carefully the different factors which came in force in the East in the fourth century.

Bury places the beginning of the period of the history of the empire, which he calls "late Roman" and which others call Byzantine, in 395. It is interesting to note the reason for his adopting this date. "In the year 395 A. D. the empire was intact, but with the fifth century its dismemberment began, and 395 A. D. is consequently a convenient date to adopt as a starting point."¹² Quite logically, Prof. Bury does not take his point of departure in the history of the Eastern provinces of the empire by attributing to them a rôle quite distinct from that of ancient Rome; he takes his

⁹ See K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*, 2 ed. (1897), pp. 13 ff.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 36; see pp. 33 ff.

¹¹ *Die griechische und lateinische Litteratur und Sprache* (Die Kultur der Gegenwart (Teil I, Abteilung VIII), 1905, p. 242).

¹² *Op. cit.*, p. ix.

starting point in an event which is especially important in the annals of the empire as considered in its ancient state with Italy as its center. In his mind it is not the East which separates itself from the West and begins an independent existence; it is the empire as a whole which becomes dismembered by the invasion of the Western provinces. Bury grants theoretically, in the beginning of the evolution of the "Later Roman Empire," as much importance to the western provinces as to the eastern, and his point of departure is more concerned with the destinies of the West than with those of the East. But here we find one of the weak points of Bury's argument. Practically he treats the history of the western provinces as briefly as possible, to the extent that he feels obliged to anticipate criticism of a lack of proportion. "I am concerned with the history of the Roman Empire, and not with the history of Italy or of the West, and the events on the Persian frontier were of vital consequence for the very existence of the Roman Empire, while the events in Italy were, for it, of only secondary importance. Of course, Italy was a part of the empire; but it was outlying—its loss or recovery affected the Roman Republic (strange to say) in a far less degree than other losses or gains. And just as the historian of modern England may leave the details of Indian affairs to the special historian of India, so a general historian of the Roman empire may, after the fifth century, leave the details of Italian affairs to the special historian of Italy."¹³ This is an admission of the fact that after the fifth century the West had only a very secondary importance in the destinies of the empire; that the center of gravity of the empire thereafter was in the East. In spite of the belief in the continuation of the Roman Empire—a belief which remained the same, handed down as it was by traditions, formulæ, and survivals, and strongly maintained by the Roman structure of the state—the fact that Italy and Rome were no more the center about which the empire, its institutions and its civilization revolved, marks a change so radical and so far-reaching that it is difficult to understand why Bury, who has excellently written the history of this change, refuses to harmonize his general viewpoint with the facts which he brings out. It is hard to perceive why he declines to accept the appellation "Byzantine" so thoroughly deserved by a state which he recognizes as being so very different from the old Roman Empire.

This is another weak point in Bury's argument. When the emperors in dividing the government of the East and the West were independent of each other, or hostile, as were Arcadius and Honorius, and as a matter of fact East and West went each more and more in

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. xi.

its own way, Bury defends the conception of the theoretical unity of the Empire, while taking care not to affirm its unity in reality. Have not facts in history greater importance than formulæ, which are the heritage of a past which has ceased to be in harmony with the present?

From all this it is evident that the matter in question is not merely the judicious choice of a name, but rather a consideration of the very essence of things under that name. Is the Roman Empire really the Roman Empire down to the fifteenth century, in spite of its numerous transformations? Could it have remained for so long a period the same living creature, the nature of which does not change at the different periods of its life? Did not the transformations which it underwent, in the fourth century and later, permeate so deeply that it is proper from that time on to give it another name corresponding to its new nature? Let us examine now the arguments of those who fix the beginning of the new evolution in the fourth century and recognize its extent by giving the period the name of Byzantine.

The late leader in Byzantine studies, K. Krumbacher, is the first, I believe, to have determined the various elements which have formed the Byzantine civilization, the mixed character of which differs strikingly from the unity of the old Greek culture. He recognizes four elements, the gradual intermingling of which has produced the new civilization—i. e., Hellenism, Romanism, Christianity, and oriental influences.¹⁴ A great event started the whole new combination—the establishment of the capital at Byzantium (326). The importance of this event in the destiny of the Empire can not be overestimated. What, indeed, separates the Byzantine era from the Roman era is, above all, the removal of the center of the Empire from the West to the East and, consequently, the gradual substitution of the Greek language for the Latin. The first official and definite step in this course is the foundation of the new capital, Constantinople, and the second one, connected with the first, is the definitive division of the Empire into two parts—Greek East, Latin West (395)—never to be united again.

The rapid growth of the capital further strengthened the Greek character of the East and gave it a center which gradually became more and more important. The natural centralizing power of Constantinople appears in many ways. For instance, in ecclesiastical matters, at the Council of Chalcedon (451) the new Rome prevailed over the older See of Alexandria. On the other hand, following the decline of the western part of the Empire, the power of the old Roman State concentrated more and more in the Greek East. At Con-

¹⁴ Die griech. und lat. Lit. und Spr., pp. 237 ff.; *Gesch. der byz. Litt.*, 2 ed., pp. 1 ff.

stantinople and in the central provinces the Greek element had been predominant from ancient times, especially among the people and in the church, and the number of people who spoke Latin had always been slight. Greek culture had always stood higher and the Greek language had always been universal. Now, by the much more powerful means at its disposal, the Greek element was in a way to gain the upper hand against the Roman element, which, growing for some time, had been weakening after the dismemberment of the West by the Germans. This Greek element was therefore called upon to take the place of the Roman element in the government of the state. This happened slowly but surely, so that in the centuries after Justinian the state was undergoing an Hellenization of its limbs as well as of its head. The change of the basis of the Empire from Roman to Greek, the transformation from Roman to Romaic or Byzantine was accomplished in the different branches of the organization of the state with varying rapidity. At the last the old system was destined to be more and more thoroughly broken down by the power of natural circumstances.

But the great place of the Greek element in the Byzantine Empire does not destroy the force of the statement that there was neither linguistic nor national unity in the eastern world and that the Greek in the East never had in that respect the position of the Latin in the West. The existence of the old oriental civilizations in many provinces of the eastern empire and the official maintenance of the Latin as language of the state explains this to a great extent.

Das ungeheure Gefüge, durch dessen Festigkeit das byzantinische Reich den furchtbaren Stürmen der Perser, Araber, Seldschuken, Slawen, Normannen, Franken, Türken und anderer Völker so lange widerstehen konnte, ist römische Arbeit. . . . Der Staatsgedanke war unendlich viel stärker als das nationale und sprachliche Sonderbewusstsein. So übernahmen die Griechen denn natürlich auch den Namen Römer. . . . So wunderbar fest und fein war die Struktur des römischen Staatsgebäudes, dass ein so eminent unpolitisches Volk, wie die Griechen im Altertum gewesen sind und heute sind und sicher auch im Mittelalter waren, es im Laufe vieler Jahrhunderte nicht ernstlich zu beschädigen vermochte. . . . Die Fortwirkung der alten römischen, nun in griechisches Gewand gekleideten Tradition im gesamten öffentlichen und privaten Leben der Byzantiner und die Art, wie die herrschenden griechischen und orientalischen Menschen sich mit der ihnen innerlich fremdartigen Staats- und Rechtsordnung abfanden wie sie sich ihr anschmiegen und wie sie mit ihr operierten, gehört zu den interessantesten, freilich auch zu den am wenigsten aufgeklärten Seiten der inneren Geschichte von Byzanz.¹⁵

Although by the foundation of New Rome and the division of the Empire in 395, neither Constantine nor Theodosius intended to change at all the Roman basis of the Empire and to give it the Greek character which it assumed only later, the developments occasioned

¹⁵ Die griech. und lat. Lit. und Sprache, p. 242.

by these two events created the new evolution; and it may be said, with Krumbacher, that the foundation of Constantinople as a capital really marks the beginning of that evolution, while at the same time the initial changes may have remained invisible. We have seen that the failure of perceiving those symptoms or of giving to them the importance they deserve explains the opinion of those who postpone the beginning of Byzantinism till the seventh century and see in the preceding centuries only the old age and the fall of antiquity.

Simultaneously with this we notice other great changes which contributed to the making of a new era. In religion, especially, thanks to the same emperor, Constantine, Christianity officially takes the place of paganism, and consequently represents one of the most striking differences between Byzantinism and antiquity. A good deal of the Byzantine civilization is to be explained by the influence of the Christian religion and the Christian church.

As for the oriental element, it had always been strong in the Greek East; and the various old oriental cultures had never ceased in their influence. The provinces of the empire where the intellectual life was most developed were in direct contact with the native civilization, and it is certain that the latter gave to Hellenism an oriental character, which from Egypt, Palestine, Syria, and Asia Minor spread to Constantinople and the European provinces. From the Orient came many of the habits of thought and customs of the Byzantines, many characteristics in literature and art, many elements of the court and the state organization, "*wie die Auffassung des Kaisertums als einer mysteriösen Macht, der Gegensatz brutaler Volksleidenschaft und grausamster Despotie, die hieratische Grandezza, das Eunuchentum, die blutigen Palastrevolutionen und das unheimliche Intrigenspiel, der starre Formalismus im Leben wie in der Litteratur, die Beliebtheit orientalischer Erzählungsstoffe.*"¹⁶

There is no doubt that the political changes introduced by Constantine and Theodosius brought into action the Greek and oriental elements. Furthermore Constantine made Christianity the state religion. Another great feature, the substitution of the bureaucracy for the military organization of the old empire, is the work of Constantine and his predecessor Diocletian.¹⁷ Therefore it seems certain that the beginning of the Byzantine Empire and civilization must be placed in the fourth century, and if a date is necessary, in the year 326, when Constantinople was founded by Constantine. This, however, does not mean the sudden disappearance of the old state of things and instant rise of the new condition of affairs. All that we have said points to an exceedingly gradual change and beginning,

¹⁶ Die griech. und lat. Lit und Sprache, p. 250.

¹⁷ See Krumbacher, *Gesch. der byz. Litt.*, 2 ed., p. 7.

in no way comparable to the sudden termination of the period in 1453.

This argument, which was strongly developed by Krumbacher, has received careful consideration and acceptance with certain recent writers of universal histories, who have given an especial place to the Byzantine period¹⁸ and also in some general works of great value.¹⁹ Helmolt's universal history develops the same theory, but, while emphasizing the oriental and Hellenistic elements, it neglects entirely the Roman factor, and so presents just as inaccurate a view by completely overlooking the ever recognized influence of Rome as did the earlier historians who perceived no other element.²⁰ It is also worthy of mention that Wilamovitz-Moellendorf, in 1897, attempting to determine the end of Antiquity, places this terminus in the beginning of the fourth century: "Die Tatsachen sind da: nur wer sie aus Trägheit oder Vorurteil ignorirt kann bestreiten, dass die Weltgeschichte um 300 an einem der Wendepunkte des grossen Weltjahres gestanden hat, dass sich ein Ring an der Kette der Ewigkeit schloss, und wo äusserlich Continuität zu sein scheint, in Wahrheit nur ein neuer Ring sich mit dem vorigen gerührt."²¹

¹⁸ Lindner, *Weltgeschichte*, Bd. I (1901), pp 121 ff

¹⁹ E. g., H. Gelzer, *Abriss der byzantinischen Kaisergeschichte*, in Krumbacher, *Gesch. der byz. Litt.*, 2 ed., p. 912; Hesselung, *Essai sur la civilisation byzantine*, Paris, 1907, pp. 13, 37; J. Bryce, *The Holy Roman Empire* (1909), pp 321 ff., 341.

²⁰ H. E. Helmolt, *The World's History*, V (1907), pp 27 ff

²¹ *Weltperioden, Rede . . . gehalten von U. v. W.—M.* (1897), p. 8.

X. THE LIFE OF A MONASTIC SHŌ IN MEDIEVAL JAPAN.

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THE LIFE OF A MONASTIC SHŌ IN MEDIEVAL JAPAN.*

By K. ASAKAWA.

The shō hardly lends itself to a simple definition, for, in its prolonged career of 800 years between the eighth and the sixteenth centuries it epitomized, as it were, progressive changes in the general institutional life of Japan during this unusually eventful period. Taking the shō, however, at its full growth in the twelfth century, one may perhaps define it as a piece of land which was held privately under a lord by persons in varied and changeable tenures, and which nevertheless formed an administrative entity enjoying a degree of fiscal and judicial autonomy. This condensed description may perhaps be clarified by means of a comparison. The shō has been translated by an English historian of Japan as manor.¹ Like the manor in medieval Europe and England, the shō was a unit at once economic and political, in which its public functions had become private possessions of its proprietors, and in which the rights and obligations of persons were determined by their tenures of land. There was a marked difference, however, between the two institutions. The manor possessed features resembling those of a village community, but the shō reminds one of a "scattered farm" system; instead of comprising, like the typical manor, rectangular strips of arable land laid out and administered by a joint intervention of lord and tenants, the shō consisted, in its cultivated portions, of plots which were irregular in shape, size, and position and were for the most part managed independently by their holders.² Again, these tenants, unlike those in the manor, whose tenures were comparatively simple and stationary, were bound together by a network of legal relations between one another and between them and the lord which were not only intricate but also capable, so long as the fiscal rights of the lord were not affected, of continual change. If, therefore, a chief problem of the origin of the manor concerns its element of common management, the first question regarding the shō must relate to the cause of its growth as a congeries of changeable interests and relations loosely bundled together under a seignior.

This question will be partly answered in the brief account³ of the origin of the shō that follows. The agriculture of Japan in her

* The footnotes to this article will be found, arranged continuously, at the end of the article.

early historic ages seems to have been of a "scattered farm" system, which was accompanied, at least as regards rice land, by a system of private ownership, vested either in the family or in the individual. These conditions were presumably due to the absence of pasture⁴ and, above all, the cultivation of rice⁵ as the chief industry of the peasants; the rice culture required irrigable lowlands,⁶ a fact which in that hilly country made a scattered farm system natural; the rice culture also involved constant care and highly individualized labor,⁷ which were facilitated under a system of exclusive private ownership in small fields.⁷ In defiance of these conditions, the government of the seventh century made a radical attempt to arrange the free taxable population in artificial communities of 50 families, and to impose upon it a system of equal allotment of rice land subject to a periodical redistribution. Within a short time the new system broke down on all sides. The greatest breach was made first through a natural combination of the immune classes of persons with the immune classes of land that had been devised in the system; the nobility, the clergy, and the unfree, who were exempt from tributes and forced labor, established connections with "imperial lands," lands granted by the emperor, and "temple lands," that were free from the land tax. Far more serious troubles arose when immune persons appropriated tracts of wild or newly tilled land and sought to convert them into immune lands. The result was the shō. Shō made their appearance from the eighth century, at first few and small and not always immune, but gradually absorbing other lands, including taxable lands, and making them partly or wholly immune. This process was at length officially sanctioned from the tenth century,⁸ especially after the eleventh, when the authorities were constrained to grant charters of immunity to some of the shō, in order to distinguish them from others which were still considered illegitimate. The creation and extension of shō now went on apace at the expense of the State.

This would appear to be a reversion from an artificial village community to a scattered-farm system, and to private ownership; but these reappeared in a totally new form. The typical shō was born of a newly-cultivated tract, and, with this as its core, it matured by a double process of absorbing neighboring tracts and dividing its growing self. But the annexation and subdivision were not always made of the actual land. The native genius of the race for adaptability found its expression here in a free division of the various interests and rights relative to land, in their investment in different hands, and in their almost indefinite redivision and conveyance. Thus were greatly facilitated transactions in proprietary and usufructuary rights, the same piece of land cultivated by one person soon giving titles and yielding profits to many.⁹ A singular and

important aspect of these real rights and interests was that they usually retained upon them marks of the conditions in which they had originated; the two main classes of relations being those that arose from the voluntary commendation of land by a free owner to a lord, and those that sprang from a grant by the lord to a tenant—the former the freer, and the latter the more precarious in character. And relations of these two classes again shaded into many grades of quality as they changed hands and were further parcelled, sublimated, or burdened with conditions. The shō of the 12th century that I defined at the outset was, therefore, characterized by an intricate plexus of real rights and obligations that had been and continued to be interwoven upon the lands comprised within the area.¹⁰ These lands and legal relations were loosely held together under a seignior, the nature of whose authority varied greatly according as to whether he was a civil noble, a military leader, or a religious corporation.

The shō, at once like and unlike the manor as it was, became a primary cause of the feudal régime in Japan; for, when the warrior entered the shō and established himself as its “resident,” manager, or lord, it gradually in the course of a few centuries acquired characteristics of the regular fief. Of this important transformation of the shō into the fief, the exact process is still obscure.¹¹ I shall try to see if any light may be thrown on it by the history of a non-feudal shō. I now propose to take up a typical shō, not under a military chieftain, but belonging to a Buddhist monastery, and observe how it was born, how it grew and changed, and how it died as a shō as such, and, above all, analyze—tentatively, for the present—effects of the influences that the stress of the times during the feudal ages exerted upon the multiple tenures and institutions of the shō.

I.

The historic monastery on Kō-ya San, or Mount Kōya, in central Japan, some 50 miles almost due south of Kyōto, the old imperial capital, was founded in 816 by the priest Kōbō. Kōbō,¹² of all the early apostles of Japan, has been the object of the most universal veneration by Buddhists of all classes, places, and denominations. As for the monastery that he founded, it is not too much to say that almost every great event in national history has found reverberation in the romantic career of this religious establishment. We are concerned in this study, however, only with the position of the institution as a seignior, for such it had become before the feudal rule was established in Japan in 1186, and such it continued to be throughout the feudal ages. The cartulary of the Kōya monastery contains more than three thousand documents¹³ relating to the many shō

it has controlled that form an invaluable material for the study of the institutional and economic life of feudal Japan.

The early possessions of Kōya, despite its later pretensions, do not seem to have been extensive. Sixty years after its foundation the rice lands, recognized as its immune "temple-lands," appear to have aggregated but a little more than 100 acres.¹⁴ To these were added other tracts through purchases, grants by imperial personages, donations by nobles, and commendations by private owners. These lands were, at the end of the twelfth century, all exempt from the miscellaneous impositions; some were free also from the chief land tax. Apart from their immunity, these shō and other domains of Kōya differed widely among themselves, in their composition of lands and tenures, in their private fiscal methods, and in the degree of control the monastery as seignior exercised upon them. From the standpoint of the later developments, a general distinction might conveniently be drawn between the shō that originated in grants or gifts from high personages¹⁵ and those that arose from commendations made by private owners with reservations of their rights.¹⁶ In the former shō the monastery could have a freer sway over their affairs than in the latter, for in these it had to observe its agreements with the original commendators. And it seemed to be the continued effort of Kōya to reduce to the level of the one class the more independent shō of the other.¹⁷ To this second and more interesting class belonged the double shō of Kōno-Makuni—later triple¹⁸ with the addition of Sarukawa—which will furnish the theme for this paper.

The Kōno-Makuni shō was situated several miles southwest of Mount Kōya on both sides of a road leading to the city of Wakayama. The shō originated, like most shō, with one or two pieces of waste land reclaimed, perhaps late in the ninth century, by a local resident of some note.¹⁹ In 911, a part of the modest income from the estate was informally pledged to the monastery,²⁰ but the title over the land was so insecure that provincial authorities classed it as public and levied taxes upon it.²¹ In order to receive the benefit of immunity, in 1143,²² the owner of the tract, a descendant of the original reclainer, commended it to a court noble of the Fujiwara family at Kyōto, as the custom was, with the title of Possessor (*ryō-ke*),²³ with the understanding that the latter would himself commend the same land to the ex-emperor, Go-Toba, as Lord (*hon-shō*),²⁴ and that the first commender and his descendants in succession should serve as Managers (*adzukari-dokoro*) under the direction of the Possessor.²⁵ The Kōya monastery was to be remembered with an annual payment in rice²⁶ as a recompense for the religious service it should perform in behalf of the ex-emperor.²⁷ The place was now for the first time formally staked out as a shō, and a charter was issued from the ex-emperor's chamber summarizing the conditions and granting freedom from

the public land-tax and from the visitation of both local officials and monastic agents.²² This is the birth of the double shō of Kōno-Makuni. It will be noted that, in spite of the creation of the titular Possessor, the real possessor and exploiter of the land was still the commender, who had reserved his place as hereditary Manager; in all probability he simply rendered a tribute to the noble Possessor, who may or may not in turn have given up a part of it to the nominal imperial Lord. As for the monastery, it was merely entitled to a fraction of the income of the shō, to which it was forbidden even to send a collector.

It could hardly be expected that Kōya would rest content with this meager lot. The monastery sought with some success to establish a direct contact with the inhabitants of the shō,²⁵ probably using as a lever its right to an annual tax, and also by appealing to its defunct title of 911 as a commende.²⁶ Early in 1177, it seems to have succeeded in gaining by a characteristically roundabout way a promise from the Possessor of an additional annual due.²⁷ Nor was Kōya less alert to improve every opportunity to increase its claim upon the control of the affairs of the shō; and, as it happened, both the Possessor and the Manager, by ill-considered acts, played into the hands of the astute monastery. Especially the Manager, believing that he rightfully controlled the use of the land, commended the shō in some manner to another monastery,²⁸ and about 1190 with equal lack of thought, commended the shō in a vague title to Kōya.²⁹ This the latter pretended to believe to be the very managership of the shō; it acted according to that conviction, reducing the former Manager into the position of an agent.³⁰

II.

When a partial feudal rule was introduced into the governing machinery of Japan in 1186, Kōya promptly enlisted the good-will of the suzerain, Minamoto-no-Yoritomo, and secured from him an immunity of all its shō from a military surtax and from the interference of the new military constables and stewards.³¹ These privileges were conceded by Yoritomo with the greater willingness, as it formed a part of his conservative policy, so far as was compatible with the real political power which he had won, to respect the class interests and proprietary rights that he found in entrenchment everywhere. And Kōya was one of the greatest landlords and one of the most formidable religious institutions in all Japan.

Perhaps the greatest gain for the monastery was the recognition it succeeded in winning from the new ruler of its alleged ancient territorial rights.³² Kōya had for some time pretended—for the claim can be proven to be a pretension—and now pretended success-

fully, that at the founding of the monastery in 816 by Kōbō, the local deity yielded to him, and the imperial government also granted to him, 10,000 chō (nearly 30,000 acres) of land around the mountain.³³ This wide area, to which Kōya henceforth referred as its "ancient domain" (*kyū-ryō*),³⁴ would include the double shō of Kōno-Makuni³⁵ as well as many other districts;³⁶ and the claim furnished grounds for the extension, not only of the land of the various shō, but also of the power of the monastery as the dispenser of benefits. Within the rather indefinite borders of this territory Kōya seems to have been enabled to create or claim³⁷ lands and landed interests under its direct control,³⁸ in juxtaposition with freer tenures, and to try to assimilate the latter to the former.³⁹

As regards the Kōno-Makuni shō, of which the monastery had already professed the managership, a fortunate event occurred in 1221 to enable it to make its control of its land and people more complete. The Fujiwara noble who still claimed the title of Possessor,⁴⁰ as well as the imperial Lord of the shō, were in that year involved in a plot to overthrow the feudal government and were defeated and exiled, and the titles seem to have lapsed. As the actual Lord⁴¹ and as Possessor and Manager as well in name⁴² as in reality, the monastery now had virtually no one over it and no other magnate eclipsing its power as the seignior of the shō; it had already begun to deal directly with the landholders of the shō, and now redoubled its effort, as will be seen later, to reduce its freer tenures to a greater dependence upon its will. There was henceforth little substantial difference in the character of the seigniorial control over them between granted shō and this shō, which had originated in commendations.⁴³

It was also in this period that the neighboring district of Sarukawa was attached as a joint member to the double shō,⁴⁴ which appears in documents from the middle of the thirteenth century as the triple⁴⁵ Kōno-Makuni-Sarukawa shō. The previous history of Sarukawa had been similar to that of most commended shō, having passed through the familiar stages of original cultivation by a local magnate,⁴⁶ hereditary possession by his children,⁴⁷ and commendation with reservation.⁴⁴

We have so far discussed the progress of the control of the monastic seignior over the triple shō as a whole. This had come about simultaneously with the internal changes that occurred both in the tenures of the individual landholders in the shō and in the character of its administrative machinery. To these changes we shall now turn.

It will be remembered that the triple shō had originated, not in grants or gifts from high quarters, but in commendations with reservations, first by one owner of his land and then by others of theirs.

Many of these men and others of their class were of families whose members had for generations lived in the place,⁴⁸ owned lands,⁴⁹ carried arms and kept retainers,⁵⁰ even had served in Kyōto as minor officials and made influential connections at the capital,⁵¹ and had generally established their prestige as local chiefs. When they commended their lands to a seignior, and perhaps even when they sold or mortgaged them among themselves, what was actually conveyed was often mere interests and profits; in these cases the lands themselves and their management—or “the use of the original and indestructible powers of the soil,” to quote the Ricardian phrase—remained in reality in the hands of the former owners;⁵² and these lands, as well as others that they still held in more complete titles, were transmitted by heredity or alienated with all the obligations that encumbered them.⁵³ These men were chief among the *jū-nin* (“residents”) or *hyaku-shō* (bearers of family names), and *ji-shu* (“landholders”),⁵⁴ who formed the backbone of the shō, supporting its life and bearing its burdens.⁵⁵ The titular masters of the shō had perforce to rely on the good faith and cooperation of these men, whether in the administration of its affairs⁵⁶ or in its defense⁵⁷ against aggressions from without, which were frequent.⁵⁸ Such was the condition in the middle of the twelfth century.

This state of things began to change gradually toward the close of the pre-feudal period, and then more rapidly after the beginning of the thirteenth century. First, we turn to the officials of the shō. The cartulary happens to contain nineteen oaths of fealty⁵⁹ sworn between 1271 and 1315 by the various officials of the triple shō that reveal conditions quite different from those that must have prevailed there even in 1221. It is true that the posts of these officials as the financial and police agents of the shō, held as they were by members of its representative families, were all hereditary⁶⁰ and regarded rather as profits than as functions, even women⁶¹ being permitted to succeed to them. There now had appeared among the officials, however, a perceptible distinction between two classes, namely: the lower ones representing more closely the actual holders of lands,⁶² and the higher ones who were in more direct contact with Kōya, and who perhaps were generally looked upon rather as servants of the monastery than as the landlords that their forefathers were and that some of them must still have been themselves.⁶³ The oaths given by the latter class of agents indicate that their position was distinctly more precarious than that of the former.⁶⁴ As a matter of fact the services of the higher agents were rewarded with grants of land or rice;⁶⁵ the more recalcitrant among them could be punished with summary dismissal and their hereditary rights as agents revoked.⁶⁶ And Kōya had already begun to employ agents appointed for the shō from among the inmates within its monastic walls.⁶⁷

At the same time, the tenures of the plain holders of land (*ji-shu*) had also been modified.⁶⁸ (1) Though still hereditary and alienable,⁶⁹ they could now be confiscated and their holders banished for serious crimes,⁷⁰ and the landed interests wrested from them were granted by Kōya as seignior to others in less free tenures.⁷¹ (2) It is significant that the so-called "name-lands" (*myō-den*), many of which had presumably been small allodial areas reclaimed by their owners,⁷² are now seen in some instances to be grants from the seignior.⁷³ (3) From the last half of the thirteenth century, a remarkably widespread tendency is noticeable in all the Kōya shō, including the triple shō, of many of their constituent pieces of rice land that had still been held by residents to be acquired through purchase or mortgage by monks of the monastery, and then commended by them to Kōya⁷⁴—"for the peace of the present," as they said, "and the happiness of the next life," or "for the extinction of the past, present, and future sins."⁷⁵ Apart from these pious formulas it is not clear what economic consideration had induced the monks so commonly to have recourse to these transactions, unless we assume that the commendation meant the surrender, in law, of the title over the land, but in fact only of a fraction of its profit; and that the commending monk lost through his act less in income than in the freedom of his tenure; in other words, he presumably enjoyed a major profit from the land which was thenceforth nominally a grant from the seignior.⁷⁶ At any rate, it is plain that, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, the tenures of land in the triple shō, like the rights of its agents, though still normally transferable by heredity and conveyance, had become partly dependent on the will of the seignior.

I infer that this change had resulted not only from the progress in the control of the shō by the monastery as lord that we saw taking place in the early feudal period, but also from general conditions of the age for which Kōya should not be held responsible. Among these may be mentioned the continued facility with which rights and interests relative to land could still be subdivided and transferred, causing the position of some descendants of the original holders and commanders of land to be generally weakened, and affording opportunities to the seignior to alter tenures.⁷⁷ Also the prevailing turbulence of the time, from which even the consecrated mountain was not free, compelled Kōya to require from chief members of its shō a more frequent and extensive service at arms⁷⁸ at the monastery than before; these added burdens, together with the increased financial obligations of the period, may have reacted unfavorably upon the condition of the landholder. If he had not yet been obliged to forsake land altogether and turn a mercenary warrior, he had been sorely tempted to

exchange some of his landed interests either for lower tenures or for ready cash.⁷⁹

Side by side with the gradual alteration of the status of the "landholder" (*ji-shu*), we begin to observe that the position of the "cultivator" (*saku-nin*) of the soil also was slowly changing, though the full meaning of both facts does not become obvious until we reach the end of the next period.

The history of the status of the Japanese agricultural laborer during the feudal ages would seem to afford a difficult but fruitful field of study. Unfortunately, his position during the first feudal period is extremely obscure.⁸⁰ But was the so-called "cultivator" a laborer? The question would seem to involve two points, his work and his status. First, as regards his work: Were the "cultivators" actually tillers of the soil? Whatever their original condition,⁸¹ some of them were, even in the early twelfth century, hardly real toilers of the glebe;⁸² in the first feudal ages, at least those "cultivators" whom we find bearing family names, holding cultivatorships of several pieces of land, and even appearing at the same time with the title of "landholders" of these and other pieces,⁸³ would seem themselves to have been employers of men.⁸⁴ We may safely infer that, while some "cultivators" were tillers, others were holders of the so-called "right of cultivation" (*saku-shiki*)—another class of real rights that were sources of profits, and were hereditary, divisible, and transferable.⁸⁵ Next, as regards the status of the "cultivator": In the early feudal period, he held his right under some form of control of the "landholder," so that when the land changed hands, the "cultivator's" right was liable to lapse.⁸⁶ Soon, however, we find his position tending to become securer and less dependent.⁸⁷ At least in the triple shō, the "cultivators" appear even to have been placed partially under direct control of monastic agents, apparently paying dues to them⁸⁸ as well as to the "landholders"⁸⁹ of whom they held their tenures. From the early 14th century, the name of the "cultivator" is usually attached when a piece of land is mentioned, but that of the holder no longer appears as a rule; or sometimes the latter's place is taken by a religious service or some other impersonal matter for which proceeds from the land were devoted.⁹⁰ It even occurs that personal names are given with pieces of land without specification either as "landlords" or as "cultivators,"⁹¹ leaving one to imagine that they may possibly have represented "cultivators" that were virtually "landholders." However that may be, it is not too much to conclude that, at the end of the first feudal period, at least some of the "cultivators" were not employed tillers, still less serfs, but men who derived the fruit of the soil, and, in the last analysis, bore the whole burden of the dues from it; they had advanced halfway

toward the position that the "landholders" had occupied. Nor is this strange when we admit that the original distinction between the "cultivator" and the "landholder" must have meant primarily a differentiation of rights and profits (*shiki*) of land, rather than of personal status or even of person, and also remember that these rights and profits were in a state of flux.

To recapitulate at this point: At the close of the first period of feudal history, the "landholders" and the "cultivators" were drifting toward each other in cross currents of social adjustment, many of the former class slowly losing the freedom of tenure and many of the latter as slowly gaining the real possession of the soil. It is needless to repeat here that in this evolution at least the lowering of the status of the "landholder," if not the rise of the "cultivator," had been fostered by the seignior for his own interest; he likewise had been engaged in an effort to reduce officials of the shō to greater subserviency. The next feudal period of Japan opened in the triple shō in the midst of this general movement, and, as we shall see, gave it a stronger impetus and carried it to its consequences.

III.

From the second quarter of the fourteenth century Japan entered upon dark ages of a prolonged civil strife and practical anarchy lasting till the end of the sixteenth century. If we leave Kōya for a moment and take a survey of the feudal Japan as a whole, we shall find that, amid the utmost decentralization that ensued, the period witnessed certain momentous changes taking place as if by concert in the institutional life of the whole country. Among these the most important for our present study are two double processes, one of them begun earlier and now completed, and the other noticeable from the latter half of this period and matured only after 1600.

The first of these double movements may be characterized as the consummation of the feudalization both of the administrative agency and of the land tenure of Japan. The evolution was necessarily long and multifarious, and is still largely obscure, but the results stand out in bold outlines. We may well say that the governmental apparatus was at last completely feudalized when, as we find in 1600, all the shō under civil control⁹² and all the public offices of civil origin in the provinces⁹³ had been annexed by groups of warriors held together by ties of vassalage. Similarly, it is just to say that land tenure was finally feudalized when the conquering war lord assumed a free disposition of the territory he had won at the point of his sword, and reduced the multiple tenures he had found therein into a nearly uniform tenure—a tenure which, though normally capable of heredity and subinfeudation, was, under his dictatorial control,

subject to a reinvestiture at succession and liable to confiscation, and entailed upon its tenants a definite personal service in arms toward him.⁹⁴ The peculiarly complex shō, such as we found in the twelfth century, was no more,⁹⁵ at least under military control; the shō had been converted into a fief.

The year 1600 saw this double transformation practically finished; it witnessed another twofold movement already begun but still incomplete. This was, in one aspect, a growing differentiation between the military and the agricultural classes, and in another an increasing tendency among the latter to reverse the earlier custom of subdividing landed rights and interests (*shiki*) and to unify them once more with land itself. The growth of a class of professional warriors, many of whom now lived near the castles of the lords and received rice or money instead of land for the service they offered, and the consequent partial separation of arms from land⁹⁶—these phenomena had resulted from the continued and increasingly better organized warfare⁹⁷ that had characterized the intervening period. The peasants in the field on their part were becoming at once more unprotected, because unarmed, and freer in status and in feeling, because more independent of immediate military control, than in the earlier period;⁹⁸ these conditions tended to make the ambitious lord regard the peasantry as an object of paternal solicitude, to be at once protected and feared.⁹⁹ And the improving position of the peasant was coincident with the progressive unification of real rights and land, a tendency which he embraced and nursed. Scarcely did the seignior imagine himself to have succeeded in reducing the "landholder" into a dependent tenant,⁹⁸ when the latter found himself on the road to become the practical owner of the land which, under the name of a grant by favor, he in fact exploited and passed on to his heir.⁹⁹

It may be presumed that these great social changes, whatever their causes and their exact processes, must have reacted upon another. The increasing reunion of land and landed interests must have tended to strengthen the position of the peasant; and that position in turn must have been influenced by his growing freedom from the proximity of warriors; while the partial liberation of the warrior himself from the cares of economic production must have facilitated the feudalization of the governing machinery of the domains under armed control. Nor might we suppose that the simplification of the shō and its transformation into the fief were completed without an impetus received both from the ascendancy of the military nobility over the civil, on the one hand, and, on the other, from the consolidation of various interests of land in the hands of its holder. We shall find in the next period that these changes not only had together brought the feudal development to its culmination, but also had

created forces tending to undermine the feudal structure of society. We must first observe how the movements to which we have alluded were reflected in the triple shō during the second period of Japanese feudal history.

It was inevitable that the landed interests of the Kōya monastery during the period of general commotion should, as they did, suffer many alterations and encroachments;¹⁰⁰ but, thanks to their religious and immune character, the monastic shō, unlike the civil shō, held their own, on the whole, recovering many of their losses and weathering the storm as best they could. If the truth must be told, both the shō and the monastery on the mountain were armed not altogether inadequately and not always for purely defensive ends.¹⁰¹ What must we think when we are told that about 1580 Kōya held possessions much more extensive than it ever had or has held,¹⁰² and that its warriors defied and for a time defeated an army of the suzerain of half feudal Japan?¹⁰³

As regards our triple shō, the documents relative to its changes in this period are regrettably few, but, along with the examples of other monastic domains, give us a sufficient ground to infer that much of the social evolution enacted abroad repeated itself here.

The historic effort of the monastery to increase its seigniorial control over the various tenures and tenants of the shō seems now to have been well nigh consummated. At last all the officials of the shō were treated by Kōya as employed agents at once hereditary and precarious,¹⁰⁴ rather than as representatives of the peasants.¹⁰⁵ Even when warriors had encroached upon the shō and wrung from the monastery a grudging recognition for a time as petty seigniors,¹⁰⁶ Kōya recovered its control of the affected districts at the first opportunity, and thereafter treated the intruders who remained as dependent agents.¹⁰⁷ The "name-lands" (*myō-den*) had changed hands, and many of them had been annexed by Kōya, and granted to its agents. The title "name-[land] holder" (*myō-shu*) had been given to minor officials of the shō who were not always actual holders of this species of land. In many, perhaps in all, instances the very peasants were regarded as holders of granted titles; that is, as precarious thought hereditary.¹⁰⁸

These marks of the added authority which Kōya as seignior thought to have gained were, however, offset by more substantial changes that had been silently taking place from below. The unification of land and landed interests, to which I have alluded in regard to the feudal domains, manifested itself in Kōya shō, as perhaps in other parts of Japan, in a signal progress of the equalization of status between "landholders" and "cultivators" that had begun earlier. This social evolution is epitomized in certain historic terms that designated the changing social classes. The old term *hyaku-*

*shō*¹⁰⁹ (bearers of family names), which represented, in ancient times, free taxable citizens,¹¹⁰ but, in the twelfth to early fourteenth century, the class of landholders, including the local chiefs upon whom devolved the duty of defending the *shō* and the monastery, and assisting in the administration of the former,¹¹¹ was now seen again to be changing its meaning. In the period of civil war the term was beginning to be applied, as it invariably was after 1600, to peasants pure and simple, dissociated from armed service and depending upon the seignior and his agents for sheer protection and no longer bearing even family names.¹¹² At the same time both the terms "landholder" and "cultivator" had also changed their signification. The landholder (now the same characters *ji-shu* being pronounced *ji-nushi*) was a *hyaku-shō* possessing a free title over plats of land, which were no longer burdened with subtle division of rights and relations, and paying regular dues upon them; he had become, all but in name, a plain landowner. The term "cultivator" (*saku-nin*) denoted more and more commonly a relatively small¹¹³ class of free tenants who rented lands owned by others and paid to them the economic rent; ¹¹⁴ they appear neither as the institutional descendants of the old "cultivators" nor as serfs, but rather as regular tenant farmers such as would come into being without special antecedents. I do not forget that neither the old *hyaku-shō* nor the old "cultivators" had been a simple class, but each had comprised several grades of status; ¹¹⁵ what seems likely is that the grades in each class had now drifted apart, and some of the former two classes coalesced in a new social alignment. In other words, it is probable that if some of the "cultivators" had remained as or become free tenants others had risen to the status of the better *hyaku-shō*; the "landholders" were likewise differentiated between those who had been joined by the risen "cultivators," no longer so designated, and those that had turned professional warriors or their retainers, they either remaining in the *shō*, boasting their family names and living the lives of petty lords,¹¹² or perhaps more frequently toward the end of the period having left the soil and attached themselves to barons. The old terminology persisted but represented changed realities. The new composite *hyaku-shō*, including peasant proprietors and tenants, would seem to have formed the bulk of the new rural class, with the absent seignior above and the hired farm hands¹¹⁶ below them. The distinction between the old "cultivator" and the old "landholder," ¹¹⁷ like the earlier difference between the relatively free commender and the relatively precarious grantee, and like the *shō* itself whose inhabitants they all had been, had passed into history.

As we complete our survey of the second feudal period, let us ask ourselves, How much did the changes in the *shō* reflect those of the

feudal Japan to which we referred? What was common to both and what was the difference between them? These questions are elusive. We may say that the increased seigniorial control, on the one hand, and the new social alignment, on the other, were due to the natural effort made by the monastery and by the peasants to advance their respective interest in the midst of the general tendencies in which the whole of Japan had been involved; namely, the separation of arms from land and the coming together of the landed interests that had ramified. Behind these tendencies we can not for the present try to penetrate. While we grant to this extent the community of institutional life between our shō and the outside world, we must also admit that there was an important difference between them: the Kōya shō, religious and not civil in character as it was, escaped a military conquest and so escaped a feudalization of its administrative organs; again, the shō, having never been wholly¹¹⁸ annexed by a great baron or brought into a feudal relation with him, was never converted into a fief in the technical sense. Only the general simplification of its tenures that the monastery seemed to have effected may be said to connote a sufficient will on the part of the seignior that, had he been a military lord thrown in the vortex of a struggle for ascendancy, would have turned the shō into a fief; it was only the religious character of the seignior that prevented that outcome. It might, therefore, be said that the very failure of the shō to be feudalized indicates the chief cause of the success of that development in the military domains; that is, the dictatorial power of the war lord who took land with one hand and gave it with the other. Finally, we suggest that the common nature of the influences to which the triple shō and the military fiefs were exposed in this period is further demonstrated by the common destiny which, as we shall see, overtook them all in the next period.

IV.

The third and last period of Japan's feudal history—1600-1868—may be dismissed with a few words. It will be remembered that during the preceding centuries the feudalization of the local Government and the land tenure of Japan as a whole was completed, and the separation of land and arms and the reunion of land and landed interests began. A little reflection will show that, if these movements operating together carried to its consummation the feudal organization of Japanese society, they would, as they did, also create conditions subversive of it; for no régime could remain purely feudal, if its peasants were too free, and if too many of its warriors were detached from land. And yet these conditions were not only fully recognized, but also greatly extended, in the remarkable government

that the Tokugawa suzerains erected in the early seventeenth century; they, in their own domains, deliberately increased the number of landless, stipendiary warriors, and gave a generous measure of self-government to the peasant communities, making them the foundation of the economic and financial life of the new régime. And the example was largely copied by the barons in their respective domains. Moreover, the suzerain, having at last unified all Japan torn for centuries by civil war, extended to his rule of the whole the principles of feudal government and feudal land tenure that had been established separately in its parts; he regarded the entire realm as a vast domain, as it were, with its control centralized as far as was practicable in his council at Edo; carved the area into feudatories, many of them arbitrarily, and assigned them, under the name *han*,¹¹⁹ to his barons as fiefs held of him. The result was a régime in which were combined and balanced with great care both feudal and non-feudal elements of society, and centralizing and decentralizing tendencies and forces of government. This is the régime that, despite the comparative inferiority of its later rulers, held sway over Japan till 1867.

We finally return to the Kōya shō to observe its institutional position in this last of the feudal periods. We shall not linger to tell how the tyrant Hideyoshi had crushed for all time, as it proved, the armed power of the monastery and curtailed its landed possessions.¹²⁰ Entering the new era in this attenuated state, the Kōya monastery was regarded by the Tokugawa suzerain virtually as on a par with the barons, and its domains were collectively treated as a fief¹²¹ held of him. As a species of baron, Kōya gave its fealty to the successive suzerains at Edo and rendered them annual tributes. As a fief, the Kōya domains were formally reinvested to the monastery by each suzerain at his accession to power.¹²² In a word, Kōya was autonomous in the administration of its own affairs, but dependent upon Tokugawa as overlord. Interesting as this period is, therefore, it is less significant for our study than the preceding ages. The triple shō of Kōno-Makuni-Sarukawa was no longer triple, but was separated into four mutually unrelated shō with shifted boundaries; nor was each of the four shō, though still retaining that name, anything more than a collective name of units called *mura*, which were self-governing communities of *hyakushō*,¹²³ comprising no "name-lands," no fortresses, and no warriors rendering military service. The life of the district as a real shō had long ceased to be; what had survived was its name retained for an altogether altered institution.

¹ F. Brinkley, "A History of the Japanese People," New York and London, 1915, pp. 251-252, 270. See also James Murdock, "A History of Japan," Tokyo, 1910, I, 213, 228, ff.

* This contrast is drawn between the full-grown manor and shō, both, say, of the twelfth century. It need not be noted that in the ninth and tenth centuries there were in southern France domains in which holdings were irregular and, with their tenants' houses, isolated and scattered over the estate. See Seignobos's chapter, "Le régime féodal," in Lavissee and Rambaud's "Histoire générale," II, 5.

* For a fuller discussion, the reader is referred to my article, "The Origin of the Feudal Land Tenure in Japan," in the *American Historical Review* for October, 1914 (XX, no. 1), pp. 1-23.

* When there are both pasture and rice land, a communal form of management which is expedient for the pasture may tend to retard the development of individual ownership even in the rice fields, as seems to be the case in some parts of Java. In Japan, on the contrary, pasture has not existed within historic times; the race has not depended on sheep and cattle for material for clothing and food, cotton and grass cloths being used for raiment, and the numerous streams and the north ocean currents supplying an abundance of fish; bulls and cows used in husbandry have been few, and, though peasants have commonly kept horses, they as a rule were not left in the field to graze, but kept in stables while unemployed; there they were made to tread grass into manure; sufficient fodder was found by the wayside or in non-arable lands. This last condition precluded the need of reserving extensive meadows.

The practical absence of meadows and pastures has formed one of the great peculiarities of Japanese economic life and has produced far-reaching results. Not only was the development of individual ownership of rice land, and then of other kinds of lands, thereby stimulated, but also the people were enabled to utilize a relatively greater part of the arable land for cultivation, and to maintain a larger population than would be possible in a half-farming and half-grazing country. Minor yet important effects might be traced in a variety of ways.

* The predominant place occupied by the rice culture in Japan's agriculture constitutes its second chief characteristic. Its effects on the institutional life of the nation can hardly be exaggerated; it at least fashioned the life of the shō from its very birth and in all its ramifications. These and other effects would merit a careful analysis. Among the minor effects I may refer to the fact that, because of the use of rice, both as the staple food and as the material for brewing sake, there has been no necessity of reserving vineyards; also, rice being used in grain, the mill has not played in Japanese social history the part it has in Europe.

* About the irrigation and the intensive nature of the rice culture, see the article "Influence of geographical conditions upon Japanese agriculture," by Miss E. C. Semple, in the *Geographical Journal* for December, 1912.

* If we bear in mind the intensive nature of the cultivation of rice in irrigable lowlands and the comparatively high value of the product, and also remember the absence of pastures and meadows, we shall be able to see why the relatively small area of the arable land in Japan admitted a relatively dense population; we may also understand why rice fields were, and needed to be, small.

It is not unlikely that during the feudal ages the general tendency with rice fields was to become smaller, both for more effective culture and for readier division of rights. However that may be, the very first fields must have been diminutive enough. The following instances are taken from among the shō belonging to the monastery of Mount Kōya. In 1136, 78 plots showed an average of $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres; in 1273, 18 plots averaged 0.27 acre; and in 1424, 1020 plots averaged 0.23 acre. In the last instances, plots larger than 0.6 acre and those smaller than 0.05 acre were few, the large majority, 896 plots, being between the two. Kō-ya san mon-zho, III, 358-386, V, 356-389, 486-8. It will probably be possible some day to show that the diminutive size of rice fields in Japan was responsible for many of the characteristics of the history of the shō.

* Some charters date as early as 950. Most early charters seem to have been issued by the provincial, not the imperial, government. See Iwashimidzu mon-zho, I, 270-299.

* The division of land itself (shita-ji, as it would be called in old Japanese), rather than of interests and rights relative to land (shiki), practised in the peasant holdings in medieval France, is considered by Seignobos as one of the causes of their consisting in narrow strips. Lavissee and Rambaud, op. cit., II, 8.

* That a resident of one shō could have a right over a piece of land in another shō and cultivate it; the nonresident holder or cultivator was obliged to pay his usual dues to the shō in which he exercised his rights. Kō-ya san mon-zho, I, 508.

* A Japanese critic of the article mentioned in note 3 above was oblivious of the fundamental difference between the shō and the shō and other institutional problems of prime importance. See Shi-gaku zasshi, XXVI, 378-379; my reply, ibid., 776-780.

* Kōbō (posthumous name of Kūkai), 774-835, on his return from China in 807, established the mystic ritualism of Shingon Buddhism. The imposing, mysterious performances of the sect, reinforced, as they were, by the priest's extraordinary versatility

and winsome character, fascinated and captivated the Court. He also entered deeply into the hearts of the common people of all subsequent ages through his many travels, his artistic activity, and his founding of the Kōya monastery, which has been a Mecca of Buddhist pilgrimage

¹³ Published between 1904 and 1907 under the title, *Kō ya san mon zho* (hereinafter abbreviated as *Koya*), 8 vols., in the great series *Dai Ni-hon ko-mon zho*, edited by the Historiographic Institute of the Imperial University of Tokyo. I suspect that the monastery must possess unpublished documents not reproduced in this series. The *Ki-i no kuni zoku fū-do ki* (hereinafter abbreviated as *Ki*), compiled c 1808-1839 by Niida Yoshifuru and others in 192 chapters (printed in five large volumes in 1910-1911) contains some hundreds of documents of the Kōya shō not included in the published cartulary. The documents relating strictly to the triple shō alone in these two works number about 130.

¹⁴ *San-dai zhitsu-roku*, chap. 29 (*Koku-shi tai-kei*, IV, 432).

¹⁵ Such as the Mandokoro, Arakawa, and Minabe shō

¹⁶ Such as parts of the Adegawa shō and of our triple shō

¹⁷ I think that this theory should explain many an act of the monastery towards its freer shō. Its powers as seignior were specially ample in the granted Mandokoro shō, already in 1125 (see *Koya*, VII, 266-268), which must have served as a model in the treatment of the other shō. See notes 26, 39, and 43 below

¹⁸ The exact size of the triple shō, which must have continued to increase even after the annexation of Sarukawa in the thirteenth century, is stated nowhere in the documents. When we remember that the life of a shō as a terrain was built upon its cultivated area, it is not strange that its value should usually be expressed, as it was, in terms of its productivity measured in rice, not of its lineal extent. About 1830, when the extent of what had before been the triple shō may be presumed to have reached its utmost, the total productivity of all kinds of tilled land comprised in this area was rated as 5,027 koku (about 25,000 bushels) of hulled rice, produced by 5,413 members of 1,245 families. Taking the average yield of a shō as 8 koku (or about 15 bushels per acre), 5,027 koku would represent a total of 628 shō (about 1,550 acres), which should be regarded as a very rough estimate for a very late date.

Some idea of the range of the sizes of early shō may be gained from the following data from the domains of the temple at Iwashimidzu. In 1072, of the 34 shō that were enumerated, the smallest included about 20 acres of tilled area, and the largest about 100 acres. Larger shō seem to have contained waste or wooded land, and therefore can not be used for comparison. *Iwashimidzu mon-zho*, I, 270-299. In an undated list of 104 shō in Kyūshū, the smallest measured 15 acres, and there was another less than 30 acres; the largest had more than 2,400 acres, which was exceptional, the second covering but 390 acres; and there were two more shō that comprised 300 acres each. (*Ibid.*, II, 141-147.)

To return to the triple shō, each of its three component shō seems always to have had its administrative offices at the "shō-house" (corresponding to the French intendant's house or the German *Frohnhof*), but at no time was there any central bureau for the triple district as a whole.

The triple shō happened to possess a central market place in Kōno, at least since the end of the thirteenth century (*Koya*, IV, 636), where later regular fairs occurred six times annually. Kōno was otherwise most populous, producing cotton and paper besides rice; Makuni was probably the most sterile. Economically, the triple shō was hardly self-sufficient, and the market served as a distributing center not only for this but also for neighboring shō.

Each part of the triple shō consisted of rural districts which were called *mura*, at least in the third feudal period, some 40 in all, about 1830. Each *mura*, supported Shintō and Buddhist shrines and temples, their total number for the entire region, about 1830, being 70 ordinary and 140 smaller ones for a population of 5,400. Each shō had its chief shrine and temple. The burden of these religious institutions was less formidable than their number would lead us to suppose, for most of them were tiny shrines by the wayside or on hilltops, unattended by priests, and costing hardly anything for maintenance. The annual festivals at these houses, not only in the triple shō, but in all districts in rural Japan, were days of gathering and diversion that played an important part in the social life of the people.

There were, in accordance with the custom of the time, public bathhouses. They are seen as early as 1271. *Koya*, I, 506, VII, 194.

See *Ki*, I, 784-786, 823-827, 846-865.

¹⁹ Of the Osa (or Naga?) family, who claimed relation to the great Taira clan. See *Ki*, V, 243. Members of this family are seen among chief residents and officers of the shō, at least till the early fourteenth century. *Koya*, VII, 197, 229, 233, 237-240, etc.

²⁰ *Ki*, V, 243. Also *Koya*, VII, 229.

²¹ Koya, VII, 230.

²² All these conditions are explicitly stated in the ex-Emperor's charter establishing the shō in 1143, Koya, VII, 229-232. This is one of the most complete specimens of charters of this class.

²³ The titles ryō-ke and adzukari-dakoro are explicit in the charter, but that of hon-shō is inferential.

²⁴ Koya, VIII, 354.

²⁵ In 1164, 1177, 1179, etc., Koya, VII, 179, 232, 235-236, etc.

²⁶ Probably also by applying to this commended shō the example of the granted Mando-koro shō, over whose men Kōya had been exercising a direct control. See Koya, II, 546-558, VII, 266-268.

²⁷ Koya, VII, 178.

²⁸ In 1175, to the monastery on Mount Yoshino, Koya, VII, 234, a good example of a letter of commendation. Yoshino did not succeed in tightening its hold upon the shō, and its influence was in the course of a few years completely overshadowed by that of Kōya.

²⁹ This is inferred from documents about 1176 and of 1199. Koya, I, 581, VII, 236-237. The letter of commendation has not been preserved.

³⁰ See Note 19, above.

³¹ Ki, V, 124, 128, 135 (cited in a document of 1333); Adzuma-kagami, bk. 7, edition Kikkawa, I, 161; Koya, I, 369, VII, 181-182, VIII, 23-24.

³² In 1184, Adzuma-kagami, bk. 3, edition Kikkawa, I, 90-91; Koya, I, 449.

³³ The sole evidence for these claims that Kōya could advance was an account of the founding of the monastery and instructions to the disciples said to be autographic compilations made in 834 by the founder, Kōbō (Ki, V, 113-115; Kō-bō dai-shi zen-shū, I, 769-780), but their authenticity, though not the veracity of Kōbō, was questioned even by the pious imperial court, in 1219 and 1334 (see Ki, V, 46, 136). The very improbability of some of the place names and of the stories of the deity and the Emperor Ōjin is apparent. The documents of 740 and 816, that are often adduced to support the claims, exist only in alleged citations in the account of 834, referred to above. If the official grant of 816 were genuine, the possessions of Kōya in 876 could not be so small as they were (see Note 14, above); nor could the monastery so completely forget, as it did, its claims till the latter part of the twelfth century. See next note.

³⁴ I have not yet discovered any authentic document earlier than 1177 (Koya, VII, 178) in which Kōya appealed to its "ancient domain." The one dated early in 1043 (Ki, V, 269) I regard as spurious. From the end of the twelfth century, however, appeals are common (e. g., in 1199: Koya, VII, 236; in 1218. Ki, V, 119; etc.). Between 1331 and 1354 Kōya's title over it was repeatedly confirmed by the civil and feudal governments (ibid., 136-140); in 1584, by the suzerain Hideyoshi (ibid., 146).

³⁵ Documents of 1199, Koya, VII, 236-240, of 1221, ibid., I, 292; Ki, V, 128; and of 1280, Koya, VII, 259.

³⁶ A list in 1285 of the districts included in the "ancient domain" gives 34, of which the triple shō is counted as three. Ki, V, 130-131.

³⁷ Koya, VIII, 393-396; Ki, V, 119.

³⁸ Direct control over a piece of land was designated as ichi-yen chi-gyō (i. e., complete control). This has been erroneously identified by some Japanese scholars with the possession of shita-ji (i. e., the soil). The latter was the actual use and enjoyment of soil, while the former apparently meant a complete right over the dues from the land, which was used by the tenants paying the dues; this point is inferred from the fact that a grant in 1270 of a half of an ichi-yen chi-gyō in the triple shō was in reality a cession of one-half of the taxes of the district. Koya, VII, 198, 259; cf. 246, 253, VIII, 128, 130.

³⁹ To cite instances only within the triple shō. An entire mura in Makuni, which had not been commended, was given in fief by Kōya to a body of religious servants, Koya, I, 501. Ogawa and Saime mura were considered as "land of ichi-yen chi-gyō" by Kōya (Ki, V, 48); it commanded their inhabitants to swear fealty to itself (Koya, VII, 185), and allowed monastic servants to settle here, who were naturally under its direct control. Ibid., VII, 247.

⁴⁰ Despite the transfer of the title sometime before 1183 to the abbot of the Takawo monastery, and despite the lapse of the title in 1199 occasioned by his fall. Ki, V, 124; Koya, VII, 236.

⁴¹ Residents of the shō so styled Kōya in 1199. Koya, VII, 236. In 1221, the fallen ex-emperor's family exercised a shadowy control over the use of the income of the shō (ibid., I, 294; VIII, 387), but even that soon passed away. In fact, in the same year, the monastic lordship of the shō was recognized by the imperial government. Ibid., I, 291.

⁴² An imperial order of 1221 and a feudal order of 1227. Koya, I, 291-292, 295; VII, 253.

⁴³ The immunity from the visitation of feudal stewards (ji-tō) was claimed and granted in 1228 for the triple shō, as for other shō of Kōya. Koya, VII, 181-182, 253. In 1271 officers of the same shō were made to swear, among other things, that they would, as in other monastic shō, resist the intrusion of the military constable's (shu-go) agents. Ibid., I, 507. When the shu-go demanded the delivery of incendiaries resident in Makuni, the order was not complied with. Ibid., VII, 224.

⁴⁴ The date of the commendation of Sarukawa can not be determined. See the next note.

⁴⁵ Although the term "triple shō" (san ga shō) is not met with in the documents before 1276 (Koya, VII, 187-192), the reality of the grouping of the three shō as a composite one may be traced back at least to 1254. Ibid., I, 217-220; VI, 308-309. Later use of the term is common (e. g., 1425; *ibid.*, IV, 445).

As a matter of fact, the word shō is often used carelessly even for parts of regular shō, a fact that betrays the private origin of this institution; e. g., Ishibashiri mura, which appears in 1294 as a shō (*ibid.*, IV, 636), and again a mura in 1303 (VII, 254), and Ogawa and Saime mura, called a shō in 1333 (VII, 246, 253); the latter becomes a real shō only later in the 14th century (I, 410).

⁴⁶ In 947 by a Kunimaga. Ki, I, 863

⁴⁷ There is a letter of conveyance from father to son, dated 1025. Ki, I, 863. The Kunimaga appear in the triple shō among its chief holders till the end of twelfth century. Koya, VII, 233, 238-239. The Sarukawa family, whose names occur as commanders as late as the fourteenth century, may be of the same blood. Koya, II, 226; VIII, 483.

⁴⁸ The personal names of those landholders in the middle of the twelfth century who had not assumed Buddhist names (Koya, III, 366-386) betray the gentility of their owners. When their family names, too, are given, the aristocratic origin of many of them is unmistakable. Ibid., I, 217-220; VI, 308-309; VII, 233, 237-240; Ki, V, 43. A list of 1185 for Mandokoro shō gives 288 names, of which 94 bore Buddhist names and 194 belonged to 53 families, including the most illustrious in history. Koya, II, 547-559. The presence in the triple shō of some of these families may be traced for centuries; some in the thirteenth century had so far identified their interest with the districts in which they lived as to have taken the names of the latter as names of their own branches of the larger families. E. g., *ibid.*, I, 220; II, 226; III, 538-539, etc.

It is quite likely that the practice which became notable in later ages among local warriors of assuming noble descent on slight or no grounds may already have begun in this period. It would, however, be strange if many of the claims for high birth were not still well founded, for older official records abound with instances of persons of imperial or noble ancestry who had settled in the provinces. As a matter of fact, these persons of real or pretended nobility were to be found among chief residents in all parts of Japan, and constituted a main source of the feudal warriors.

⁴⁹ Acts of bequeathing "private estates in hereditary succession" (sen-zo sō-den no shi-ryō) by these men are frequently met with. Ki, I, 863; Koya, III, 556; etc. Though usually the holdings, specially of rice land, were small (e. g., in 1218 rice land held by 108 men in Ōta shō averaging less than 5 acres, Koya, VIII, 592-597), every list contains larger holders; in 1164 the largest among the 46 men that are mentioned being 45 acres of mulberry fields in 46 plots, and in 1218 a tenant of 41 acres of rice fields being first among 108 holders. Ibid., and III, 366-386. About 1090 a resident of Mandokoro controlled some 250 acres (VII, 267), probably inclusive of uncultivated land. It would be impossible, as said a proprietor in 1064, properly to manage a large holding, when it was in actual possession, without dependent laborers; he would rather commend it to a seignior (Iwashimidzu mon-zho, I, 299). Cf. Note 116 below.

⁵⁰ Most of the men, including even the secular shavelings (nyū-dō) that are referred to in note 48 above, seem at least to have been capable of bearing arms, and the dependent folk suggested in note 49 were in times of need followers in arms (e. g., Koya, I, 501-502; III, 660; IV, 636). The general social unrest of the period had made this condition natural. These men were as much to be feared as occasional disturbers of peace, in frequent collusion with lawless elements in neighboring shō (I, 291, IV, 657, V, 464; VII, 184-186; etc.), as they were to be relied upon by the monastic seignior as the bulwark of the shō against uprising or invasion (II, 546). See also note 57 below.

⁵¹ About 1269 two Miyayoshi brothers, presumably of the triple shō, whose titles indicate that they had been guardsmen at Kyōto, led an invasion into a Kōya estate in the interest of another religious seignior, and went to the capital in order to appeal for aid to their powerful acquaintances there. Koya, IV, 657; VII, 185. About the same time a Fujiwara, residing in Makuni, at the request of officers of the shō, car-

ried out with success a difficult litigation at Kyōto with the imperial and feudal authorities VII, 250-251, 254-255 These instances may be multiplied

⁶² It has been shown in the text how our very shō originated in a commendation in 1143, made by an owner who thenceforth reserved for his family the hereditary right of possession and management, and with what little scruple his descendants commended similar rights of the same land to others A commendation of 1325 by a priest in the remote Awa is typical A piece of land situated in Makuni itself, that is, part of the triple shō of which Kōya had long been seignior, had been bought by this stranger, and what he now gave up to the monastery was in reality a half of his income from the land Kōya, I, 192-193 The possessor of another estate in the same Makuni commended it to a Shintō temple which was, it is true, allied with the monastery; here too, merely an interest was yielded, while the soil itself was passed from father to son in the commendator's family and even sold to others. III, 556; VII, 183. Such were usual processes with commended lands

Sales, especially sales "for all time" (yei-dai or yei-nen), usually involved actual conveyances of the use of the soil, but it is doubtful whether this was true in all cases; at least it is a plain fact that sometimes certain rights or interests were explicitly reserved by the seller III, 543, 608, 610

⁶³ It may be readily inferred that there could exist no piece of land in any shō that was not thus encumbered; and the encumbrances were often many, and usually much varied in the same district. Of this variety, one immediate cause was the custom which was increasingly prevalent of assigning definite pieces for the maintenance of individual officials, Kōya priests, and religious houses and services For the twelfth century, Kōya, V, 651, 653; VIII, 409-414, for the thirteenth, *ibid.*, IV, 352-356.

That conveyances necessarily carried these encumbrances needs no explanation. Instances are too many to be cited, e. g., *ibid.*, VII, 235, 183; VI, 324, and III, 447, 500; VI, 283, etc. These accompanying conditions naturally affected the price of land. E. g., the last references in note 52 show how the price of the same piece changed as its conditions altered.

⁶⁴ That jū-nin and hyaku-shō were once practically identical may be gathered by comparing documents of 1164 and 1199 (Kōya, VII, 233, 237-240), both giving the names of chief residents of Kōno. (Cf. the list of hyaku-shō in Mandokoro shō in 1135; *ibid.*, II, 547-559.) The word yō-nin (chief men) appears in a Mandokoro document of 1125 (*ibid.*, VII, 267); still earlier, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, the word yoriuto (settlers) is used interchangeably with jū-nin (Iwashimidzu mon-zō, I, 270-299, etc.). Jū-nin (residents) is a word continually used in the feudal ages for warriors established in rural districts. As for the word hyaku-shō, its important history will be discussed later in this paper.

The word ji-shu (landholder), which later is pronounced ju-nushi, is often met with (e. g., Ki, I, 863). The history of this term will also receive notice later.

⁶⁵ These men could not, of course, have been the only family heads of the shō, but assuredly were its foremost inhabitants, as may be judged from the interchangeability that we observe, among other things, of the phrases "the place [office] of the hyaku-shō" and "the house of the shō," or "the officials of the shō" and "shō officials and hyaku-shō" and "administrators of the shō house," or "the group-heads and hyaku-shō" and "all men of the shō" (e. g., Kōya, VII, 183, 184, 186-187, 246). They were also called shō-min (people of the shō). *Ibid.*, VII, 267.

It was these men upon whom the seignior depended for the rendering of the dues and services of the shō, and whom he persuaded to make oaths of general or fiscal fealty. In the triple shō: in 1164, Kōya, VII, 232; in 1199, VII, 236-240; in 1269, IV, 657; VII, 184-186.

⁶⁶ Descendants of the original owner and commendator of the tract which later grew to be the triple shō served as its officers at least till 1291 (Kōya, VII, 197), and very likely till much later. Examples of hereditary shō officials among chief residents are frequent in the thirteenth and early fourteenth century (e. g., *ibid.*, I, 217, 219; III, 659; VI, 308-309; VII, 250-251, 254-255, etc.); it is probable that nearly all the responsible officials of the shō were these residents, and that most of them were hereditary.

⁶⁷ The monks of Kōya abstained from following the pernicious examples of those of the Hiei and Nara monasteries of making armed demonstrations against one another and against the imperial court, and of taking an active part in the more decisive battles of the day. However, even the seclusion of the mountain did not afford it sufficient protection against the general unrest of the age, and the monastery was, despite its pacific professions, often compelled to arm itself for sheer defense The guards consisted of warriors supplied by the various shō and of the more warlike of the monks themselves. Ki, V, 45, 135-136; about weapons of shō officials in 1233, see Kōya, VIII, 610

Once provided, the armed force was prone to abuse; for example, from 1140 till about 1175, and again in the next century, there were bloody conflicts between the two factions

that had resulted from a schism following the secession of the monk Kaku-ban Ki, V, 40-44. The attempt made in 1228 by the feudal government to disarm the monks (Koya I, 657) probably was but a temporary success. As regards the warriors sent from the different shō for the defense of the monastery, it is not possible to learn details of this form of service.

There is an example of military service under another religious seignior. In 1276, a family in Kyūshū whose members held about 80 acres of rice land was able to supply four warriors, two of them mounted, besides three attendants, all equipped. This must have been an unusually strong family, and its service the utmost it could render; the occasion was during the time of the Mongol invasion. Iwashimidzu mon-zho, II, 190-191.

The various monastic shō, which were much more exposed than the sacred mountain, had perforce to be guarded by their chief "residents" against internal discord and external aggression. The men swore that they would "take and hold" turbulent monks and that "the younger men would beat them back" (at Mandokoro shō in 1185; Koya, II, 546-558); that "if agents of the shu-go [military constable of the province] intruded on the shō, its officials would protect it against them" (at the triple shō in 1271; *ibid.*, I, 507); that "if men of another shō invaded the monastic domain," "not only the officials of the shō, but all men, high and low, would, as soon as they heard of the trouble, vigorously put a stop to it" (same in 1276; *ibid.*, VII, 189). Here again conditions of the military or police service of the residents are as yet obscure.

Neither the monastery nor its shō, however, owed any service in arms to the feudal authorities, either central or provincial, and Kōya appealed to this exemption whenever its aid was solicited by rivaling political parties. Ki, V, 135. There is reason to suppose, however, that in the early feudal period the monastery at times rendered voluntarily a service which was obligatory upon all feudal lords, namely, of furnishing men as periodic guards of the imperial palace at Kyōto. See the shōgun's order in 1197. Koya, VIII, 23. Nor is it certain whether Kōya was not called upon, as was Iwashimidzu (Iwashimidzu mon-zho, II, 148-191), to take part in the defense of Japan during the period of the Mongol invasion in the third quarter of the thirteenth century.

⁸⁸ Frequent warlike aggressions came either from men who claimed and would enforce titles to land in the shō (1199; Koya, VII, 236), from agents of neighboring seigniors (about 1186; Koya, VII, 146; 1218; Ki, V, 46; about 1215-1258; Koya, V, 288-291, 501; VII, 250, 255; 1269; IV, 657; VII, 185), from ambitious warriors on their own account (1298 and 1300; Ki, V, 49), from feudal provincial authorities (1221; Koya, I, 369-370), or from lawless, unattached elements in the surrounding districts that were now cultivators of soil and then freebooters and mercenaries (1207; Adzuma-kagami, bk. 17; ed. Kikkawa, II, 29). But for the presence of the last-named factor in various parts of Japan, she could neither have been so readily disturbed nor so simply protected, as the case might be, as she was in this period.

⁸⁹ Koya, I, 503-518; V, 464-465; VII, 187-197, 199-214, 216-223, 225-226, 241-246; VIII, 121-124, 126-128.

⁹⁰ The case of the descendants of the original commendator of Kōno-Makuni has been referred to. The post of Ku-mon in Kōno was plainly held by men of one family at least between 1256 and 1315 (Koya, I, 509, 518, VII, 197, 223), and probably for a much longer interval. In 1254, the offices of sō to-ne in both Kōno and Sarukawa were declared to be hereditary possessions of the Taira, their incumbents, lately dismissed, were now reinstated, for, as said an interesting order from Kōya, "in the custom of all shō, officers invested for successive generations, if they were temporarily removed, owing to an appeal by the residents or an accusation by the Possessor (ryō-ke), were usually restored when they offered a satisfactory explanation." Koya, VI, 308-309. Both these families had presumably descended from the first commendator. At any rate, the principles of hereditary office holding dated from much earlier than 1254. Cf. Note 66 below.

⁹¹ The ku-mon of Makuni in 1303-1315 was a woman (Koya, I, 518; VII, 254, 256); though she was sometimes represented by a masculine deputy, it is not clear whether that was due to her sex, for male shō-officials also used deputies. In this period, even stewards (ji-tō) in districts representing the central feudal government were sometimes women.

There was little difference in the understanding of the time between succession to a right of land and that to an office; both were regarded as sources of profit, and a woman could inherit an office as naturally as she could a title on land. *Ibid.*, VI, 288; VII, 184; in the former document an eldest daughter, whose name is quite mannish, signs a deed of sale together with her father; in the latter, Kōya gives an interest in land to a nun.

⁹² To-ne, ban-gashira, and other responsible residents bearing no titles. Koya, I, 509-513; VII, 199-200, 211-214, 225-228; VIII, 121, 123-124, 126-127.

⁹³ The sō tsui-ho shi and ku-mon of each part of the triple shō. Koya, I, 503-508; VII, 187-192. It would be vain to try to translate the titles. These higher officials, as

"men invested in the shō," had the duties to defend it, to respond to the summons from the seignior ("if he [the official] himself is afflicted with a grave illness, he should offer a solemn oath and present his son [in his stead]; if he has no son, then some one like himself"). One man was a resident in a district, served as sō tsui-ho shi in another, and held an office land in a third (I, 509; IV, 633; VII, 192); the meaning of this is patent—he is an example of an invested servant.

"The oaths of the one class contain the statement which those of the other class do not, that if the official violated some one (in oaths of 1276 and 1315), or any one article (in oaths of 1271, 1291, and 1303) of his agreement, "his office would be revoked." When, in 1254, the dismissed sō to-ne of Kōno and Sarukawa were on their prayer reinstated, the monastery improved the opportunity to make each of them swear that "in all things I [he] would obey the command of the monastery," that "La my [his] management of all affairs, great and small, the interest of the monastery would be my [his] chief consideration," and that "if any of my [his] descendants violated this pledge, he would be totally disabled to hold this office." Koya, I, 217, 219.

In this connection I might give a version of the unabridged oath with which the officials, irrespective of the degree of their freedom, concluded their solemn pronouncements: "If I fabricate a lie and violate this pledge, divine punishments of Brahma and Indra, the Four Great Heavenly Raja, all the great and small kami of Japan, [the deities of] the four shrines of Amano and their relatives and attendants, Dai-shi and Vajrapāni, and all the deities of the two mandala, will enter through the 84,000 pores of my body, and I shall be in this life afflicted with the grave ills of white leprosy and black leprosy, and in the next life fall into the limitless hell, with no opportunity to issue therefrom. Thus I swear."

* In Adegawa, 1138 and 1193 (Koya, V, 651, 654-656); Ota, 1198 (VIII, 590-592); Arakawa, 1254 (VII, 117); Hamanaka, 1298 (IV, 354); Nade, 1271 (III, 438); etc. For the triple shō: The ku-mon of Ishibashiri, in 1263 (VII, 186-187); sō tsui-ho shi of Sarukawa, who lived in Shibane (Same), and was granted land in Kōno (cited in note 63 above); to the holders of the same office in 1291 were assigned peasant families (men-ka) whose members they could employ and who probably paid them dues (VII, 193-197); these officers seem to have held land (article 18) which probably accompanied their post.

It may at the same time be taken for granted that there still were some shō officers who received no special compensation in land or rice, but in their direct contact with the taxpayers had sufficient opportunities to reward their service. The intendants in French manors are said to have been farmers and received no remuneration from the lord, but had comfortable personal incomes.

* Having been freed of the Possessor (ryō-ke) of the double shō in 1221 and of its feudal steward (ji-tō) in 1227, Kōya, at length a seignior of full power, soon found the first opportunity to assert its authority over the shō officials. In 1228, for certain alleged offenses, Kōya without scruple dismissed and banished the powerful ku-mon of Kōno, whose family, as descendants of the original commendator of the shō, had held the post for generations. If the culprit made an effort to return with the aid of great families at Kyōto, his descendants would be "debarred even unto the seventh generation." Koya, I, 296; VII, 182. It is likely that this man soon repaired his wrongs and was restored to his office. His successor also was in 1254 dismissed and restored. See Note 60 above. In each case were both the principles of hereditary office holding and of seigniorial authority allowed to prevail through a compromise.

The banishment and confiscation of a ku-mon of Arakawa in 1293 was the penalty for a specially heinous crime, and there was no compromise (III, 659). Other seigniors may have been more arbitrary. Cf. Iwashimidzu mon-zho, II, 254-256.

* In the document of 1228 referred to in the last note are mentioned agents of the monastery who held land in the shō. Koya, VII, 181. In 1269 the administrator (zasshō) of Shishikui shō was a monastic agent and his tenure revocable. Ki, IV, 905.

* Among the titles of documents listed in 1246 appear "A table of wet and upland fields of the triple district of Kōno, etc.," and "A map of the shō." Koya, II, 389-390. These documents might have thrown light on the tenures of that date, but unfortunately they have not been preserved.

* Instances of hereditary transmission and of mortgage and sale of lands are too common and numerous in the cartulary to need references. In each case, all documents that had in the past successively established the titles to the given piece of land were handed over by the old holder to the new, so that their number increased as conveyance was repeated. Cf. Note 79 below. In each case a duplicate of the deed seems to have been presented to the office of the shō, and thence to the monastery, this constituting apparently the only formality that the seignior required. There is no evidence of, nor was there yet any reason for, the exaction of a seigniorial relief or *droit de mutation*. Usually the conveyor was the only signer of the deed, but in certain instances a

child, usually the eldest, whether son or daughter, signed with the father and sometimes the buyer as well. Rarely did officials of the shō affix countersignatures to such documents. Koya, III, 510.

⁷⁰ The expulsion of offending landholders and the confiscation of their tenures were not only established in law (as in the oaths of 1271, 1276, and 1291; see Note 59 above), but actually enforced (e. g., in 1291 Koya, VIII, 122). The offenses stated in the oaths as meriting this penalty were the robbing of the fruit of harvest in another's land, arbitrary exaction of rice or money from people, and willful confusion of jurisdictions with other seigniories.

The instances cited above are from the triple shō, and all date from the latter half of the twelfth century. In Mandokoro shō, where, as has been said (Note 17 above), the monastery wielded large powers from relatively early times, confiscations had occurred already in 1190. *Ibid.*, VII, 267-268.

⁷¹ The confiscated lands at Mandokoro, just referred to in the preceding note, were granted in perpetuity to residents on payment of certain sums. Instances of such payments are rare. A case of a simple grant of dispossessed land occurs in the double shō in 1260 (Koya, VII, 184); another in Nade shō in 1271 (III, 438). As the seignior was ever on the alert to multiply the more precarious tenures in his domains at the expense of the freer ones, he as naturally availed himself of confiscations as he also did of abandoned holdings (e. g., in Makum about 1218, *ibid.* VII, 180) and of disputed cases that he adjudicated (e. g., in Kōno in 1271, *ibid.*, III, 583), to create dependent tenants.

⁷² Despite the orthodox theories regarding the history of the myō-den (cf., e. g., T. Yoshida, *Shō-yen sei-do no tai-yō*, p. 147), the study of the whole subject needs to be rebuilt upon documents. In the present state of critical knowledge, I hardly dare go beyond the suggestions I offer in notes 73 and 108 below, and must refrain from presuming to answer such questions as follow: What is the institutional difference, as well as relation, between the myō (na) and the azana, both proper names of lands, and what is the origin of each? Why did similar myō suggesting the personal names of noblemen occur in many parts of Japan? Was the myō-den, usually only a few acres in extent, often as large as a shō, and could it as such become a shō? Can the current theory be verified that the myō in the words dai-myō (great lords) and shō-myō (petty lords) was derived from the myō of myō-den? How often was a myō-den an antecedent of mura (rural division) of the Edo period, like Agegai in Kōno? Kōno contained, in 1425, at least 11 myō. Koya, IV, 445-446.

⁷³ The granting of common myō-den in our shō occurs as early as before 1183 (Koya, VI, 300; for the date, compare KI, V, 124), and continues ever after (e. g., Koya, I, 218; IV, 632-634). Similar grants to officeholders in the shō and to monks are as often met with from the latter half of the thirteenth century (I, 509; III, 652-660; IV, 633; VII, 186, 192; these names to be studied together; Iwashimidzu mon-zō, I, 322-323, 393, 418), as myō-holders (myō-shu) serving in official capacities. Koya, IV, 632-634. There had even appeared myō-den bearing official titles, in lieu of personal names, as their designations (Ji-tō myō: *ibid.*, VIII, 612-613; Sō tsui-ho shi myō: IV, 632-634; Ku-mon myō: VII, 186-187; etc.).

Like all holdings (ryō, possession; chi-gyō, holding)—or at least all those that had originated in private ownership—the myō-den was transmissible by heredity, divisible, and alienable (Koya, III, 540, 543, etc.; IV, 632-634; VII, 187, 250-252), so that the same piece continued to change hands and the memory of the origin of its proper names was often lost. Whether such free conveyance was either allowed or practiced with myō-den attached to officials can not be asserted.

⁷⁴ It is true that "residents" of shō who had assumed Buddhist names (men called nyū-dō) also commended landed interests to Kōya (e. g., Koya, II, 226), but more remarkable are commendations made by monks of the monastery (many of whom themselves had doubtless been "residents"); some of the interests thus transferred had been held by monks in heredity or master-to-pupil succession (III, 420), some had circulated among monks (V, 487-488), and some had been bought by them with a view to giving them to the monastery (II, 145; III, 447, where the commendation was carried out the day after the purchase). A catalogue of the commended pieces in all the Kōya shō which seems to have been first compiled about 1333 (VIII, 466-532), though imperfectly preserved, contained more than 400 entries, including a few repetitions; and a great majority were recent commendations. The history of many of these pieces of land may be partially traced in other documents scattered through the entire cartulary. In one instance, an estate that had been held by a family for five generations was from 1272 divided into separate plots, each following an independent course in the next 60 years, and all apparently having been commended to Kōya by 1333 (II, 193, 241; III, 402, 446, 500, 539, 583; VIII, 472, 475-476, 500, 528).

These significant phenomena, it will be readily inferred, reflect the earnest desire of the monastic seignior to see the monks acquire secular holdings and hold them securely

in their hands pending commendation. When, in 1263, the disputed title to a myō-den in Kōno was granted by Kōya to a monk, he was made to swear that he, "as one of the monks of the monastery, would manage the affairs [in the place] exactly as in the other monkish holdings," and that, if he "ceased to live on the mountain, he would convey the title to one who lived there, and would not let it fall into the possession of anyone below the mountain or living elsewhere" (I, 218).

⁷⁶ Koya, II, 193, 226 "In order to requite the munificence of the High Founder [Kōbō] and to pray for the bodhi [Buddhist wisdom] of my benefactors." III, 421. "I pray that, for this slight offering, I might in the future reach the court of the reincarnated Maitreya and serve at the presence of the enlightened Dai-shi [Kōbō]" II, 193 "For the deliverance of the late master and parent and for the enlightenment of the pupil and child." II, 241

⁷⁷ As the monastery had a greater insurance of its income from a piece of land when it was in the hands of one of its own monks than when it was held by a shō-resident, one is not surprised to find that Kōya encouraged monkish acquisitions by granting them certain exemptions. Koya, V, 487-488. When the land was commended to Kōya, even though the commendation may in most cases only have secured the seigniorial right of Kōya of formally investing the successive holders or "cultivators," the monastery gained in the increased dependency of the tenures and their added uniformity that resulted. These two points seem clear; what is not as clear is the advantage derived by the monk by his act of commendation that must have been so great as to make it, as was the case, a universal practice in all the shō of Kōya. The supposed reason stated in the text finds confirmation in the fact that, in 1286, a commendor reserved in his family the hereditary right of "cultivatorship." Koya, III, 410.

⁷⁸ It may well be imagined how strongly the monastery was aided by the ready division and conveyance of landed rights and interests practiced by the ji-shu, in its eager effort to convert myō-den and other holdings into more dependent tenures (note 73) and to induce commendations through monks (notes 74 and 76).

⁷⁹ Already for decades the monastery had been harassed by its own unruly inmates and by intruding marauders, when from the end of the thirteenth century the power of the central feudal government waned and the general commotion grew more intense throughout Japan. Kōya was obliged to guard its sacred grounds with heavier garrisons raised in the shō than ever. One or two references to contemporary documents will reveal the condition without further comment.

In 1242 the monastery asserted: "When it is rumored or discovered that a lawless act has been committed by wicked men within these precincts, it has been customary in this monastery from olden times to establish guards and man the various squares and avenues." Ki, V, 43. Representative monks themselves said in a solemn document dated 1271: "... It has of late been reported at the various houses [of this monastery] that night attacks, robberies, incendiarisms, and murders have increased yearly and been repeated daily, and that gambling has been continual. . . ." Koya, I, 482. In 1228 and about 1310 ineffectual efforts were made by the feudal and imperial governments to interdict warlike behavior of monks. Koya, I, 557; Ki, V, 136. There is an order from Kōya dated 1307 commanding that officers of a shō should present on appointed dates its full quota of warriors for attendance on the mountain, on pain of forfeiting their trust. Koya, VIII, 77-78, cf. 184. See note 57 above.

⁸⁰ Cf. note 69 above. It is here necessary to cite only notable cases from the triple shō. During the 15 years after 1254, a piece of land that had been held by members of the strong Magami family was transferred so often that its conveyance in 1269 was accompanied by 11 deeds. Koya, VI, 288; VII, 183-184. Within 30 years after 1303 a rice land with an extent of barely a quarter of an acre changed hands at short intervals and was finally commended to Kōya with seven documents. III, 540, 543, 608, 610; V, 599; VIII, 515.

⁸¹ This is another knotty problem which may be solved, if at all, only by the study of actual documents of the time. And a part of this important problem is the historical relation of the agricultural laborers of this period with the numerous domestic slaves (shi nu-hi, shi sen) of the earlier ages. As for the hired agricultural laborers after the close of the second feudal period, see note 116 below.

⁸² It is altogether likely that in the early life of a shō the landholder and the cultivator were often one and the same person. Compare, for example, the word "settlers" (yoruto), meaning the first inhabitants of a new shō (see note 54 above), that appears in a document of 1072, with the phrase "to settle and cultivate" (yoritsu-kuru) used in reference to the same place 60 years later (Iwashimidzu mon-zho, I, 327). As a matter of fact, when a shō was created around a cultivated area, it was necessary to procure men to settle on the still uncultivated places to develop them. We find from the end of the eighth century that it was the custom of the managers of shō to welcome outlaws to settle (yori-sumu) there, apparently for this very pur-

pose (Rui-zhū san-dai kyaku, bk. 8, in Koku-shi tai-kei, XII, 708); there may have been law-abiding settlers as well. At any rate, we here seem to see the origin of the yoriuto, who in the course of time differentiated into "landholders" and "cultivators."

It is obvious that the differentiation between the "landholdership" and "cultivatorship" as rights (shiki) developed still later, though the manner of this differentiation has not yet been investigated.

⁸² 1123. Imashimidzu mon-zho, I, 343.

⁸³ Instances of "cultivators" bearing good family names: Koya, II, 172; VIII, 483-484. Those mentioned with the honorific title dono (esquire) · V, 487; VI, 288. The same "cultivator" holding the right in several plots: Koya, V, 486ff.; VIII, 122, 409-414, 483-484. The "cultivators" who were also "landholders": Inferentially, Koya, I, 218; III, 410; VIII, 122, 409-414. Clear cases from the next period: Ibid, V, 504-518.

As will be readily seen, it had resulted from the prevailing fluidity of real rights that the same person held both the "landholdership" (ji-shu shiki) and the "cultivatorship" (saku-nin shiki) of a plot of land, or the one right of a plot and the other right of another plot. Logically, also, a tenant of many "cultivatorships" might also be a "landholder" and otherwise be an influential "resident."

⁸⁴ The so-called ge (or shita) saku-nin—did it mean "undercultivator" or "cultivator of the shita-ji," that is, the soil?—did the actual work of tilling (cf. 1263: Koya, I, 218), but it is not clear whether they worked under the ordinary "cultivators," and whether the prefix ge (under) had been added because a differentiation had developed between these actual tillers and the holders of "cultivatorships."

⁸⁵ The sole "cultivator" of a district in Yamashiro had, in 1123, "granted it to his friends" (Iwashimidzu mon-zho, I, 343); whatever the terms of the "grants," the same man probably retained his title of "cultivator" and its attendant profit and obligations. I construe in the same light the case of those "cultivators" in a Kōya shō, in 1273, who had "sold" the rights to others, but officially were still titular "cultivators"; the "sales" were private and the buyers were not recognized. Koya, V, 486-487.

As a result of division and transfer, "cultivators" from the latter half of the thirteenth century not infrequently held saku-shiki in other districts or even shō. Ibid., I, 508; II, 193; V, 513; VIII, 470, 526.

⁸⁶ A man begged Kōya that he be allowed to succeed to the "name land" that his father had held and lost, and that "people of the shō be made its cultivators" under him. 1263: Koya, I, 218. "Cultivators" are mentioned under monkish "landholders." 1273: V, 486-488. Oaths of 1271 (art. 15) and 1291 (art. 33) contain provisions against offensive behavior of the "cultivator" toward his master "landholder." I, 508; VII, 196. It is also remarkable that the "landholder" sometimes retained his rights over the cultivatorship of a piece of land whose interest he alienated, he remained as master over the "cultivator" (II, 186; III, 408, 608-609), deriving a profit from the continued control.

In 1164 a "cultivator's" right had to be renewed at the change of his master "landholder." Koya, II, 172. Even when the heredity of the right had later become a matter of course, a semblance of its originally precarious character was sometimes retained in formal documents; in 1237 a former "landholder" swears to the buyer of his right: "As regards the cultivatorship [that has been held by Gempachi, a third party], it should without doubt be at your disposal, but I understand that it will, because of my intercession, remain in the same hands for the time being, and that if its holder fails in his duties, you will dispose of it" Ibid., VII, 240.

⁸⁷ The retention of the same "cultivators" by "landholders" who followed one another by heredity or alienation is common after the middle of the thirteenth century (inferred from cases that occur in Koya, V, 486ff.; in II, 145; and VIII, 494). Some were called jō saku-nin, "fixed cultivators"; e. g., Gempachi between 1304 and about 1333, in *ibid.*, III, 540, 543, 608, 610; VIII, 515, etc.; the catalogue of 1333 (?) contains many other "fixed" instances (VIII, 466-532).

That "cultivators" were sometimes defiant of their "landholders" is reflected in the oaths of officials of the triple shō of 1271 (art. 15) and 1291 (art. 33). Ibid., I, 508; VII, 196.

⁸⁸ That "cultivators" in this shō were in direct relation of some kind with its officials and seignior over the heads of "landholders" is inferred from the following passages. In a document, probably of the late 13th century, occurs this obscure statement: "Any case of an error of [? committed by] 'cultivators' shall be reported [to the monastery] with joint signatures of the myō holders and district chiefs; if they neglect to do so, they shall pay a sa-da ryō [?"administration fee"] for the 'cultivators'" (Koya, IV, 634); the oath of 1291 by a shō official says, among other things: "When a 'cultivator' is guilty of an offense, I will not put up a placard in a monkish estate and cause it

trouble" (VII, 193), and "I will not, in behalf of a 'cultivator,' act unreasonably toward a 'landholder' or *myō* holder" (VII, 196). In the next period, a direct payment of dues by "cultivators" to monastic agents is evident (VIII, 227).

When increasing numbers of plots were bought by monks and commended to Kōya (see Note 74 above), the "cultivators" of the plots passed naturally into a more direct relation with monastic agents. The catalogue about 1333, mentioned in the same Note, gives the name of the "cultivator" for almost every entry it contains.

⁸⁰ There is a reference to "the cultivator's dues" as early as 1072 in another seignior. (Iwashimidzu mon-zho, I, 298) In Kōya shō the conveyances of landholderships, in 1272 and 1307, by men who reserved to themselves a control of cultivatorships, betray the existence of profits derivable from this control (Koya, III, 403, 608-609), while documents of 1308 and 1317 specifically give the rates of the "cultivator's" dues to the "landholder" II, 186; VII, 240

⁸¹ Koya, V, 651-652; VII, 280-301 (I presume these names to be those of "cultivators"); VIII, 409-414; etc.

From the late 13th century, in defining the boundaries of a plot, the old custom of mentioning geographical features in the four bounding directions (e. g., east, to the river; west, to the road; south, the district so-and-so; north, hill so-and-so), gave place in an increasing number of cases to a new way, that is, of giving the names of the "cultivators" of the adjoining plots (e. g., south, Tomoyoshi's saku, or "cultivation"; north, Tokugorō's saku). Koya, III, 500, 539; VI, 288. Rarely do the holders' names of these plots appear for this purpose.

⁸² The list of 1218 may be of "landholders" Koya, VIII, 592-597. Those of 1337 (VII, 280-302) and 1368 (VIII, 452-455) are doubtful.

⁸³ Near Kyōto, civil nobles continued to exercise control over their shō at least until the middle of the 14th century (Yen-tai reki, diary of Fujiwara-no-Kimikata; 1345, the memorial by the governor of Settsu; Yale ms., V, 132-133). Even here, however, to say nothing of the remoter parts of Japan, it was not long before the military *ji-tō* (stewards) in the shō succeeded in defying and completely ignoring the feeble, impoverished civil *hon-ke* (lord) and *ryō-ke* (possessor) at Kyōto; the old shō documents were held in scant respect, for might alone made right. On the other hand, the *ji-tō* owed dues and services to his feudal lord. The private warrior who had first entered the shō under a civil lord in the humble capacity of a manager, had ended in becoming its lord under a military overlord.

⁸⁴ The military *shu-go* (constable) of the province had obliterated its old civil governorship and become its supreme lord; all the *ji-tō* and other chiefs in the territory he regarded as his vassals. The province had become a domain that comprised fiefs arranged in the descending series of a hierarchical organization. Public functions had become private possessions, while private rights had been so extended as to coalesce with public offices.

It is needless to say that all domains were not coextensive with provinces (*kuni*). A few comprised several *kuni* each, while the majority were fractions of *kuni*. The tendency with the military domains was in the direction of an amalgamation into fewer and larger domains.

⁸⁵ In the first period, the policy of the suzerain seems to have been to keep the domains of his immediate vassals intact by restricting their freedom of sale and mortgage; there still remained distinctions of tenures among them and among the rear-vassals. During the period of civil war, however, the general tendency was to reduce all military tenures of land to precarious grants in fee. It may be said that the most powerful lords, like the Hōjō and the Shimadzu, were those who had best succeeded in enforcing this policy, as it contributed powerfully to the necessary discipline and coherence. This was another result of the same need and the same power that had established the vassal's duty of primogeniture and the lord's interference in his marriage and succession.

⁸⁶ Cf. T. Yoshia, *Shō-yen sei-do no tai-yō*, ch. 17.

⁸⁷ For a fuller discussion of these points, see my "Notes on the village government in Japan after 1600" in the *Journal of the American oriental society*, Vol. XXX, pt. 3, and Vol. XXXI, pt. 2, 1910-1911.

⁸⁸ In the first feudal period the chief weapons in warfare were the bow and arrow, and combat was individual; only in close quarters were swordsmanship and wrestling resorted to. At the end of the fourteenth century the sword had largely replaced the bow and arrow as the first arm, and from the sixteenth the spear found favor beside the sword. Each of these successive innovations was accompanied by more organized methods of war, without entirely doing away with displays of individual skill and valor. Gunpowder and a firearm were accidentally brought in by shipwrecked Portuguese about 1543, and their use and manufacture quickly spread over Japan, though they never succeeded in replacing the older weapons, even the bow and arrow. The adoption of the new arms greatly accelerated the progress of organized tactics, under the impact of which petty seignories were absorbed or crushed out of existence between domains that grew larger

and fewer; and the civil strife became more universal and intense. This was attended by those far-reaching social effects to which I refer in the text.

⁹⁸ The theory that the land-holding peasant was not an owner but merely a tenant entitled to the hereditary use of the soil on the condition that he rendered his dues and services to the lord was expressed at the end of the period in such current terms as the peasants' *chi-gyō* and *ade-okonai*, common expressions for grants in tenure. Iwashimidzu mon-zho, III, 654, etc. The same idea, as a theory, persisted throughout the third feudal period in some domains. See note 30 in the article referred to in note 96 above.

⁹⁹ When Hideyoshi made a general cadastral survey of Japan in 1594-1599, he frankly recognized the actual state of things. Note the following instructions issued by his commissioners to their subordinates: "The right of cultivation over a wet or upland piece of land belongs to him under whose name it was registered during the recent survey. It is forbidden to allow the land to be taken by another person, or to take another person's land under the pretext that one has once had the right of its cultivation." "It is strictly forbidden to give to the lord any of the cultivated lands recorded in the register" (Both quoted in T. Yoshida, *Dai Ni-hon chi-mei zhi-sho*, introduction, p. 94.) In these words are plainly implied the facts that the peasant had gathered in his hands the interests in his holding that had been split, and that he had established a practical ownership of the holding. During the next period, therefore, the sale or other act of alienating land meant a downright conveyance of the complete use of the land, and rarely again a fraction of interest.

¹⁰⁰ Encroachments upon Kōya shō were continual throughout the period (Ki, V, 136-140), and some districts were temporarily absorbed into military fiefs (Koya, I, 554). The monastery was compelled repeatedly to seek imperial and feudal edicts recognizing its inviolable rights in its domains (Ki, V, 142-143). These continual turmoils retarded the economic and financial life of some shō. Note large decreases in tilled areas and proceeds from them in later years in Koya, VI, 568-591; VII, 5-14, 24, 27-34, 46-53, 55-57, 62-66, 69-95, 101-111.

¹⁰¹ It seems that till 1584 the monastery strongly guarded the seven passes of the mountain. Ki, V, 148. For general service the various shō owed to the monastery the duty of sending up armed contingents. Koya, VIII, 183-184. There is an imperial mandate to Kōya dated 1463, ordering that a body of monastic troops should serve under the command of a feudal lord in an expedition against a rebel (III, 34); such cases of external military service for men of Kōya domains are extremely rare, and only serve to indicate the armed strength that the monastery could command. And it is not surprising to find that, in this age of anarchy, lawless warriors in some shō attempted aggressions upon surrounding countries. Ki, V, 145-146.

¹⁰² About 1580 Kōya is said to have controlled 2,063 mura, or peasant communities, aggregating an annual yield equivalent to 173,000 koku, or 865,000 bushels of hulled rice (Ki, V, 146), and to have comprised within the precincts on the mountain more than 7,700 buildings. However that may be, the fact that the proprietary power of Kōya was the greatest when it was the most exposed to aggression bespoke its ability to take care of its own interest.

¹⁰³ In 1581 Kōya defied Nobunaga after he had razed to the ground the powerful monastery on Mount Hiei, killed his envoys, gave battle to his expeditionary army, and, though it lost more than 1,300 monkish warriors, succeeded in repelling the invaders. Ki, V, 145-146, etc. Documents of that time reveal that Kōya's influence was felt even beyond its domains, and it commanded the service not only of local chiefs and their followers, but also of four large bodies of religious men in the province of Kii who were readily convertible into troops. Ibid., III, supplement, 187-188.

¹⁰⁴ Officials in the Kōya shō, including those in direct contact with the peasants, were obviously treated by the monastery as its employees, whose service was rewarded with rice or land. Koya, IV, 154-157; VII, 247; VIII, 461. They were consequently all dependent on the seignior for their positions. In 1422 Kōya summoned all officials, squires, and chief peasants, on pain of punishment, to attend in person on the monastery for an important conference (VIII, 237); previously, in 1367, the monastic council had decreed that "officials of all shō" who did not respond to a summons would be dismissed and never reinstated (VIII, 330).

Such probably was a universal tendency in Japan, perhaps more advanced in military fiefs than in religious domains, in some of the latter the higher agents in shō had even ceased to be hereditary, but had merely farmed out certain fiscal rights for terms of years. Cf. Iwashimidzu mon-zho, I, 455-459, 469-470; III, 403-404, etc. The process whereby the seignior had gradually succeeded in replacing representative residents with paid or farmed-out appointees as shō officials is well reflected in a feudal order of a late date, which stated that "in those places where the people owed various services [to the officials], their control should be assumed by the monastery as soon as vacancies

occurred" (*ibid.*, III, 182); these posts then could be given or farmed out to others on more precarious tenures than before

¹⁰⁶ Towards 1600 there reappeared in many parts of Japan rural officials who were in various ways selected from among the peasants and represented their interest (e. g., Kōya, III, 135; about 1599); this is one of the most significant phenomena of the last part of the second feudal period. The one thing that characterized these peasant agents, wherever they appeared, was the greater responsibility imposed upon them for the obedience and the good conduct of the peasants than the merely employed agents had assumed or could have been expected to assume. I think the meaning of this is patent: The peasantry was unarmed and therefore physically weaker than in the earlier times, but was higher in proprietary status and politically freer; no lord or seignior could be a successful ruler in that age of competition who failed to enlist the good-will of the people who were at the foundation of the economic life of society; the consideration of the interest of the peasantry thus became an essential art of feudal statesmanship. And it was a most delicate human art; it had been studied, discussed, and practised in China during the centuries of her long history as an agricultural state. The chief principles underlying the art, as it was evolved in China, and in Japan after the sixteenth century, would seem to have been. Paternal care by the lord for the peasant nature and peasant interest, and a large degree of responsibility for order and good behavior imposed upon the peasants themselves. Official paternalism and peasant responsibility were the very texture that made the elaborate fabric of village government under the Tokugawa in the third feudal period. The importance of the peasant agent as the medium between ruler and ruled is obvious. Cf. Note 96 above.

Peasant agents were usually known as *shō-ya* or *na-nushi*. The origin of the latter term will be referred to in Note 108 below. *Shō-ya*, like *shō-ka* (both meaning "shō-house"; see Note 18 above), was first used as early as 1293 (when the pronunciation was perhaps *shō-oku* for the later *shō-ya*), to designate the house in which were the offices of the *shō*-agents (Kōya, III, 660); both terms also applied to the officials themselves in general. Now, *shō-ya* stood for representatives of peasants, and long survived the institution of *shō*.

¹⁰⁷ Late in the fourteenth century two vassals of the lord of the province of Kii took Sarukawa, and Kōya thought it expedient to treat them as its officials till the lord was changed. Kōya, I, 554. The monks made a general statement in 1403 of similar conditions that occurred in other places, in these terms: "The domains of this monastery . . . were formerly managed by *shō*-officials and people under the direct control of the monastery, and the civil and military governors of the province did not interfere. When changes occurred in monastic domains, however, the military governor's vassals encroached upon them, pretending that some were grants [from the monastery] and others vacancies . . .". *Ibid.*, IV, 38.

¹⁰⁷ The Tajiri, from Chikugo, and the Kōno, from Iyo, who in the sixteenth century migrated into the triple *shō*, appropriated land, and made themselves lords, are seen toward the end of the second period merely as district officials capable of armed service, recompensed with money and exemptions from forced labor, not with fiefs. KI, I, 848; III, supp. 187, 189.

¹⁰⁸ As has already been said (in Notes 72 and 73 above), sales and transfers of "name-lands" are common in the Kōya cartulary. What resulted from the frequent conveyance of lands of this variety, however, seems somewhat more easily traceable in domains of Iwashimidzu than in those of Kōya, though I presume the process must have been similar in both.

1. In many instances the obvious trend during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was the gradual replacing of the few large holders of "name-lands" by many small holders; a *myō*, for example, which once formed a part of one man's holding was in less than a century split among several *myō-shu* (e. g., Iwashimidzu *mon-zho*, I, 478-482; II, 259, 269). The result was that *myō*-holders were no more than chief peasants of the community. Cf. *ibid.*, III, 389, 420.

2. In the course of transferring titles of "name-lands," they not infrequently were placed in the hands of the seignior or his agent (*ibid.*, I, 507); in the Kōya domains, as it will be remembered (see Note 74 above), this process had been actively carried on through monks. It was then natural that "name-lands" should lose all memory of their origins, and be freely disposed of by the seignior; and that some of them should be regarded as appanages to certain offices in *shō* the tenure of which was accompanied with grants of these lands. Cf. *ibid.*, 441-442.

3. The next development was that the title *na-nushi* (the new reading of the two characters once pronounced *myō-shu*), having been identified with principal peasants and minor officials, was now used regularly, in an identical sense with the term *shō-ya* explained in Note 105 above, for designating the representative chief of the peasant community, quite irrespectively of the nature of his landholding. In fact, most *na-nushi* held no "name-lands."

The course of this evolution of the "name" outlined above is indicative of the important general developments that were taking place among the peasantry.

¹⁰⁹ The literal meaning of hyaku-shō (Chinese, po-sing) is "one hundred family names." It originated in China, where it generally meant the subjects of the State who bore the burden of taxation. This central meaning has been the same in Japan as in China, but there are two conditions which should be noted if one would clearly understand the word as used in Japanese history. In China, the number of family or clan names has seldom exceeded a few hundreds; in Japan, on the contrary, family names had indefinitely multiplied as old families branched out and scattered, until, to make the confusion worse confounded, the very people who were called hyaku-shō in the last feudal period were not permitted to bear family names (shō) at all. Again, in China, the po-sing have in the past ages shown a remarkable stability as social classes, while in Japan the conditions of the taxable classes had undergone important changes before the close of the feudal periods, both in their social character and in their relation to other classes. Many a scholar has misled himself by tacitly assuming that the term has always meant the tax-paying peasants in rural communities; this was, in fact, its meaning only in the last feudal period, when peasants bore no family names. Reflection should show that the term could be applied to them in such condition only because it had come down from an earlier age when it was first adopted from China and really designated taxable people bearing the comparatively few family names then in existence. The borrowed term was germane to the real condition in the seventh century, but an incongruous survival a thousand years later.

¹⁰ That this was the meaning of the term after the reforms of the seventh century is clear in the annals and laws of the period. The term was nearly identical with *ryō-min*, free people, as distinguished from the *sen-min*, unfree. The latter seems to have been a fairly large class, and the former smaller in proportion than the *hyaku-shō* in 1600.

¹¹¹ See Notes 47–56 above.

¹²² This was a universal phenomenon. A single illustration from a Kōya domain will suffice. In Shibuta shō, about 1422, besides hayku-shō, administrative officials (sa-danin), and servants (shimobe), there were some men collectively called tono-bara (squires) who bore family names and boasted that they had never been subjected to menial service. Koya, VIII, 224, 233, 235. Note the distinct differentiation between the tono-bara and the Iyaku-shō. The monastery was determined to subject both to forced labor and generally to bend them all to its will. *Ibid.*, 224 ff.

This is a transitional state of things. A more advanced picture is revealed in a domain under Iwashimidzu; its hyaku-shō, in the middle of the seventeenth century, still contained men bearing family names, but these were hereditary servitors of a Shintō institution and therefore more or less genteel; some 20 years later the hyaku-shō are seen to be a body of meek, unresisting peasants; and thenceforth men with family names were seldom mentioned among them. Iwashimidzu mon-zho, III, 550-555, 581-598, 623-626, 637-639.

The term *ji ge nin* (men working the soil), which was common at least from the latter part of the fourteenth century (*ibid.*, I, 469, 455, etc.), perhaps at first implied a lower status than the term *hyaku-shō*, but about 1600 the two had become identical (e.g., *ibid.*, III, 654, 663-664; *Koya*, III, 82). The *ji ge nin* probably had not changed, but the *hyaku-shō* had gradually come round to his position.

As the hyaku-shō had become incapable of defending themselves, the old policy of the seignior to insure the security of their lives and property (e.g., Kōya, I, 217-220, VI, 308-309, and the oaths referred to in note 59 above), received added emphasis and was made an article in the political creed of the administrator, not only in the Kōya shō but in the feudal Japan at large.

¹¹³ The tenant farmers in the late second and during the whole of the third feudal period in Japan could not have formed a large class, for the strong reason, among others, that the small margin of profit which was left to the landlord between the economic rent he could receive and the heavy land tax he had to pay effectively precluded the growth of extensive tenant farming.

¹¹⁴ For the condition of the tenant farmers in Japan after 1600, I refer to my "Notes" (15 and 37) in the Journal of the American oriental society, Vol. XXX, pt. 2.

¹²⁵It was natural that from the beginning of the feudal period there were among the hyaku-shō small peasants who were too poor to provide themselves with arms, and were compelled to flee before an invading warrior or an arbitrary tax collector (e. g., Koya, VII, 180, 236) ; but large armed "landholders" were also among hyaku-shō. The early condition of "cultivators" was also varied and the variety increased for a time. I take it that the rural classes in France had also been complex before they were settled as serfs and villains.

¹² The hired agricultural laborers (saku-otoko, cultivating men) were attached to families not to land usually.

unusual after 1600 to see a thrifty saku-otoko buy or rent land with his savings and start his career as a tenant or an independent peasant. These laborers could not properly be called serfs, for they had no assigned holdings, owed no dues or fixed forced labor, but on the contrary worked for wages or other forms of remuneration, and were unrestricted in marriage and succession, and in the acquisition and disposal of property; nor was it customary to transfer them with the land on which they had worked for their employers. They were domestic hired men, no more nor less.

They formed a necessary institution in Japanese agriculture, for the reason that there was a narrow limit to the working capacity of a peasant in his intensive rice-culture. Since peasant holdings were small and distributed without extreme inequalities, the average number of men hired in a peasant family was probably one or two, making their presence unobtrusive though universal. See also notes 7 and 49, above.

¹¹⁷ It is needless to say that this process had been gradual in the second period; in some parts of Japan the evolution may not have been completed for some time after 1600, whereas in others it was in evidence so early as the middle of the fourteenth century (e. g., see the memorial of the governor of Settsu in 1345, in Yen-tai reki, diary of Fujiwara-no-Kimikata; Yale ms, V, 133, 135), if not still earlier. See notes 90 and 91 above and text. Generally speaking, from the fifteenth century it becomes more and more difficult to distinguish between "landholders" and "cultivators" in lists of men in Kōya shō (Kōya, V, 356-389; VIII, 452-455; Iwashimidzu mon-zho, II, 264); toward the end of the sixteenth, the distinction had largely vanished (Iwashimidzu, III, 426-515); then the term saku-shiki (right of cultivation), which had formerly meant the right of "cultivatorship" (saku-nin shiki), had come to mean the right of exploiting the soil, and no longer indicated a "cultivator" as its subject; one who had the new saku-shiki was the very holder of the land, jū-nushi (ibid, III, 629-630). See also a document of 1391, in Ko mon-zho ru-san, 3d ed 225. Compare the instructions of Hideyoshi's agents quoted in note 99 above.

¹¹⁸ That Kōya domains had partially and temporarily been taken by warriors was shown in notes 106 and 107 above. During the sixteenth century parts of religious domains were treated by the feudal lords in whose jurisdictions they happened to be situated as if they were fiefs granted by them to Kōya (Kōya, V, 636) or Iwashimidzu (Iwashimidzu mon-zho, III, 33, 386, 658); but neither institution had been compelled to submit itself to the position of receiving all its domains in fief from a lord or suzerain till the time of Hideyoshi late in the century.

¹¹⁹ The word han (Chinese, fan), meaning "fence," "boundary," "frontier," and hence, "march," as well as "protective barrier," also designated in China large sections of the empire charged to the administration of great princes. The Tokugawa suzerain adopted the term for the domains that he assigned in fief to his barons. The han was, therefore, primarily territorial in its signification, and the principles that ruled its social organization were essentially feudal. No real tie of blood relationship bound together the entire population of a han. It is unfortunate that both native and foreign writers in English on feudal Japan continue to translate the term as "clan." The error is, historically and sociologically, too gross to be tolerated.

¹²⁰ Hideyoshi tamed the proud monastery with the irresistible art of a great despot. In 1584-1586 he first peremptorily ordered Kōya to surrender all arms and all the land it had taken beyond the limits of its "ancient domain"; when the monastery seemingly complied with his will, he gave back the bulk of the land just revoked, and guaranteed an armed protection of the mountain. Kōya, II, 602-606, III, 64-65, 679-680. When later he decreed a general survey of land to be made in all Japan, and Kōya pleaded the inviolability of its domains against official intrusion, Hideyoshi summarily confiscated them all, made a complete survey of them—when he was astonished to find that Kōya had been holding large undeclared possessions besides its "ancient domain"—and then gave back in fief definite portions of the "ancient domain" that represented an annual productive power of 21,000 koku of hulled rice in all, and otherwise showered favors upon the subdued monastery. Ibid., II 607-609, 622-623; V, 645-646. This was substantially the same domain the grant of which was renewed to Kōya in 1600 by Tokugawa Iyeyasu; it was but a fraction of the vast possessions Kōya could boast at the height of its power about 1580.

¹²¹ The monastic domains, not being military, were not called han, but were referred to as zhi-ryō or san-ryō (domains of the monastery, of the mountain).

¹²² The investiture of the entire domains as fief was begun by Hideyoshi in 1590 and 1592. Kōya, V, 644-646. All fiefs, feudal and religious, received a renewed investiture from the hands of each new Tokugawa suzerain; samples of the letters of investiture of the domains of Iwashimidzu by the suzerains between 1600 and 1680 are given in Iwashimidzu mon-zho, III, 660-672.

¹²³ For a description of these mura about 1830, see Ki, I, 784-786, 823-827, 841-859, 861-865.

XI. HISTORY AND PATHOLOGY.

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HISTORY AND PATHOLOGY: THE CASE OF KING LOUIS XI OF FRANCE; A CONSIDERATION OF BRACHET'S METHOD.

By CHALFANT ROBINSON.

The idea that disease has played an influential part in shaping the general course of history contains no novelty. Epidemics of all times have been the subject of scientific investigation, and their political, social, and economic influence has been definitely weighed. The black death in England, malaria and the decline of Greek civilization, smallpox, cholera, and yellow fever occur at once to the mind as examples of diseases which have been undeniable factors in history. Many of these have been studied with painstaking thoroughness. Yet, however true this may be of epidemics affecting masses of people, it is not true of individual cases. There is scant reason why it should be. The diseases of individuals, of rulers, let us say, certainly have little historical significance excepting in so far as they bear upon the mental integrity of the sufferer. As a matter of fact, only recently has very much attention been given to the historical value of mental pathology, and to the abnormal conduct of historical persons which has been so frequently the result of their bodily afflictions.¹ This factor is, nevertheless, of definite historical importance.

It is the purpose of this paper, therefore, to raise the question, first, whether the historian should not devote his serious attention to the study of historical pathology; and, second, to attempt to show from examples, especially the example of Louis XI, the desirability of its employment in the study of medieval biography.

At the outset, Bernheim's indorsement inspires confidence in the soundness of this method of investigation. He says:

A theoretical knowledge of mental troubles is quite indispensable to an understanding of the numerous phenomena of character and of numerous actions: I do not speak of the Cæsarean madness, now become a commonplace, but of the phenomena which recur so frequently in the biographies of historical persons, such as religious exaltation, which passes over into hallucination and fixed ideas. * * * Here the realms of psychology and psychiatry touch, and the historian can not but profit by a study of the fundamental aspects of the latter. In what a different light, for example, would the actions and motives of the unfortunate Louis II of Bavaria be understood if they could be explained rather from the psychopathic conditions of his mental affliction than from the

¹ Über den Einfluss acuter Krankheiten auf die Entstehung von Geisteskrankheiten, von Dr. Emil Kraepelin, Archiv für Psychiatrie, vol. xi-xii.

analogy of normal mentality. How readily the layman mistakes for genial caprice, or for fantastic extravagance, what the alienist recognizes as precursors, or symptoms, of mental disease.²

Viewed from this angle, the writer of biography will seek in personal eccentricities a new source of evidence, and in the manifestations of mental disease an additional field for historical investigation; since in many cases he will have to determine whether certain actions call for a pathological or a political explanation.

That the whole interpretation of a reign may turn upon just such a choice is clearly shown in the case of King Edward the Second of England. While he was upon the throne the barons took away his power; his wife left him; and England was in a condition of confusion hard to explain. When, however, it was made clear from the chroniclers that King Edward was a hereditary degenerate,³ the unexplained incidents of his reign found a ready and satisfactory solution.

Without any doubt the subject is difficult for the historian to approach, but too much attention can not be directed to heredity; for the biographer must have scientific information as to the physical inheritance of his subject if his conclusions are to have any value whatever.

This statement does not overlook the obvious fact that of the two recognized dominant factors in determining character, heredity and environment, historical biography has been, in the main, concerned with the latter. Historical setting, or the political and social environment of the monarch, has generally occupied the field to the exclusion of the equally important factor of heredity. Yet in most cases of medieval royal biography, where the personality of the ruler counts for so much, the factor of heredity is of such importance that properly it may not be disregarded.

The close intermarriages in royal families will have special weight, moreover, if we bear in mind the fact that they give such force to the law of heredity as to make the ruler far more often mentally

* "Eine theoretische Kenntnis der Seelenstörungen [ist] für das Verständnis zahlreicher Charaktererscheinungen und Handlungen geradezu unentbehrlich: Ich will hier nicht von dem zum Schlagwort gewordenen Cäsarenwahnsinn reden, sondern von den so häufig in Biographien historischer Persönlichkeiten wiederkehrenden Erscheinungen, wie die religiöse Exaltation, die sich bis zu Hallucinationen und fixen Ideen steigert, * * *. Hier berührt sich die Psychologie mit der Psychiatrie, und es kann dem Historiker nur zum Vorteil gereichen, wenn er sich mit den Grundzügen der letzteren vertraut macht. Wie anders versteht man z. B. manche Handlungen und Motive des unglücklichen Königs Ludwig II. von Bayern, wenn man sie im Zusammenhange mit seiner psychischen Erkrankung aus psychopathischen Bedingungen herzuleiten vermag, als wenn man sie aus den Analogieen eines normalen Seelenlebens erklären wollte! Wie leicht hält der Unkundige für geniale Laune oder phantastische Überschwenglichkeit, was der Kenner der psychiatrie als Vorboten oder Symptome von Geistesstörung interpretiert!"—Bernheim, *Lehrbuch der historischen Methode und der Geschichtsphilosophie*. (Leipzig, 1903) p. 604.

³ Was King Edward the Second a Degenerate? A consideration of his reign from that point of view. Chalfant Robinson, *American Journal of Insanity*, Vol. LXVI, No. 3.

aberrant than the subject. The insanity of King Charles the Sixth of France, for example, may be traced to the fact that he was the descendant of two sons of Louis VIII, married to two sisters, and that not a single marriage for 235 years took place outside this family save one, and that the tainted inheritance converged upon Charles the Sixth.⁴

The medieval monarch was under little necessity for restraint in his personal conduct and was encouraged by his surroundings to give rein to his impulses. Due to this very lack of inhibition, indeed, his mental symptoms were often revealed to his contemporaries with perfect frankness, because their significance was not understood, and to posterity, frequently with scientific definiteness, by the chroniclers.⁵

Though imagining that he was answerable for his actions to no law but his own will, and responsible to God alone, the medieval prince really was governed by the rigid biological law of his being, determined for him by his ancestors.

Another science will thus claim the right to share in the results of the investigations of the historian. For, while the historian insists that it is his province to collect, analyze, and verify the recorded facts according to strict historical methods, the biologist observes that certain of these facts collected by the historian have for mental science a very special scientific significance. This he sets forth, and the historian can not escape the duty of reinterpreting his history in the light of biology. Plainly, many of the problems in history lie between these two fields, or in both of them. For their proper solution the historian must avail himself of the biological sciences, such as the study of mental pathology, and the biologist, such as the alienist, must acquaint himself with the historical facts.

It is this double interpretation of history in the light of the historical records and of the laws of mental pathology which asks recognition for itself as a new science under the name of historical pathology.

Brachet, the eminent pupil of Littré, editor of the works of Hippocrates and founder of the science, gives the following definition: "Historical pathology is, properly speaking, the explanation by means of biological science of the data which historical texts furnish, data organized and checked according to the rule of scientific criti-

⁴ Brachet, CXXXVII

⁵ Higden's Polychronicon, VIII, p. 298. This writer shows a surprising degree of scientific accuracy in cataloguing several of the essential traits of the degeneracy of King Edward the Second. He says in his description of the King: "Not caring to associate with the nobles, he clave to buffoons, singers, actors, and grooms, laborers, rowers, sailors, and other mechanics; indulging in drink, readily betraying secrets, striking bystanders on light occasions, following rather the advice of someone else than his own; lavish in giving, magnificent in entertaining, voluble in speech, varied in employments, unfortunate against his enemies, harsh toward his own men * * *"

cism, with the double aim of serving both the medical and historical sciences."⁶

In view of this definition and what has gone before, the difficulty of handling the material is further apparent. The historian who attempts it may be compared to a lawyer who, in an intricate case, calls in his scientific experts to aid him in constructing a reasonable hypothesis for his client's past actions which shall take everything into account, and which shall contradict none of the known facts. The difficulties multiply as we proceed, but they are not insuperable, although it will be plain that historical pathology must demand that the investigator shall have not only a thorough knowledge of the historical facts and of the principles of historical criticism, but a knowledge, as well, of the theory and practice of medieval medicine, and that he shall be in a position to make a clinical examination of his facts before he can interpret them.

So much for its general application. What kind of problems give to it specific illustration? A few may be stated as historical examples, thus: What account have his biographers taken of the fact that when the body of Philip the Fair, of France, was examined after his death his heart was found to be "not larger," according to a contemporary, "than that of a newborn child, or a bird,"⁷ raising the question whether a man with a physiological defect of this kind could have developed the energy to accomplish the tremendous tasks with which he is credited, and perhaps confirming the estimate of his contemporary, the Bishop of Palmiers, "the King is of no account whatever; he is not a man nor a beast, but an image, and all that he can do is to stare at people."⁸

If Pope Boniface VIII suffered from senile dementia, as it seems probable he did, were not his extravagant claims for the Papacy in 1300 rather psychopathic than canonical?

If the separation of Ingeborge of Denmark from Philip Augustus, so long an unsolved mystery, resolves itself into a question of nervous disequilibrium on the king's part, consequent upon a severe illness in Palestine, should not his aversion for Ingeborge be treated as

⁶ La pathologie historique est proprement l'explication, par la science biologique, des données que nous fournissent les textes historique, données réunies et contrôlées suivant les règles de la critique scientifique, dans le double but de servir, tantôt à la science médicale, tantôt à la science historique. Auguste Brachet, *Pathologie Mentale des Rois de France* (Paris, 1903), introduction, XII

⁷ Cor autem dicti regis, ut dicitur, adeo erat parvum sicut est cor alicujus pueri qui hodie prodit ex utero matris sue; ymo intellexi quod illi qui viderunt comparant illud cordi alicujus avis. La mort et les funérailles de Philippe le Bel d'après un compte rendu à la cour marjorque. P. P. Ch. Baudon le mony (Bibl. de l'école des Chartes, LVIII, 1897, p. 12). Brachet, *Pathologie Mentale*, p. 454

⁸ Item quod dictus Episcopus dixit quod dominus noster Rex nihil omnino valebat—quod non erat homo, nec bestia, sed imago—quod nihil omnino sciebat nisi respicere homines Dupuy, *Hist. du différend d'entre le pape Boniface VIII et Philippe le Bel* (Paris, 1665), p. 653. Brachet, p. 444.

purely pathological, and the incident be interpreted in the light of that assumption?⁹

Has the fact any historical significance that Don Carlos of Spain, always neurotic, died quite insane as a result of an accession of malarial fever and not at all of poison?¹⁰ This last question must be answered in the affirmative, for the case of Don Carlos became historic in modern medical research, since it illustrates the now generally accepted hypothesis that in neurotic cases there almost invariably follows in the train of malarial or other severe fevers, frequent abnormal nervous or mental manifestations, and that these are governed not by the laws of the disease but by the neurotic inheritance of the patient; by the terrain, in other words, upon which the fever operates. Or, stated in medical terms, "The law of neurosis, in the case of post-infections of those predisposed by heredity to psychopathic conditions, is that the form of post-infection is a function, not of the nature of the infection, but of the heredity of the subject."¹¹ This law is far-reaching for historical pathology, since it means that a neurotic subject, of determined psychopathic ancestry, under normal conditions irritable, eccentric, lacking in self-control, impulsive, and precipitate in his actions, if attacked by a severe illness, like typhoid, malarial fever, grippe or pneumonia, would be quite likely to develop some of the characteristic stigmata of degeneracy: Fixed ideas, obsessions, maniacal delusions, or some one of the various phobias. These might produce changes in his character apparently quite new, and otherwise quite inexplicable.¹²

It is desirable to keep this law or hypothesis clearly in mind in considering the personality of King Louis XI of France, the next example.

In interpreting his actions, biographers of Louis XI have taken little account of these statements, cited by Brachet, made by the King's contemporaries concerning his health. "He was often sick." (N. Gilles, Fol. CXX, V.) "His maladies were indeed great and grievous to him." (Commines, Éd. Dupont, II, 270.) "He was tormented almost to death by several different and pitiable maladies." (Oliver de la Marche, Memoires, Éd. Beaune et d'Arbaumont, 1883-88, I, p. 180.) "Before his death he was troubled with several maladies, for the purpose of healing which the physicians who had charge of the King's health had recourse to terrible and marvellous medicines."¹³ (Jean de Roye, Chron. Scand. Éd. B. de Mandrot, II, p. 138.) So

⁹ Brachet, *Pathologie Mentale*, pp. 307-335

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, introd. XIII.

¹¹ Brachet calls it one of the most precious conquests of the modern clinic in the realm of prognostic. *Path. ment.*, pp. 291-292, where he cites the conclusive demonstration of this law by Tessier, in his *Leçons cliniques sur la grippe*.

¹² Über den Einfluss acuter Krankheiten auf die Entstehung von Geisteskrankheiten, von Dr. Emil Kraepelin, *Archiv für Psychiatrie*, XI, XII.

far from being negligible, however, the state of the king's health must form the basis of scientific inquiry. Indeed, incidents in the life of Louis XI, irritable,¹³ impulsive, and in many ways eccentric,¹⁴ furnish concrete illustrations of a class of questions which the political historian is at a loss to answer, but which are more or less readily and satisfactorily solved in the light of historical pathology. For example: (1) Does it have any historical significance that Louis, always concerned about his health, should send gifts, as he did, to a certain shrine in order that prayers might be offered there that it might please God to send him the quartain fever?¹⁵ (2) How account for the fact that the same Louis, whose reign was replete with cruelty,¹⁶ who kept Cardinal Balue in a small wooden cage for 11 years, thus removing him, as he remarked, from the temptations of the world, could be so tender hearted as to have a sick dog or a rabbit carefully transported for miles in a royal two-horse chariot? (3) Or, what changed the avaricious close-fisted ruler, who always wore old clothes by preference and looked like a scarecrow,¹⁷ into a lavish spendthrift, who dressed in velvets and furs,¹⁸ paid many times the value of the things he bought, and gave away money and

¹³ " * * * When he came home at night he was often weary and generally in a violent passion with some of his courtiers or huntsmen " Commines, ed Scobel, II, p 81.

¹⁴ "He did many odd things, which made some believe his senses were impaired." Commines, II, p. 43. "In short, he behaved after so strange a manner that he was more formidable than he had ever been before." II, p. 58

¹⁵ Raynal, Hist. du Berry, III, 132 Brachet, Introd. LXXX.

¹⁶ "The king had ordered several cruel prisons to be made, some were cages of iron and some of wood, but all were covered with iron plates, both within and without, with terrible locks, about 8 feet wide and 7 feet high. * * * He also ordered heavy and terrible fetters to be made in Germany, and particularly, a certain ring for the feet which was extremely hard to be opened, and fitted like an iron collar, with a thick weighty chain and a great globe of iron at the end, most unreasonably heavy " Commines, ed. Scobel, II, p. 75. Thomas Basin says that the days are not long enough to cite individual instances of where, without show of justice, many persons were drowned and otherwise made away with, or wasted away in the filth of the king's dungeons "Dies me deficiet, si casus singulos referre velim eorum quos vel in aquarum gurgitibus, vel altis poenarum generibus, quamvis insontes, variis modis perire fecit, vel squalore carcerum macerari et constringi nullo juris et justitiae ordine observato." Basin, Historiarum a Ludovico XI, Lib. VII, p 173. Elsewhere he compares the king's cruelty to that of the Emperor Domitian. Hist. Lud, vii, 168.

¹⁷ He dressed so abominably that once he was cursed as an impostor, and was hooted and followed by a mob through the streets of a village where he was not known and had claimed to be the King. " * * * Accidit ut, eo transeunte per suburbanum oppidi. quidam eum interrogaret quando rex venire deberet; nulla enim, neque facie, neque apparatu, neque vestium ornatu vel splendore, plus quam famulus aliquis et vilis conditionis dignitatis indicia ostentabat Cui cum rex ipse responderet quod ipsemet rex esset, statim idem qui interrogabat, movens cachinnum, in eum maledictum jecit, respondens sermone vulgari: '*Vous estes voz fievres quartaines*.' et cum sociis suis, qui una ad videndum regem confuxerant, eum ostenderet, dicens eis: 'Videte istum garcionem, qui regem se esse dixit,' quotquot illud audientes erant, simills probri maledictum in eum cumulabant, sibi, tanquam ridiculo alicui ganeoni, per totius suburbani spatium illudentes et post cum acclamantes " Basin, Hist. Ludovici XI, Lib VII, pp. 167-168 (soc de l'histoire de France).

¹⁸ " * * * His clothes were richer now and more magnificent than they had ever been before; his gowns were all of crimson satin, lined with rich marten's furs, of which he gave away several without being requested, for no person durst ask a favor of him, or scarce speak to him of anything." Commines, ed. Scobel, II, p. 56.

fine clothes without even being asked? (4) Or, what led the king, who struck down his enemies with a ruthless hand and who terrorized friend and foe alike by his masterful dealings,¹⁹ to become so apprehensive that he dismissed even the servants of his household for fear some of them might diminish or take from him his royal power.²⁰ (5) Or, how account for the fact that the affable, approachable Louis, who went everywhere and saw everyone, changed into a recluse, defended in his castle from the approach of anyone from the outside by engines of war, archers, and caltrops scattered along the roads,²¹ and who would not be seen even through a window? (6) Louis, personally brave, who went into the very lair of his enemy at Péronne to beard him, what changed him into a cringing coward who fawned at the feet of an illiterate hermit and begged him to save his life,²² and who was so obsessed by the fear of dying that he forbade his courtiers to mention even the name of death?²³

Incidents like these are to be found in the life history of more than one of the medieval monarchs. Not generally regarded as possessing any definite historical value, they have been set down, as a rule, as interesting peculiarities only. Viewed from the standpoint of historical pathology, however, every evidence of eccentricity, it must be repeated, as well as every malady of the king has a definite scientific value.

The reign of Louis XI serves so well to illustrate further these general principles that an interpretation of his pathological history will be profitable. In the discussion which follows, the writer keeps very close to the argument and citations found in Brachet's *Pathologie Mentale des Rois de France*.²⁴

¹⁹ "His subjects trembled before him; whatever he commanded was instantly executed without the slightest difficulty or hesitation" Commynes, Ed Scobel, II, p. 66

²⁰ "He was afraid of nothing so much as the loss of his regal authority." Commynes, ed Scobel, II, p. 38 " * * * For he was grown marvellously jealous of all his courtiers, and afraid they would either depose him or deprive him of some part of his authority." Ibid., II, p. 42. He was "Afraid of his own children and relatives, and changed every day those very servants whom he had brought up and advanced, * * * yet he durst not trust any of them" Ibid, II, p. 78.

²¹ Commynes, ed. Scobel, II, p. 76

²² Commynes, II, p. 56

²³ Ibid., II, p. 72.

²⁴ Dr. Brachet began in 1880 the labor of collecting material for his monumental work on the mental pathology of the Kings of France. By 1896 he had so much material, principally from manuscript sources, that he decided to publish privately what he had collected, with some brief explanations. This he did in four volumes, one being notes and comments, the other three made up of extracts from the sources. Unfortunately these were never made available to the public, and are not yet. His regrettable death prevented the completion in ordered form of his life work, but that the labor of so many years might not be lost to the world of scholarship, his widow, Mme. Anna Brachet, née Korff, arranged the notes and manuscripts as she found them, and in 1903 published the remarkable treasure-house of data for the study of historical pathology, which is known under the title of *Pathologie Mentale des Rois de France*—a scientific examination of the mental Pathology of all the ascendants of Louis XI as far back as Hugh Capet.

The king's health throughout is the theme. Let us take for examination first the statements of two contemporary writers, Robert Gaguin and Jean Le Roye, about a seemingly trifling incident:

(i) Returned to Tours, he thought to lighten the burden of sickness by music. Wherefore he commanded that players of musical instruments of all kinds should be summoned, of whom 120 were got together. Among these were certain shepherds, who for many days, not far from the bedchamber of the king, played softly for the sake of comforting him, and in order that he might not fall asleep, which would make him worse. He commanded to come to Tours, besides this class of people, another quite different kind—anchorites and hermits, holy men and women, to whom he commanded that they pray God continually that, health restored to the king, he might continue to live. So eager was Louis to live longer.²⁵

(ii) At this time the king summoned a great number of players upon low and sweet instruments, whom he lodged at Saint Cosme near Tours, where they assembled to the number of 120; among them were several shepherds from Poitou, who often played before the king, but they did not see him, in order that he might enjoy there these instruments and while away the time and to prevent him from falling asleep. And, on the other hand, he assembled a great number of devout men and women and holy persons such as hermits and saints to pray God without ceasing that He would grant that the king should not die and that He would permit him still to live.²⁶

These two accounts, except for the statements that the instruments were low and sweet, and that the king kept out of sight, are alike. They are all that we have from the chroniclers about the incident. Commynes, the king's official biographer, for reasons of his own, does not speak of the shepherds, and mentions only one hermit.

If they are examined as material for historical pathology, the details are very suggestive. In the first place, does the intercession of the holy men and women have any particular significance? Apparently not. It was the common practice of the time, and their part may be dismissed without comment. It is quite another matter with the shepherds and their melodies, however, for here there arise,

²⁵ "Turorum reversus, excogitavit a musica valetudinis levamen quaerere. Quamobrem accersiri mandat omnis generi musici instrumenti lutores quos centum et viginti convenisse constat. Inter quos assueverunt ovium pastores. qui multos dies non procul a regis cubiculo continenter modulabantur, ejus consolandi causa, et ne somno, quo gravabatur, succumberet. Jussit, præter hoc hominum genus, alterum longe diversum ad se convenire. Solitarii et qui eremum incolebant homines—fœminæ quoque spectatæ religionis Turorum convenerunt, quibus negotium mandatum est. Deum indesinenter orare: ut regi salute restituta maneret ipse diu superstes. Iam appetens diutissime vivendi fuit Ludovicus." Robert Gaguin, *Ann.* 1482, f. 281, ed. 1560. Brachet, p. xviii.

²⁶ "Dudit temps, le roy fist venir grant nombre et grant quantité de joueurs de bas et doulx instruments qu'il fist loger à Saint Cosme près Tours, où illec ilz se assemblèrent jusques au nombre de six vingtz; entre lesquelz y vint plusieurs bergiers du pays de Poictou, qui souvent jouerent devant le logis du roy, mais ilz ne le veoyent pas, affin que ausdiz instrumens le roy y prensist plaisir et passe temps et pour le garder de dormir. Et d'ung autre costé, y fist aussy venir grant nombre de bigotz, bigottes et gens de devocon comme hermites et saintes creatures pour sans cesser prier à Dieu qu'il permist qu'il ne mourust point et qu'il le laissant encores vivre." *Journal de Jean de Roye, ou Chron. Scandaleuse*, Éd. de B. de Mandrot, II, 122, *Ann.* 1482. Brachet, xviii.

as to the therapeutic value of music and as to the class of afflictions for which it was employed, the following questions: (a) In the treatment of what disease would recourse be had to music as a tonic stimulant? (b) In what class of maladies would sleep in the day-time be prohibited as harmful? (c) In what would the tonic action of the stimulant have to be moderate and sedative? The textbooks of medieval medicine recommend musico-therapy as a familiar treatment for cases of extreme nervous disorder. Healing by means of music, indeed, is much older than the Middle Ages, as old as the Old Testament at least, for David played before Saul to soothe the monarch when the "evil spirit of the Lord was upon him," and he sought to smite David to the wall with his javelin.

Together, under one head, in the system of medieval medicine, insanity, melancholia, and epilepsy are grouped together. Joined under one family of psychoneurosis, they differ in species but are alike in genera.

The shepherds might certainly have been employed for a therapeutic purpose. This inference, however, to be of any value will have to be confirmed by examples from the medical practice of the time. For this purpose the following citations are interesting and more or less specific:

Bernard de Gordon, in his *Lilium Medicinæ*, part ii, cap. xix, *De Mania et Melancholia*, says: "The first thing to be sought in curing it is light-heartedness and rejoicing—jesting ought to be indulged in, and musical instruments; in short, everything that will cheer the mind."²⁷

Barthelemy L'Anglois, in his *Grant Proprietaire des Choses*, says: "This is a kind of madness which physicians call *amentia*, others call it mania, * * * The treatment is to have singing and the sound of instruments of music, * * * but in moderation."²⁸

Avicenne, in his *Canon*, calls attention to the fact that while some persons are benefited by music, others are made worse,²⁹ and the *Lilium Medicinæ* says that loud sounds often bring on attacks of

²⁷ "Primum quod competit in curatione est gaudium et lætitia . . . et multa jocularia præsentare debent et ibi esse instrumenta musica et breviter omnia quæ lætificant animam." Bernard de Gordon, *Lilium Medicinæ*, part ii, cap. xix, *De Mania et Melancholia* (1363) Brachet, xxviii Textbooks of this kind are very hard to get hold of by the student. The writer takes this occasion to express his grateful thanks to the Surgeon General's library at Washington for the use of a copy of the *Lilium Medicinæ*.

²⁸ "Il est une espece de folie que les physiciens appellent amence; et les autres l'appellent manie. * * * La medecine est faire chanter et sonner des instrumens de musique * * * et si les doit on faire travailler moyennement." Barthelemy L'Anglois, *Le grant proprietaire des Choses*, Trad. P. Corbichon, Lib. vi, Cap. v., Brachet, xxviii.

²⁹ "Et quidam homines sunt, quos sanat lætitia et auditus cantilenæ, et quidam sunt quos illud augmentat." Avicenne, *Canon*, Lib. iii, Tr. 4, Cap. xxix, *de cura Melancholiæ*. Brachet, xxix.

epilepsy.³⁰ Both imply the moderation which modern medicine insists upon. "The tonic effect of the music should never be so great as to provoke convulsions."³¹ Hence the low and sweet instruments in Louis' case, as a clue as to why the shepherds played before the king's chamber.

In this class of afflictions medieval medicine recommended that the sense of smell be stimulated (odorotherapy) also and for the same purpose. It is quite significant to find from manuscript sources in the Archives Nationales and from the Egerton Mss. in the British Museum records showing that from 1480 to 1482 the king's servants were scouring the country for roses and rosebuds, coquemint, sweet marjoram, and violets to keep continually fresh in the king's room.³²

The following extracts lead to the conclusion that these flowers were for something else than for ornamenting the king's room simply: Avicenne, Canon, De cura melancholiæ, says: "Let him sit in places where the temperature is good and let the air of the room be moist and fragrant. It is universally desirable that in breathing odors he should smell pleasant odors and fragrant flowers."³³ That actual flowers in nervous troubles were not indispensable the following prescription shows: "Let the epileptic smell day and night this confection [of calamint and rosewater]. It can be made into an apple, and when he wakes in the morning he can hold it in his hand."³⁴ But the next shows that they seem to have been frequently

³⁰ [Epilepsia.] "Provenit etiam ex aspectu terribili, sicut est aspectus fulgaris, aut sono maximo, sicut est tonitrum, aut tympani magni et similium" Lilius Med., p. 273.

³¹ Ch. Féré, La Pathologie des Emotions, p. 95.

³² "28 Juillet 1480 A Nicholas Mesnager, varlet de Fourrière, 27 L 12 S 8 D T,—pour avoir envoyé deux hommes à cheval de La Mothe d'Esgrý à Paris et Prouvins quérir des roses et boutens. Où il y ont vacqué, tant à aller que retourner dix jours entiers (Arch. Nat. kk-64, fol 62), Brachet, xxxii. A Guillaume du Jardin, tapissier dudit sieigneur, pour avoir fourny durant ledit mois de juillet et août, dudit an, de cormente et autres herbes, pour mettre es chambres et retraict dudit sieur, 2 s 60 T Par. Jour, Vallent 7 l. 15 s. t (27 September, 1480). (Id., Ibid, fol 65) Brach., xxxii. A Jehan le Nonnant, varlet de fourrière dudit seigneur, 23 L. 2 s. 4 d.—Pour avoir fourny par chasoun jour depuis le douzième jour de juung jusque au 15 jour d'aoust ensuivant de roses fresches pour mettre es chambres et retraict dudit seigneur, pour en avoir envoyé chercher a Montbazon, Montoire, Montdoubleau et autres lieux. (11 mars, 1481.) (British Museum, Mss. Egerton, 883, fol 43) Brach., xxxi. A Robert Gautier, tapissier dudit seigneur, pour avoir fourny de coqmente et autres herbes pour mettre es chambres dudit seigneur par tous les lieux où il a esté durant le mois de septembre dudit an. (16 dec 1481.) (Id., Ibid, fol 34.) Brach., xxxiii. A Jean Gebert 64 s.—Pour avoir fourny du rouy marin et marjolaine pour mettre es chambres dudit seigneur depuis le jour de Noël jusques au vingt sixiesme jour de janvier ensuivant" (6 mars. 1482, Id., Ibid, for. 26.) Brach., xxxiii. A Patrix Gebert 8 l. 17 s 8 d.—Pour ses paynes et salaires d'avoir fourny et porté en la chambre dudit seigneur des violetes, fleurs d'espines, aglentiers, groseliers et autres nouveaulxtez depuis le 20 jour de mars jusques au derrenier jour d'avril, 1482." (Ibid, fol. 72) Brachet, xxxiii.

³³ "Et sedeat in locis temperatis et humectetur aer hospitii ejus et odorificetur, sternendo odorifera in ipso, et universaliter oportet, ut semper olfaciat odores bonos, et flores boni odoris." Avicenne, Canon, Lib. III, Tr. 4, xx, Brachet, xxx.

³⁴ "De cura epilepsie. "Utatur epilepticus ista confectione in qua inveni magnum juvamentum. ambra grisea calamita ana 1 conficiantur cum aqua ros. optima. Odoret epilepticus die ac nocte totam confectionem, vel fiat pomum de ista confectione, quod teneat in manu. Cum mane surrexerit et teneat pomum dictum in manu." Lilius Medicinæ, II, p. 25. Brachet, xxx.

preferred: " * * * The room of the epileptic should be suffused with hyssop, rhue, stryax, and calamint,"³⁵ and "the house should be well lighted, without pictures, and there should be a great deal of fragrance."³⁶

This stimulation of the olfactory nerve bears the same testimony as musico-therapy that the king was being treated for some form of nervous disorder. There is as yet no specific indication as to the disease, but the suspicion as to what it may be is confirmed by an examination of the things especially to be avoided in epilepsy: (a) Sleep in the daytime; the *Lilium Medicinæ* says: "Sleep in the daytime should be especially avoided."³⁷ "He should not sleep in the daytime, for a long heavy slumber is very harmful."³⁸ "Sleep in the afternoon is very bad, and in general much sleep does harm."³⁹ It will be recalled that the shepherds played to keep the King from falling asleep. (b) Allowing the head to be cold. This induces sleep,⁴⁰ and since, according to Hippocrates (Coaques, section 342, Ed. Liitré, v. 657) excessive sleep is provocative of epilepsy, the epileptic should have his head well covered. (c) Insulation. The *Lilium Medicinæ* says of things to be avoided in epilepsy: "Too great cold, and everything that suddenly makes the head warm, such as long exposure to the sun."⁴¹ The Canon of Avicenne says: "All excessive heat of the sun, and cold, is conducive to epilepsy,"⁴² "and—it is especially desirable that the head be protected against excessive heat and cold."⁴³ The traditional likeness of Louis XI, wearing the old felt hat, from which he was inseparable, at once occurs to the mind, and this hat becomes very significant when the reason he wore it so constantly is made plain. Apparently he had adopted a very definite means for protecting his head from heat and cold, for the Mss. sources, cited in Brachet, from 1468 on, show that for this purpose the king was regularly being supplied with caps or bonnets, which he never went without, day or night.

³⁵ De cura epilepsiæ. "Camera epileptici suffumigetur cum hyssopo ruta et strace et calaminta." (Id., *ibid.*, II, p. 25)

³⁶ "Domus debet esse clara luminosa, sine picturis et debent ibi esse multa odorifera." (Id., *ibid.*, II, Cap. xix)

³⁷ "Potissime vitet somnum diurnum" *Lilium Medicinæ*, Particula II; De passionibus capitis, cap. xxv. Quæ vitanda in epilepsia Brachet, xxxviii

³⁸ "Non dormiat de die, somnus enim profundus multum nocet et longus." (Id., *ibid.*, xxvi)

³⁹ Avicenne Canon, Lib. III, Tr. 5, cap. xl, de cura epilepsiæ "Et multum dormire post meridiem nocet, et universaliter somnus multus nocet." Brachet, xxxviii.

⁴⁰ Galen, De locis affectis, L. III, cap. v., edit. Venise, 1576, folio T. iv, p. 16, v. f

⁴¹ *Lilium Medicinæ*, II, 25, "Quæ vitanda in epilepsia. Frigiditas nimia et omne illud quod subito calefacit caput sicut est longa mora in sole" Brachet, xl

⁴² Avicenne, Canon, Lib. III, tr. 5, cap. x. "De causis moventibus epilepsiam. Et epilepsiam quidem commovet omnis calor superfluous solaris, et omne frigus." Brachet, xl

⁴³ "De cura epilepsiæ Immo oportet, ut caput muniatur ab omni calore superfluo aut a frigore superfluo." Id., *ibid.*, cap. xl. Brachet, xl.

They were uniformly double; a scarlet one when he rode horseback and a double white or black nightcap over which he drew at night a scarlet bonnet tied with six strings. Sometimes, apparently for greater insulation, they were lined with felt or with beaver.⁴⁴ (d) The head should be kept elevated. This is enjoined in Avicenne's Canon, *De Cura Epilepsiæ*; "He should take care to keep his head elevated, and as far as possible not to bend over."⁴⁵ And the same thing is repeated in the *Lilium Medicinæ*: [The epileptic] "should particularly avoid lying upon his back, and with his head hanging down. He should not sleep in the daytime, as has been said, and he should sleep with his head raised."⁴⁶ Louis apparently thought these precautions were worth following, for the manuscripts discovered by Brachet in the Archives Nationales and in the British Museum show that in 1481-1482 he carried about with him, everywhere he went, a special headboard, apparently for the purpose.⁴⁷

Nothing would seem to be more evident from these remedies than that the king was following the advice of his physicians in being treated for some very severe nervous affliction which looks like epi-

⁴⁴ "Pour deux tocques d'escarlate doubles pour servir au Roy à porter de jour quant il chevauche par pays." (Arch. Nat. Comptes de L'Argenterie, KK, 61, fol 29, Nov., 1468.) "Pour deux bonnetz noirs doubles pour servir audit seigneur à porter de jour." (Id, *ibid*, fol. 20, Nov., 1468) "Pour deux tocques blanches doubles pour servir au Roy à mettre de nuyt, 60 s. Pour ung bonnet d'escarlate fait à six fils pour servir audit seigneur à mettre par dessus lesdictes tocques, 35 s." (Id., *ibid*, fol. 39, Avril. 1469.) "Pour deux tocques blanches doubles à mettre de nuyt pour ledit seigneur, 60 s Et pour ung fin bonnet d'escarlate fait à six fils pour servir audit seigneur à mettre de nuyt par dessus les dictes tocques, 35 s" (Id, *ibid*, fol 47, Septembre, 1469) "Audit Glaude Lambert, la somme de 60 L 5 s. tant pour un voyage d'estre allé et venu de la ville de Montpellier à Romme echapter et payer treize chapeaux de bièvre, et iceulx avoir apportez en ladite ville de Montpellier pour la personne du Roy comme pour l'achat d'iceulx"

"Audit Thomas Cardonne dit l'Enfant de Rouhan, chappelier, la somme de 212 L. 4 s. 9 d. tant pour le façon de neuf autres chapeaux pour la personne dudit seigneur en ladite ville de Montpellier que pour l'echapt de layne et autres fraiz nécessaires qu'il luy a convenu faire." (Comptes originaux de règne de Louis XI, Oct., 1478-Oct., 1479, Bibl. Nat. f. fr 23265, fol 6) Brachet, XLI-XLII.

⁴⁵ "De cura epilepsiæ, et studeat ut caput suum sit elevatum et caveat ne ipsum pendere faciat in quantum possibile est * * *." Avicenne, Canon, l. 111, tr. 50, cap XI Brachet, XL.

⁴⁶ *Quæ vitanda in epilepsia.* "Vitentur omnes causæ quæ dictæ sunt; potissime vitet jacere supra dorsum et capite inclinato. Non dormiat de die ut dictum est, et jaceat capite elevato." *Lilium medicinæ*, particula II. de passionibus capitis, cap. xxv. Brachet, xl.

⁴⁷ "A Guillaume Genou 40 l. 2 s. 1 d pour un cheval de poil bay pour servir à porter après lui le dossier de la chambre dudit seigneur." 30 juin 1481 (Arch. nat. KK. 64, fol. 140.) "A Guillaume Genou dit Rondelet 25 l. 2 s 6 d, pour avoir mené et conduit sur ung cheval le dossier pour servir au lit dudit seigneur depuis le vingt cinquième jour de juing jusques au derrenier jour d'aoust ensuivant" 9 sept. 1481 (Arch. nat. KK. 64, fol 167.) "Claude Foulon 27 l., pour avoir mené sur ung cheval sommier dedans ung bahu de cuir un gros loudier pour servir ès logiez dudit seigneur à mettre derrière le chevet de son lit par tous les lieux où il esté depuis le 18 jour de novembre jusque au premier jour de fevrier ensuivant" 5 fevrier 1482. (British Museum Mss Egerton 883, fol. 29) "A Gilles Genest 47 l., pour avoir mené sur ung cheval sommier ung dossier de boys pour servir es logiez dudit seigneur à mettre derrière son lit où il a vacqué depuis le premier jour de septembre jusques au premier jour de janvier ensuivant." (Id, *ibid*, fol. 29, 10 mai 1482.) Brachet, XL-XLI.

lepsy, a disease which might prepare the way for later mental disturbances but which would not necessarily impair the king's political acumen. This hypothesis offers a reasonable explanation, at least from the standpoint of pathology, of the mysterious passage about the shepherds in Gaguin and in the Scandalous Chronicle.

On the other hand, the political historians in the past, lacking this biological basis, have been forced to draw many times upon their imaginations for a plausible explanation of the very serious incidents related by the chroniclers. In pointing out the obvious fact that these accounts are unreliable as history, it need not be remarked that they illustrate, nevertheless, a very important principle. The extracts which follow, most of them found in Brachet, are taken from standard histories of France and deal with the passage about the shepherds. Chateaubriand says: "The honesty and rustic simplicity of the country lads and lassies who came to figure in the donjons of Plessis served to smooth the brow of the tyrant."⁴⁸ If the reader will recall just what Gaguin and Jean Le Roye say about the shepherds the following historical embroideries will be interesting. Zevort, a modern writer, makes this contribution: "The greatest distraction of Louis was on Sunday to watch the joyous gambols of the young men and women who danced before the château."⁴⁹ Even so reliable a historian as Henri Martin follows the errors of the others. He says: "He [Louis] abandoned himself to a thousand fantasies to secure a moment from the ennui which consumed him. He summoned from all sides players on 'low and sweet instruments' and had shepherds come who played airs before him and danced the dances of their native country. But nothing succeeded in distracting him; the object of his caprice once attained caused him only impatience and disgust."⁵⁰ An older history adds considerably to what the chroniclers recount. "Shepherds and shepherdesses," it says, "gathered together from Poitou; they were divided into several bands. Some played on their rustic instruments; others sang and danced in the meadows. Louis sometimes at the window and sometimes walking in the gallery, saw and tried to participate in these harmless and innocent pleasures, but if he saw that he was observed, or that anyone was watching him,

⁴⁸ "Des danses de jeunes paysans et al jeunes paysannes qui venaient figurer dans les donjons du Plessis le bonheur et l'innocence champêtre servaient à dérider le front du tyran." Chateaubriand, *Analyse raisonnée de l'histoire de France*, I, 185

⁴⁹ "La plus grande distraction de Louis XI était le dimanche, de regarder les joyeux ébats des jeunes gens et des jeunes fillers qui dansaient sur la place du château" Edgar Zevort, *Hist. nationale*, 1890, 31^e edit., p 31.

⁵⁰ "Il s'abandonnait à mille fantaisies pour secourir un moment l'ennui qui le rongait . . . Il mandait de tout parts des joueurs de 'bas et doux instruments'; il faisait venir des bergers qui jouaient devant lui les airs et dansaient les danses de leur pays. Mais rien ne réussissait à le distraire, l'objet de son caprice, à peine atteint, ne lui causait plus qu'impatience et dégoût." Henri Martin, *Hist. de France*, VII, 146.

he withdrew and did not dare to appear again.”⁵¹ The two accounts next following state either frankly or covertly what their authors suspect that the chroniclers have been led to conceal. “There is a pleasure in reading in the histories all that the fear of actual death and the loss of authority made King Louis do in the closing years of his reign; the dance of young girls before his lodgings and the bands of flute players collected from all sides to divert him,”⁵² and, “without believing at all the strange and ferocious tales of the last acts of this Tiberius, sick and voluntary prisoner, and without pretending that he bathed in the blood of children, that young girls came to dance lascivious dances in his chamber, it is certain that his cruelty and defiance redoubled at the approach of death.”⁵³ Even so recent a biographer as Christopher Hare (1907) offers the traditional explanation that the shepherds played for the king to beguile the long hours.⁵⁴

All these accounts are wrong as history. This does not mean, however, that they have not been carefully written. Most of them have been. It does mean that no explanation of incidents in royal biography is safe until the possibility of a pathological interpretation has been eliminated.

To continue with the remedies: The Scandalous Chronicle says: “To heal these maladies there were made for him terrible and marvelous remedies by the physicians and doctors who had care of the King’s person.”⁵⁵ Gaguin says in 1482: “Every day Louis was more and more sick, and his physicians offered remedies to him of a marvelous kind, for he vehemently hoped to acquire health by means of human blood drawn from certain youths, which he drank and bathed in.”⁵⁶

⁵¹ “On rassembla les bergers et les bergères du Poitou; on les partagea en plusieurs bandes, les uns jouoient de leurs instruments champêtres; les autres chantoient et dansoient dans la prairie; Louis, tantôt aux fenêtres de son appartement et tantôt promenant dans une galerie voyoit et tâchoit de partager ces plaisirs vrais et innocents; mais s’il venoit à s’apercevoir que quelqu’un le regardait, il se retiroit promptement, et il n’osoit plus paraître” Velly, Villaret, Garnier, *Hist. de France*, 1768, XIX, 117.

⁵² “Il y a plaisir de lire dans les histoires tout ce que la crainte de la mort réel et celle de perdre son autorité, faisoient faire au Roi Louis durant les dernières années de son règne. Les danses de jeunes filles à l’entour de son logis, et les bandes de joueurs de flûtes qu’on amassait de toutes parts pour le divertir, etc” Mezeray, *Abrégé Chronolog. de France*, II, 618.

⁵³ “Sans croire tout ce qu’on a raconté d’étrange et de féroce sur les derniers actes de ce Tibère malade et volontairement prisonnier, sans prétendre qu’il prenait des bains de sang d’enfants, que de jeunes filles venaient danser dans sa chambre des danses lascives, il est certain que sa cruauté et défiance redoublèrent aux approches de la mort” Charles Lacroix, *Louis XI*, p. 68. The extracts quoted above are from Brachet, LI–LII.

⁵⁴ “While he was watching death approach step by step we do not wonder that he sent for musicians, ‘joueurs de doux et bas instruments,’ to beguile the long hours of suffering and isolation.” *The Life of Louis XI*, Christopher Hare, New York, 1907, p. 258.

⁵⁵ “. . . Pour le guérir desquelles maladies furent faictes pour lui, par les médecins qui avoient la cure de sa personne, de terrible et merveilleuses médecines.” Chron. Scandaleuse, éd. Mandrot, II, 138. Brachet, XLVI.

⁵⁶ “Tous les jours de plus en plus estoit Loys mallade et ne lui prouffitoient les médecines quises en merveilleuses manières. . . Car véhémentement espoit acquérir santé par le sang humain qu’il but et huma de quelques enfans.” Robert Gaguin, 1482, éd. 1508, f. cclij, v°. Brachet, XLV.

The shock that comes with this reference to the use of human blood is natural, and the historians, in their ignorance of mediæval medical practice, are justified in their incredulity or horror of it.⁵⁷ But the use of human blood takes on quite a different aspect when it becomes plain that it was a remedy pure and simple for a specific disease. Galen prescribes human blood for epileptics—a sovereign remedy for this disease from the time of antiquity⁵⁸ until the eighteenth century at least⁵⁹—and modern medicine, of course, recognizes in the transfusion of blood a valuable restorative. Louis probably did take human blood for his malady, although we have only a hint as to how he got it.⁶⁰ He also probably submitted to the heroic treatment of having his head cauterized with a hot iron,⁶¹ a recognized therapeutic agent in epilepsy in the middle ages.⁶²

Mediæval medicine further suggests a solution of gold to be drunk as medicine in psychoneurotic cases. Avicenne, Canon, says: "The limatura of gold is good for tremor of the heart [Louis complained of this] and for depression of the mind and for him who talks alone."⁶³ Indeed, the salts of gold is a recognized modern remedy in cases of spasms and convulsions. The records show that in 1483 a certain man received the sum of 192 livres of gold for a beverage called "potable gold" ordered for the king by his physicians (Legeay, Louis XI, II, pp. 506), and Louis probably took this, too.

⁵⁷ "On avait si mauvaise opinion de lui, que les rumeurs les plus bizarres et les plus atroces s'accréditaient au sujet des remèdes qu'il employait pour retarder a fin. On prétendit que Louis, par l'ordonnance de Coictier, 'buvoit et humoit' le sang des enfans afin de réchauffer son sang appauvri" Henri Martin, *Hist de France*, p. 153.

"Une chronique dit qu'on lui faisait boire du sang d'enfans nouvellement égorgés, remède plus convenable au caractère d'un tyran qu'a la santé d'un malade. Crime horrible, péché mortel." Liskenne, *Hist de Louis XI*, p. 301

"Puis il buvait du sang de petits enfans pour se redonner de la jeunesse, remède qui semblaient tout à fait approprié au tempérament du malade." Chateaubriand, *Analyse Raisonnée de l'Histoire de France*, I. 185.

"La profonde réclusion dans laquelle il vivait faisait croire qu'il se passait des choses bien extraordinaires dans ce château impénétrable. On alla jusqu'à répandre le bruit que l'on y rassemblait des enfans que l'on saignait, et dont on lui faisait boire le sang pour corriger l'âcreté du sien." Anquetil, *Hist. de France*, II, 207. Brachet, XLVI-VII.

⁵⁸ "Epileptics (comitiales morbi) drank the blood of gladiators, also, as from living cups" Sanguinem quoque gladiatorum bibunt, ut viventibus poculis. Pliny, XXVIII, 2. Brachet, XLIV.

⁵⁹ "Human blood—Virtues: Human blood, fresh and drunk warm, is said to benefit epilepsy." Sanguis humanus.—Vires: Sanguis humanus (recens adhuc et calde potus) confere dicitur ad epilepsiam. (Magnet, *Rerum ad Pharmaciam Galenicam Chymicam Spectantium Thesaurus*, 1703, l. 1, p. 987. Brachet, XLIV)

"All the writers recommend human blood for healing epilepsy" Tous les auteurs recommandent le sang humain pour la guérison de l'épilepsie." (Pharmacopée Royale Galénique et Chimique. Moses Charas, edit. de 1773, t II, p. 418. Brachet, XLV.)

⁶⁰ In the royal accounts for this date there is a receipt which reads as follows: "To John Pellart, the sum of 9£ 12s. 6d. ordered paid to him by the said lord (Louis) the aforesaid day for having been bled by the order and command of the said lord on two occasions for demonstration (espreuve). A Jehan Pellart la somme de 9£ 12s. 6d. a luy ordonnée par ledit seigneur ledit jour pour avoir este seigné par l'ordonnance et commandement dudit seigneur par deux fois pour espreuve." 29 juin, 1482. (British Museum. Mss. Egerton, 883, fol. 62. Brachet, XLVI.)

⁶¹ Brachet, XXXI-XXXII, 13.

⁶² Avicenne, Canon, l. III, tr. 4, cap. x, de cura melancholicæ. "Et quandoque oportet ut caput ejus secundum crucem cauterization, si nihil aliud confert"

⁶³ Avicenne, Canon, bk. II, tract 2, cap. LXXVIII. Brachet, XXXV.

Furthermore, it is interesting to notice another means of obtaining relief from sickness in the Middle Ages, which furnishes an indirect means of diagnosing a disease. This is hagiotherapy, or the invocation of the saints which protect against certain afflictions. Taken alone, this agency should not serve as a basis for any conclusion as to the disease itself, but it is a very useful check upon other data as indicating from his prayers and gifts to certain saints what the patient himself thought was the matter with him. The documents in the various archives show conclusively that Louis XI had frequent recourse to the intercession of the saints who were to be specifically invoked in epilepsy, spasms, and convulsions—St. John the Evangelist, St. Giles, St. Claude, and St. Paul, for example.⁶⁴ Moreover, the gifts of Louis to the saints invoked for epilepsy became finally so great that Parlement again and again opposed the alienation of parts of the royal domain for this purpose.⁶⁵

Now, it seems fair, from the symptoms and from the remedies employed by Louis, to conclude that the king was very sick with some nervous malady, and that the particular malady could not be anything else than epilepsy.

But if Louis had epilepsy, why did not the physician announce the fact? The reason in the Middle Ages, even more than to-day, was that epilepsy was a reflection on the patient and upon his parents, and its existence was always concealed when it was possible. Hence, for example, the silence of Commynes upon the remedies taken by the king.

This fact explains why Louis had recourse to a strange procedure: He made gifts and asked the intercession of the saint protecting against the quartain fever, not that he might be spared, but that it might please God to send him that disease. "Because," he explains, "the doctors say that I have a sickness of which I may never be cured unless I have the quartain fever."⁶⁶

History as such can not explain this strange request, but medieval medicine does so without trouble and in this way. Hippocrates 2,000 years ago laid down the principle of the substitution of one disease for another. "Persons taken with the quartain fever," he says, "are never taken with the great sickness [epilepsy], and, if taken first with that affection they get the quartain fever, the first is healed by the second."⁶⁷

Louis had epilepsy, and any lingering doubt as to the fact is dispelled by the direct statement of Gaguin that he had it: "At that

⁶⁴ Du Broc de Segagne, *Les Saints Patrons* (cited in Brachet, XLVIII).

⁶⁵ Brachet, L. British Museum, Egerton Mss. No 1668, fol. 299

⁶⁶ Arch. du Cher. Fonds du Chapitre, d Raynal, *Hist. du Berry*, III, 132. Brachet, LXXX.

⁶⁷ "Les individus pris de fièvre quarte ne sont jamais atteints de la grande maladie (l'épilepsie); et, si, pris d'abord de cette affection, la fièvre quarte leur survient, celle-ci les guérit de celle-là." Hippocrates, *Epidémies*, VI, 6, 5 (tr. Littre, V, 325). Brachet, LXXXII.

time [1480] Louis began to be very sick. For the comitial sickness [epilepsy], which for a long time had oppressed him, demanded the most diligent efforts of his physicians."⁶⁸

It is perfectly clear, therefore, that Louis was not a Tiberius, exhausting every means to please his jaded senses, but a miserable nervous wreck, trying to recover his health by the most advanced scientific treatment of his age, and if he is not an object of compassion, his actions, at least, demand sympathetic interpretation.

The fact that Louis suffered many years from attacks of epilepsy is in itself sufficient indication of a very serious nervous condition, whatever produced it. He had a bad inheritance of gout, insanity mania, and obsessions of one kind or another from his various ancestors. Space does not permit of a discussion of this statement, but Brachet's researches⁶⁹ furnish ample warrant for the assertion that the terrain in the king's case was very bad indeed.

Before going further, it is desirable to recall the medical hypothesis mentioned earlier, that in cases of hereditary neurosthenics, after a severe or exhausting illness, some form of mental disturbance is a more or less certain sequence.

The pathological history of Louis XI forms no exception to the general formula, and, following his bitter experience at Péronne, in 1468, and his very serious illness in 1479, there are recorded the following acts which can be interpreted only as psychopathic outbursts, latent or repressed before, but common in one form or other to all hereditary degenerates: (*a*) Louis develops a mania for lavish expenditures (a form of megalomania) so foreign to his general character; (*b*) a morbid fear of death, an obsession with Louis (thanatophobia); (*c*) a mania for collecting things, simply for the sake of collection (collectomania); (*d*) an irresponsible mania for seizing things which he wanted (kleptomania); and finally, (*e*) a morbid love for animals (zoophilia).

His illness in 1479 was so severe as to lead to the report that the king was not only helpless, but was actually dead.⁷⁰ The pivotal point of his reign is here, and by reason of that very sickness. For

⁶⁸ ". . . Sed per id tempus ægrotare maxime Ludovicus coepit. Nam comitiali morbo cum inter dum premeretur, . . . Quamobrem medicorum diligenti opera usus est." Robert Gaguin, f. 279, Brachet, LXXIX.

⁶⁹ His *Pathologie Mentale* devotes something like 700 pages to the subject.

⁷⁰ ". . . Wherefore the report was widely spread throughout all the lands of the Duke that the King himself had declined into such weakness of body that he could neither ride horseback nor be conveyed in a chariot, nor could he get any better either by the aid or diligence of his physicians. This popular rumor filled not only the lands of the Duke, but very many of the provinces of the realm as well, so that many reviled him and secretly cursed him as not sick but dead." ". . . Ex eo re rumor increbuit per omnes terras ducis quod ipse rex in talem corporis sui invaletudinem incurrerat, quod nunquam nec equo, nec carru vectari posset, nec inde ulla medicorum ope aut industria convalescere. Qui rumor nedum terras ducis, sed plurimas etiam regni provincias vulgo adimplevit; ita ut etiam eum, nedum ægrotum, sed mortuum esse plures susurrarent et clanculo jactarent." Basin, *Hist. Ludow. XI*, vol. 3, Lib. VI, Cap. XIII, pp. 40-50.

it is from this illness that a series of acts may be dated which should be classed as explosions of megalomania.

He purchased 22 caps at once, during the winter of 1478-79, for example, paying 700 francs apiece for them—a very significant change from the avaricious Louis. After this year he changed his habits completely, dressed extravagantly, and gave away lavishly. Commynes, of the earlier part of his reign, says: "The King dresses very shabbily, so badly that it could not be worse. The material is bad enough at any time, and he wears an old hat, different from the rest, with a lead image in it."⁷¹ But after 1479 Commynes is obliged to record the fact, already cited, that he "dressed richly, a thing which he had never been accustomed to do before, and wore only satin robes lined with good marten fur, and he gave some of these to persons without their asking." Further evidence of this lavish giving is found in the sums which he gave his physician,⁷² and in his excessive gifts to the saints.⁷³

He had a morbid fear of death. For a long time during his reign the fact that the king was terribly afraid of death was known and played upon. He released Cardinal Balue and Bishop Berdun from their cages because of the fear that God would send judgment upon him for keeping a cardinal and a bishop in chains. Furthermore, his fear that he would die was so great that he became an absolute slave to his physician,⁷⁴ Coictier, to whom, according to Commynes,⁷⁵ he paid 10,000 crowns a month in the hope that he would lengthen the king's life, and all that Coictier had to do to get anything that he wanted was to threaten to leave.⁷⁶ Everyone apparently knew about this fear, for Sixtus IV, to win his favor, let Louis know that he had granted indulgence to all such as should visit churches to pray for his recovery. Even Charles the Bold seems to have known the abject terror to which the king gave way; and Commynes was, of course, thoroughly familiar with it. His account leaves no doubt at all about the fact, for he says: "Never was a man more fearful of death nor used more means to prevent it. He had, all his life long, commanded and requested his servants * * * that whenever we saw him in any danger of death we should not tell him of it, but merely admonish him to confess himself, without

⁷¹ "Nostre roy se habilloit fort court, et si mal que pis ne pouvoit, et essez mauvais drap aucunes fois, et portoit ung mauvais chapeau, different des autres, et ung image de plom dessus" (Commynes, ed Dupont, I, 166 Brachet, CI.)

⁷² In less than eight months he gave to Coictier, his physician, 98,000 crowns

⁷³ ". . . A great part of the domains were in this way disposed of, and had he lived a few years longer the revenues of the kingdom would have passed into the hands of the churchmen." Duclos, Louis XI. II, 319.

⁷⁴ " * * * This doctor used him very roughly indeed; one would not have given such outrageous language to one's servants as he gave to the King, who stood in such awe of him that he durst not forbid him his presence." Commynes, Scobel, edit. II, 74.

⁷⁵ Ibid., II, 71

⁷⁶ Ibid., 74-75.

ever mentioning that cruel and shocking word 'death,'"⁷⁷ and Commines, otherwise so careful of the reputation of the king, nevertheless confesses that when St. Francis de Paul came to him from Rome, Louis fell upon his knees before the hermit and besought him to prolong his life.⁷⁸

His voluntary isolation, which historians have found so hard to explain, may have been a sign of his morbid mental condition after 1479, but it seems plausible to assume that Louis was again following the advice of his physicians. The records show that in the winter of 1478-79 Louis was very sick, and that it was difficult to see him. It was in 1479 that, to avoid being seen and to render access to his person even more difficult, the king had the contrivance of sharp stakes, called "caltrops," placed along the roads approaching his castle, and he continued to shun meeting anyone.

It is profitable to compare the statement of the medical authorities upon this question of seclusion with that of the historians. From a medical standpoint above all things else prescribed for epileptics was isolation. The *Grant Proprietaire des Choses* says: "Above all things should the epileptic avoid harmful foods and association with people, because his malady takes him thus more often than when he is alone."⁷⁹ Barante, as an example of the historians, accounts for the facts thus: "His mistrust," he says, "became horrible, and almost insane; every year he had his castle of Plessis surrounded with more walls, ditches, and rails. On the towers were iron shields and shelter from arrows, and even artillery. More than 1,800 of those planks bristling with nails, called 'caltrops,' were distributed on yonder side of the ditch."⁸⁰ There is no question as to his suspicion and distrust of everyone who approached him at this time; and the advice of his physicians probably simply intensified his desire to keep by himself.

Let us now examine the manifestations of combined megalomania and collectionomania, of which Commines furnishes the evidence, unconsciously, to be sure, but unmistakably:

* * * He caused fine horses or mules to be bought at any price whatsoever, but this was not done in France. He had a great passion for dogs, and sent into foreign countries for them; * * * and bought them at a dearer price than the people asked. He sent into Sicily to buy a mule of an officer of that country, and paid him double the value. * * * He bought strange creatures wherever they could be found. * * * He sent into Sweden and Denmark for two sorts of beasts which those countries afforded; * * * for six of each of these beasts he gave the merchant 4,500 Dutch florins. Yet when all these rarities were brought to him he

⁷⁷ Commines, *ed* Scobel, II, 72.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 56

⁷⁹ " * * * Devant toutes choses ilz se doivent garder de viands nuisibles * * * et de trop habiter en la compaignie des gens, car leur mal les prent plus tost que quand ilz sont tous seulz." *Liv.*, VII, Chap. IX; Brachet, XCV.

⁸⁰ Guizot, III, 256.

valued them not at all, and many times would not so much as speak to the persons who brought them to him. In short, he behaved after so strange a manner that he was more formidable both to his neighbors and subjects than he had ever been before.⁸¹

The significant circumstance in this case is that Louis paid the extravagant sum of 125,000 francs, in modern money, apiece, for certain animals, which he would not look at when they were brought to him. This indifference taken together with the fact that he gave more for what he bought than anyone asked for the animal, is plainly pathological. Commynes makes it appear that all this took place in the last years of the king's life, but the records show that similar purchases were made as early as 1479.

Suspicion points to Louis as an hereditary degenerate. His actions seem to furnish a most clear-cut manifestation of the conventional stigmata of degenerate zoophilia—that is to say, a morbid love for animals and a hypersensitiveness as to their comfort. These stigmata are (1) extravagance of purchase; (2) indifference of the purchaser; and (3) hypersensitiveness to the suffering of sick animals. The first two traits are common to morbid collectionomania, the third, always associated with indifference to the suffering of human creatures, and often with extreme cruelty, is decisive for zoophilia.⁸²

The illustrations of zoophilia, which follow, are interesting, because they are so precise; the king's great cruelty has already been mentioned. Commynes further says: "The king inflicted very severe punishments to inspire dread, and for fear of losing his authority, as he himself told me, . . . so that he passed his time in making and ruining men." As to his morbid interest in animal suffering the illustrations could not be more explicit. "March 30, 1479 [paid], to John de Reffou . . . 53s. for having brought in a litter and by water from Fourges to Tours, a hunting dog which was sick."⁸³ "Oct., 1480, to Jacques de Saint Benoist, for the purchase and carting of a boat which he took by order of the king and for using it to bring a stag to the pool of Gastine, that it might die there."⁸⁴ "July 4, 1481, to Vincent l'Aumosnier, 50s. for having brought, in a three-horse chariot, from Garrannes to Dreux, . . . one of the king's

⁸¹ Commynes, ed. Scobel, II, 57-58.

⁸² Ballet, Intermittent Morbid States of the Emotions, in his chapter on "Zoophilia and zoophobia," says: "That which demonstrates the morbid character of this state, aside from *abulia* and emotionalism, is the indifference, often complete, of the Zoophiles for their own relations and friends, and for human suffering generally, to which indifference there is sometimes added a veritable cruelty." See also The zoophil-psychosis, by Charles L. Dana, M. D., Medical Record, Mar 6, 1909, and Zoophile et zoophobie, Extrait de la Belgique Médicale, 1897, par Ch. Féré

⁸³ "30 mars. 1479 A Jehan du Reffou, maistre d'ostel dudit seigneur, 53s. 4d t . . . pour avoir fait mener en une lictière et par eau, depuis les Forges Jusques à Tours, ung chien courant qui estoit malade." (Arch. nat. KK. 64, fol 17 Brachet, CXV.)

⁸⁴ "Octobre, 1480. A Jacques de Saint-Benoist, . . . pour l'achapt et charroy d'un bastea qu'il a prins par l'ordonnance dudit seigneur, et le fait mener a l'estang de Gastine, pour y faire mourir un cerf." (Arch. nat. KK. 64, fol. 158v, Arcq. p. 393, Brachet, CXVI.)

greyhounds which was sick.”⁸⁵ “To Louis Lucas, 6*l* 19*s*. from the king . . . for having brought, in a two-horse chariot, a rabbit of the king’s from Forges . . . to Bonne Aventure.”⁸⁶

Now, having stated the hypothesis of zoophilia, still following Brachet, the deductive method may be used thus: In the case of the degenerate zoophile there are usually to be found pronounced symptoms of kleptomania. We are sure that Louis was a kleptomaniac. For, by an inconsistency which is the mark of this morbid condition, the sick man steals that which he covets, not because he can not buy it, but because stealing is more agreeable to him as a kind of conquest.

Thus the records furnish what may be fanciful evidence that Louis did not scruple to rob his subjects’ henroosts on occasions: “January, 1483, . . . In this month the king commanded that his servants should travel all night along all the roads and on the River Loire ahead of certain birds of Turkey, which were being taken to Brittany, to take them and bring them to him.” “Item, two days afterwards the birds were found at 8 o’clock at night and were brought at that time to Montilz.”⁸⁷

Possibly the next illustration is simply a piece of high-handed tyranny on the king’s part, but it took place at a time when he was spending enormous sums for other animals and he could easily have paid his subjects for theirs. Viewed in connection with his other actions at this time this seizure has a suspiciously pathological complexion, if it is not definitely a case of kleptomania:

By the king’s grace he commanded a most base thing to be done. . . . For he sent commissioners to the town of Rouen and many other places of the realm, who ordered, on the king’s authority, under penalty of confiscation of goods and body, that all dogs, large and small, should be brought together to one place. Being thus collected, they carried away the best of these, tied in carts and wagons, to the king.”⁸⁸

There remains to consider an incident which took place in 1468, after Louis had ventured to intrust himself to the power of his arch enemy, Charles the Bold, at Péronne. Relying upon his subtlety

⁸⁵ “4 juillet, 1481. A Vincent L’Aumosnier, 50*s*. . . . pour avoir fait mener en une charette à trois chevaux ung des lévriers dudit seigneur qui estoit malade, de Garannes à Dreux . . .” (Arch. nat. KK. 64, fol. 150. Brachet, CXVI.)

⁸⁶ “A Loys Lucas, . . . 6*l* 10*s* . . . pour avoir faict mener et conduire à une charette à deux chevaux ung des lièvres dudit seigneur des forges . . . à Bonne Aventure.” (Arch. nat. KK. 64, fol. 116. Brachet, CXVII.)

⁸⁷ “Janvier 1483. Item. audit moys le roy manda que on alast toute nuyt par tous les chemins et sur la rivièrre de loire audavant de plusieurs oyseaulx de Iurkie, qu’on portoit en Bretagne, pour les prendre et les lui apporter. Item, Deux jours apres les oyseaulx dessusditz fuerent trouvez a huit heures de nuyt et les convint porter a ladite heure aux Montilz” (Comptes de Tours, t. xlv, fol. 82 v°. Brachet, cxvii.).

⁸⁸ “Cujus etiam rei gratia, rem stultissimam . . . fieri jussit. Misit enim commissarios ad urbem Rothomagensem et alla plurima regni loca, qui ex ipsius auctoritate juberent sub pena confiscationis corporis et bonorum ut omes canes, parvi et magni, ad unam plateam ducerentur. Quibus sic in unum collectis, quos ducerent eligendos, ad regem in carrucis et vehiculis ligatos veherent. . . .” (Thos. Basin, Hist. Lud. III, 168, Brachet, CXVII.)

and cunning words to secure his ends, Louis had boldly gone in person to Charles at his castle in Péronne. The discussion had gone on smoothly enough for several days when Charles learned that Louis was arousing the people of Liège—Charles's subjects—against him. In a terrible passion, Charles imprisoned Louis, threatened to depose him, and even to take his life. Louis in his terror agreed to the most humiliating conditions of peace with Charles. Among others, he was compelled to march in person along with Charles against the people of Liège, and actually hurled back the cry "Vive la Bourgogne!" against the people of that city when they shouted "Vive la France!" The incident took place upon his return to Paris after this chagrin of Péronne. It is as follows:

And on the same day [Saturday, November 19, 1468] there were taken for the king, in the city of Paris, all the magpies, jays, and owls, either in cages or not, belonging to private individuals, and brought before him. And the places from which these birds were taken were written down and registered, as well as all that could speak words such as "Thief," "Wanton," "Hey, get out," "Pérette, give me a drink," and several other fine phrases which those birds had been taught and knew how to say. Then, again, by another commission of the king there were sought out and taken all the stags, hinds, and deer that could be found in Paris and were brought to Amboise.⁸⁹

The account which Gaguin gives of this affair is substantially the same. He says: "I doubt whether I should write down at all what actually took place, a deed in its novelty unworthy of a king. Magpies and grackles which had been taught to whistle or to imitate the human voice, which were kept in cages by the Parisians for amusement in the house, and soon afterwards stags and deer, all were commanded by Louis to be seized and brought to Amboise."⁹⁰

These two texts report two important facts: First, on November 19, 1468, after seizing all the talking birds (magpies and jays), as well as those that were mute, the king had them all transported to his park at Amboise, and a little later all the stags, hinds, and deer which the Parisians were keeping in their gardens were carried off to the same place. Second, this double zoological seizure by the king, twice by armed force, of the rare and curious animals of the Parisians for his own use appeared inexplicable and revolted public opinion.

⁸⁹ "Et ce mesmes jour, fuerent prinses pour le roy. . . En ladicte ville de Paris toutes les pyes, jays, chouettes estans en cage ou autrement et estans privée, pour toutes les porter devers le roy. Et estoit escript et enregistré le lieu ou avoient este prins lesdiz oiseauiz et aussi tout ce qu'ilz savoient dire, comme 'Larron! Paillart! Filz de Putain' Va hors. Va! Pérette, donne moy à boire!' et plusieurs autres beaux motz que iceulx oiseaux savoient bien dire et qu'on leur avoit aprins. Et depuis encores, par autre commission du roy . . . fut venu querir et prendre audit lieu de Paris tous les cerfz, biches, et grues, qu'on y peust trouver et tout fait mener a Amboise." *Journal de Jean de Roye*. I, 220, Brachet, CVI.

⁹⁰ *Quod vero sequitur an scriberem aliquando dubitavi facinus profecto sua novitate indignum rege. Picas et graculos qui in caveis humanas voces vel sibilare vel imitari edocti apud Parisios ad voluptatem domesticam alebantur. Moxque cervos et grues capi omnes et Ambasiam duci Ludovicus imperat.* Robert Gaguin, *Compendium de Francorum Gestis*, Liv. X, f^o cxlvii, v^o-cxlviii, Brachet, cvii.

Any attempt to justify this bizarre act psychologically immediately raises the following questions: (a) Why did the king seize the birds at all? (b) Why a second time the animals? (c) Why seizure instead of purchase—an act which must have seemed both tyrannical and incomprehensible? (d) Why the double seizure immediately after Péronne, when he needed the support of public opinion? And (e) how is this strange action explained by contemporaries? How by modern historians? "

Taking the questions up in inverse order: His contemporaries have no explanation to make. Gaguin, who wrote in 1501, and who would let pass no opportunity to discredit the king if he could, is very much amazed at the king's action, but he does not know what to make of it. Commynes, who must have had some ideas about it, for his own purpose conceals the affair and we are led to suspect that he conceals it in order to protect the king's reputation.

Modern historians, unable to offer anything better, have fallen upon the very remote similarity of the words "Péronne" and "Pérette" as an explanation. Pérette de Châlons had been a mistress to the king some time before this, and although the chroniclers record that the birds said "Pérette," the historians have substituted the word "Péronne" as better explaining the puzzling circumstance. One after the other, Duclos, Sismondi, Barante, Hare, and Michelet, have explained the seizure of the birds on the ground that the word "Péronne" reminded the king of his humiliation. Duclos says: "The chronicler further tells us that the same day the king ordered the magpies, jays, and other tame birds to be brought to him, with the names of those to whom they belonged. And it is the common opinion that he did this because the birds had been taught to say 'Péronne.'" ⁸¹

Sismondi goes a little further in his explanation when he says:

Nevertheless the king was ashamed of the trap into which he had plunged of his own accord, and did not wish to enter Paris for fear of exposing himself to the ridicule of the people, he even feared so much the raillery to which he ought to be the butt that he seized all the magpies, jays, and crows which had been taught to speak and registered the words which their masters had taught them to pronounce, meaning to punish all those who had made them repeat the name Péronne, or Pérette de Châlons, . . . then the king's mistress.⁸²

⁸¹ "La Chronique dit que les même jour le roi se fit apporter les pies, les geais et autres oiseaux privés, avec les noms de ceux auxquels ils appartenient, et la tradition est que c'étoit parce qu'on leur avoit appris à dire Péronne." Duclos, *Hist. de Louis XI.*, ed. de La Haye, 1750, I, 398 Brachet, CIX.

⁸² "Cependant le roi étoit honteux du piège où il étoit allé se jeter de lui-même; il ne voulut point entrer dans Paris, pour ne pas s'exposer aux propos du peuple; il craignoit même si fort les railleries auxquelles il sentoit qu'il devoit être en butte qu'il fit saisir toutes les pies, les geais, les corbeaux auxquels on avoit appris à parler, et enregistrer les mots que leurs maîtres leur avoient enseigné à prononcer pour punir tous ceux qui leur auroient fait répéter le nom ou de Péronne ou de Pérette de Châlons, bourgeoise de Paris, alors sa maîtresse." Sismondi, *Hist. d. Français.* xiv, 283, Brachet, CIX.

Barante thinks that it was in the cause of public order that the birds were taken:

The precautions were indeed so great that there were seized by the king's order all the magpies, jays, and crows, and other privately owned birds to whom the inhabitants of Paris had taught the words "thief," "wanton," and "Pérette, give me a drink." The commission responsible for this seizure wrote in its register what each bird knew how to say and with whom it had been found. Such was the fear of what might excite disorder or give offense either to the king or to the princes.⁸³

Christopher Hare does not vary from the traditional explanation:

The whole story of Péronne could not fail to excite the satirical wit of the keen Parisians. The king, after his three weeks' anxiety, was unwise enough to show it. He ordered that all who spoke ill of the Duke of Burgundy should be severely punished, while the names were to be taken of all owners of magpies, jackdaws, and other talking birds who had been maliciously taught to cry "*Péronne*."⁸⁴

Michelet tries to reconcile the text of the Chroniclers with what to him is the obvious explanation:

The farce of Péronne . . . the ablest of the able duped. . . . Every one laughed, young and old, the small children, but what am I saying, the very talking birds, jays, magpies, and starlings spoke of nothing else, they knew but one word, "*Pérette*."⁸⁵

So much for the explanations of the political historians, the best that can be offered, without recourse to mental pathology, and all of them, without exception, absolutely wrong. But if they all have the wrong explanation, what is the right one? Brachet offers but one: kleptomania. This, he properly says, explains quite naturally the two seizures of 1468, which roused the people of Paris. But the relation of that act of kleptomania to the date of its outbreak is still to be accounted for, and why the bizarre act took place precisely upon the return from the interview at Péronne in which Louis was within a hair's breadth of being first deposed, and afterwards put to death by Charles the Bold.

Of the three hypotheses—(1) a chance coincidence, (2) exaggerated assertion of the king's authority, and (3) the psychopathic interpretation—the last only is tenable. For in the date of the king's act is to be recognized the law of impulse in degenerates. The de-

⁸³ " * * * Les précautions furent même si grandes, que l'on saisit par ordre du roi toutes les pies, geais, corbeaux et autres oiseaux apprivoisés, à qui des habitants de Paris avaient appris des paroles, comme. 'Larron, paillard, va, va dehors; Pérette, donne moi à boire.' Le commissaire chargé de cette saisie inscrivit exactement sur son registre ce que chaque oiseau savait dire, et chez qui on l'avait trouvé; tant on craignait ce qui pouvait exciter quelque désordre et offenser soit le roi, soit les princes." Barante, *Hist. des ducs de Bourgogne*, éd. Gachard, II, 332, col. 2; Brachet, CIX.

⁸⁴ Hare, *Life of Louis XI*, p. 159.

⁸⁵ "La farce de Péronne . . . l'habile des habiles, dupé . . . Tous en riaient, jeunes et vieux, les petits enfants, que dis-je? les oiseaux causeurs, geais, pies et sansonnets, ne causaient d'autre chose; ils ne savaient qu'un mot, '*Pérette*.'" Michelet, *Hist. de France*, éd. Flammarion, VI, 242-243; Brachet, CIX.

pleted mental and nervous condition in which the king found himself upon his return after the detention at Péronne and after the terrible emotional strain which he had undergone led to inevitable nervous exhaustion, 18 months since a severe attack of typho-malaria. It is natural to think that he should find himself unable at this particular time to withstand an irresistible impulse to zoophilistic kleptomania, which must have tempted him more than once, but which his care for his reputation had held in check. He yielded to that impulse, knowing very well that it was the worst possible moment to do it, and that he had best not yield to it, or at least wait until he had less need for public opinion.⁹⁶

It is Brachet's conclusion, and it seems unassailable, that the psychological interpretation of the king's act in seizing the birds and beasts was an access of kleptomania in the case of a degenerate zoophile, breaking out consecutively upon a condition of depleted nervous tone, produced in this case by his captivity.

This conclusion is the more acceptable in that it conforms to the three conditions of hypothesis: (*a*) It is contradicted by none of the observed facts; (*b*) it explains them all; (*c*) it discloses the formula of zoophile for the king.

In view of what one king's reign has to contribute to the study of historical pathology, and upon the reasonable assumption that such conditions are not confined to one reign, the question naturally arises: Is it possible to write a faithful biography which fails to consider what bearing the biological factor may have upon the life history of any individual? Assuredly the study of historical pathology has a very definite place in solving the problems of history

⁹⁶ Féré, *Pathologie des Emotions*, p. 277. "The emotions have pathological effects, the more marked when they are produced at the end of a sickness, in convalescence; in a word, where they act upon an organism already enfeebled."

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XII. CONSTANTINOPLE AS CAPITAL OF THE OTTOMAN,
EMPIRE.

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CONSTANTINOPLE AS CAPITAL OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

By ALBERT HOWE LYBYER.

At Constantinople, during the critical hour of its capture on the 29th day of May, 1453, Lew Wallace's Prince of India was transformed from decrepit age to vigorous youth.¹ In that same hour, to turn from fiction to reality, Constantinople itself was transformed from a dying empire into an imperial city, young but already great. The frontiers of its dominion, which had shrunk to the battered line of its thousand-year-old walls, were removed instantly to the Taurus Mountains and the Danube River. In the course of a century or thereabouts they were to be carried to the Caspian Sea, the Indian Ocean, the borders of Morocco, the head of the Adriatic Sea, the middle Danube, and the Russian steppes. The eyes of all the heterogeneous inhabitants of this vast area were to be turned toward those energetic chieftains of a new people, the conqueror of the city and his successors, necessarily accepted as lawful sovereigns, and to be implicitly obeyed as severe and effective rulers. Beside them were to stand, as their appointees, the chief religious guides for all their subjects, whether coreligionist Moslems, or Christians, or Jews. Fleets on the Black and Ægean Seas, on the Mediterranean and Red Seas, even from India, Holland, and England; caravans on the long roads from Persia, Arabia, Nubia, and Algiers, and from Germany, Poland, and Russia were to trace their devious ways toward the great city by the Bosphorus, bringing all manner of useful and luxurious merchandise. Through a long age the eager or reluctant footsteps of multitudes of boys, girls, men, and women were to be turned toward the Turkish imperial city, where, bond or free, they were to work out their fortunes, as laborers and servants, entertainers and handmaids, apprentices and students, merchants and soldiers, teachers and religious guides, courtiers and governors, jurists and judges. Rapidly, as such things may be done, the Turk was to cover the seven rounded hills of Stamboul and the charming shores of the neighboring bays and inlets with flimsy dwelling houses and vast but temporary palaces, among

¹ Gen Lew Wallace, *The Prince of India*, N Y., 1893, II, 545-546

which he was to distribute solid and durable inns, market houses, public baths, colleges, temples, and imperial tombs. Over the lovely landscape he was to throw the evidence of his presence in a thousand other ways, with lofty gates and narrow streets, quays and coffee houses, kiosks and fountains, groves and gardens, sepulchres for saints and spreading cemeteries for the common people. Everywhere he was to mark the land and likewise the blue waters with his own network of names.² Four hundred and sixty-three years have elapsed, yet the Turk has never lost the prize he took that day. Not until four years ago did the inhabitants of his capital city hear again the thunder of an enemy's guns.

On the morrow of the conquest, nevertheless, Mohammed II held not much more than an incomparable site covered with ruins. Half a hundred churches, notably the splendid Santa Sophia, a few public buildings, and a number of stone dwelling houses, stood, indeed, in fair condition.³ But walls and columns, hippodrome and palaces, pavements and harbors had all suffered sore neglect since the rough Franks of the Fourth Crusade had attacked the already enfeebled Byzantine Empire and crippled it irretrievably. The declining population had long lacked the means as well as the necessity for new construction or even adequate repair. Underneath the miserable dwellings and the crumbling ruins lay well-built systems of water supply, water storage, and sewerage,⁴ but above the surface of the ground there was not much to impede the building of a new city.

The Turks thus faced an exceptional opportunity for which they were very imperfectly prepared. Previous nomadic conditions of life, the disposition of the Ottoman sovereigns to remain the sole heirs of all their subjects, and Moslem contempt for the present transitory world, led the Turks to build their most numerous structures, the private residences, of a sort designed to last only during

² "The Turks are so tenacious of their own language that they give a new name to all places which are forced to submit to their power, tho' it be never so impertinent and improper." Peter Gyllius (Gilles), *The Antiquities of Constantinople* (c. 1550 A. D.). Translated by John Ball, London, 1729, p. 283.

³ *Ibid*, 277. Richard Knolles, *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* (1603 A. D.). Fourth Edition. London, 1631. P. 342. "For the Turkes privat houses in this so great and Imperiall a citie, so much renowned through the world, are for the most part low and base, after the Turkish fashion, built some of wood, some of stone, and some of unburnt brick, laid with clay and dirt, which quickly decaeth again, they after their homely manner (by long custome received) never building anything sumptuously for their own privat use, but contenting themselves with their simple cottages, how mean soever, commonly saying them to be good enough for the short time of their pilgrimage; and yet not sparing for any cost upon the publick buildings and ornaments of the common weale, which they build with great maiesty and pomp; but specially their Moschies wherein they excell. Neverthelesse, there yet are in Constantinople some other houses also built high and comely enough; but these be few, and very old, all inhabited by the Christians and Jews, and not by the Turkes." Evidently the last-mentioned houses were inherited from Byzantine days.

⁴ Aqueducts, cisterns, and sewers built in the pre-Turkish days are still in use. See, for instance, Prof. E. A. Grosvenor's *Constantinople*, Boston, 1895, I, 354 ff.

the owner's lifetime.⁵ Even the Sultans were content to shelter their great households in groups of somewhat more durable, yet comparatively small and unpretentious buildings.⁶ But for the good of their souls and, in the case of others than members of the ruling house, for providing their descendants with a limited inheritance as administrators of endowments, the plunder of many a region and the revenue of countless urban tracts and rural estates were used to build and endow numerous institutions for public service, charity, and worship.⁷

The great and wealthy of the Empire in the course of time gave the city literally hundreds of mosques, colleges, primary schools, caravansaries, bazaars, baths, and fountains.⁸ Many of these buildings, though intended for permanency, were not proof against the terrible earthquakes and fires which not infrequently ravaged the city. It used to be said, in fact, that the fires alone required that the city be rebuilt three times in a century.⁹ No small number of the Turkish buildings, however, stand as firmly, if not as proudly, as at their dedication. The greatest of these date, for the most part, from the

⁵ Testimonies to this effect are unanimous from the Conquest to the present time. Busbecq (c 1554), in his *Life and Letters*, translated by C. T. Foister and F. H. B. Daniell, London, 1881, II, 90, says that the Turks neglect their houses because of their small pay and because they think it pretentious and conceited to have a fine house. C. Garzoni (1573), in *E. Alberi, Relazione degli ambasciatori Veneti al senato*, Florence, 1839-1863, series III, vol. I, 392, states that the Turkish houses are mostly of wood and earth, rather small and badly planned, "nelle quale non mettono studio, tenendo per peccato il fare stanze private durabili per più della vita di un uomo." A Badoero (1573), in *ibid.*, 351, affirms that "il più delle case si può dir che siano piuttosto alla rustica che alla civile." E. G. Happpellius in his *Thesaurus Exoticorum*, Hamburg, 1688, part IV (separately paged), page 128, says "Die Häuser sind wie in Turkey überall schlecht und niedrig dem Brand sehr unterworfen."

⁶ Busbecq, op. cit. 125, speaks of "the palace of the Turkish Sultan, which, as far as I can see, . . . has no grandeur of design or architectural details to make it worth a visit." M. Venier, in Alberi, op. cit. 467, describes "La Porta, ed il serraglio del Gran-Signore siccome per il numero delle genti, per la forma, e per la ricchezza del vestire arrecano a ciascuno incredibile stupore, così la fabbrica e le stanze del medesimo in cui poco studio i Turchi dimostrano, sono quasi una privata abitazione." He says that the imperial buildings are of small consequence, being built of wood or inferior masonry, like a monastery for friars. The Old Palace (long ago destroyed) was "un appartamento di legname con molte stanze correnti, oscure, incommode, e simili alla prigioni." It has been suggested with much show of probability that the inferior character of Turkish private building is related to their ancestral nomadism.

⁷ Garzoni, op. cit., 398. Happpellius, op. cit., 194. Sir Paul Ricaut, *The history of the present state of the Ottoman Empire*, Fifth Edition, London, 1682; p. 213: "For so large benevolence is given to places destined to God's service, that, as some compute, one-third of the lands of the whole empire are allotted and set out to a holy use."

⁸ J. von Hammer in his *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, Pest, 1827-1835, IX, 145-163, gives a list of 275 colleges that had been founded in Constantinople. Evliya Effendi, in his *Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa* (c 1680), translated by Von Hammer, London, 1848-1850, vol. I, pt. II, 103, displays a long but evidently exaggerated list of mosques, schools, caravansaries, etc. More trustworthy is the estimate of Gyllius, op. cit., 276, who says that about the year 1550 there were more than 300 mosques, 100 baths, and 100 caravansaries and khans.

⁹ Sir Paul Ricaut in his *History of the Turkish Empire, 1628 to 1677*, London, 1680, page 47, says that the fire of September 16, 1634, destroyed about 20,000 houses, or one third of the city. See Busbecq, op. cit., 200, Gyllius, op. cit., 280, and the writings of nearly all who have lived long in the city for references to earthquakes and fires.

years before the second siege of Vienna in 1683 marked the beginning of territorial recession and of a rapid diminution in available wealth.¹⁰ Though many of the Roman bathing customs have survived in Constantinople until now, the Turks contented themselves with less pretentious structures than the enormous baths which were the pride and glory of the Roman cities.¹¹ Nor did their simple games and primitive puppet shows demand vast hippodromes and lofty amphitheaters.

To judge from the appearance of this, their greatest city, they thought first of the worship of God, and next of the repose of human remains until the resurrection; and if they embodied the secular phases of human life, it was first the shelter of travelers, be they merchants or pilgrims, and next the housing of their sovereign and his retinue; for mosques, tombs, caravansaries, and imperial residences are their largest or their best-located buildings.¹² Mosques, indeed, far transcend all the rest, lifting between the slender shafts of graceful minarets "the shapely masses of their great gray domes, supported by clusters of semidomes and lesser domes, above the cypress trees and gardens of the rounded hills . . . which slope down to the blue waters."¹³ The mosque of Suleiman the Magnificent is typical. Its completion is said to have been one of the three chief aims of his life;¹⁴ he used vast revenues and spoils to defray the enormous cost of building; he assigned the lands of Rhodes, Chios, and other islands for its endowment;¹⁵ the entire institution was much more than a superb shelter for those who would worship God, though it was desired that in this regard alone it should surpass all similar structures in costliness and beauty. It included also a dozen other endowed buildings, of which five may well be called a university, since they contained a primary school, a quadruple secondary school, a tradition school, a Koran school, and a medical college. There were besides a library, a hospital, a khan, a soup kitchen, a relief house for strangers, a public bath, and a fountain; teachers

¹⁰ For instance, the mosques of Mohammed II, Bayezid II, Selim I, Suleiman I, Selim II, Achmat I, and the Yeni Valideh.

¹¹ But some of the Turkish baths were of respectable size. Gyllius, *op. cit.*, 276; Grosvenor, *Constantinople*, II, 750 ff.

¹² M. Zane, in Alberi, *op. cit.*, III, III, 391, affirms that the only beautiful buildings, outstanding and solid (*egregie e sode*), are baths, mosques, and schools. See also Morosini, *op. cit.*, 257.

¹³ A. H. Lybyer, *The Government of the Ottoman Empire in the time of Suleiman the Magnificent*, Cambridge, 1913, p. 24. (This book is referred to hereinafter as *Government*).

¹⁴ Busbecq, *op. cit.*, I, 410: "Three things Solyman is said to have set his heart on—namely, to see the building of his mosque finished (which is indeed a costly and beautiful work), by restoring the ancient aqueducts to give Constantinople an abundant supply of water, and to take Vienna."

¹⁵ Evliya Effendi, I, I, 79, 80.

and pupils, patients, guests, and attendants were supported from the liberal endowment.¹⁶ Such was the scope and service of a great Turkish religious foundation.

Mohammed the Conqueror found not only a ruined but an empty city. A population reduced to perhaps 80,000 had suffered losses during siege and sack.¹⁷ A great proportion of those who remained were enslaved; and probably many of them were sold abroad or taken to the country estates of their owners. The new ruler took exceptional measures to repopulate the city. He ordered Christian and Moslem subjects to come from various regions. As his conquests proceeded, he transported to the Bosphorus successive groups of the vanquished.¹⁸ Jews of Spain found refuge from fanatical Christians among tolerant Mohammedans.¹⁹ A continuous stream of slaves of both sexes was soon pouring into Constantinople, fed by the capture of Christians of many nations in war, raiding, and piracy, and by the purchase of children from Circassia, the Abaza country, and Africa. The recruiting officers for the page and Janissary systems brought in many thousands of the strongest, ablest, and brightest sons of Greek, Albanian, and Slavonic subjects.²⁰ Moreover, it soon became unnecessary to exert pressure upon the free-born population of the empire to come to the capital city, which offered entertainment, employment, and wide opportunity in education, business, and politics.²¹ By the year 1600 the population was, perhaps, 700,000 or 800,000.²²

¹⁶ Hammer, *Geschichte*, iii, 341 ff.

¹⁷ C. W. C. Oman, *The Byzantine Empire*, N. Y., 1908, p. 340: "The population of the city had shrunk to about a hundred thousand souls, most of them dwelling in great poverty."

¹⁸ Knolles, *op. cit.*, 350. Evliya Effendi, i, 1, 48-49. Hammer, *Geschichte*, ii, 4.

¹⁹ Ramberti in *Government*, 241. The descendants of these still occupy the suburban districts of Couzounjouk and Hasskeul.

²⁰ *Government*, 49-53. Busbecq, *op. cit.*, i, 162: "Just as I left Constantinople [bound for Vienna] I met some waggons of boys and girls who were being carried from Hungary to the slave market at Constantinople: this is the commonest kind of Turkish merchandise," etc.

²¹ A. Slade, in his *Turkey, Greece, and Malta*, London, 1837, i, 362, speaks of meeting a young green-turbaned Turk, on his way to Constantinople. The charitableness of the Turks is shown by the fact that he needed no money. "'Anybody,' he said, 'would give him food at night, and a rug to sleep on.'" See also H. G. O. Dwight, *Constantinople and its problems*, N. Y., 1901, p. 21. "The whole male population of the Empire has for its ideal of success in life the opportunity to spend some years in Constantinople."

²² Garzoni, *op. cit.*, 389, judged from the size of the city and the frequency of the people that the population was greater than 300,000. Knolles in his *Briefve Discourse on the Greatnesse of the Turkish Empire* (in his *Generall Historie*, ad finem) says that "Constantinople for multitude of people exceedeth all the cities of Europe, wherein are deemed to be above seven hundred thousand men; which if it be so, is almost equall to two such cities as Paris in France." Richard Wrag, who visited the Levant in the years 1593-1595, says: "For the city of Constantinople you shall understand that it is matchable with any city in Europe as well in bignesse as for the pleasant situation thereof, and commodious traffic and bringing of all manner of necessary provision of victuals." G. Moro, in Alberi iii, iii, 334, says (1590) that the population is probably not over 800,000, though some say it is a million.

The Turks thought Stamboul to be the largest city in the world, a veritable "ocean" or "mine" of men,²³ while westerners deemed it the largest in Europe and twice the size of Paris.²⁴ There is evidence of a slow growth of population until the present time.²⁵ That the number might merely remain stationary, there was need of a continual recruitment. Natural increase was restricted in that the soldiers of the standing army were discouraged from undertaking family life, while the great polygamous households, never very numerous, seem to have been comparatively unprolific.²⁶ Sanitary conditions were bad; and just as fires swept away vast areas of dwelling houses, so did perennial plague, cholera, and smallpox devastate the people. It was said that only after the number of the dead, who in time of plague were carried out at the Adrianople gate for burial in the great western cemetery, rose beyond a thousand a day did the Turks take alarm and seek to propitiate the divine wrath.²⁷ But the multitudes which arrived unceasingly were regularly sufficient to satisfy the consuming voracity of the great city, a magnified Minotaur.

Ancient Byzantium was a commercial city, living only on its trade. This was sufficient to make it fairly large, busy, and in time proverbially luxurious. Roman Constantinople was in addition an imperial capital, where vast revenues were expended, and it came to possess in its palmy days a greatly increased population, income, business activity, and splendor. Turkish Constantinople possesses likewise a double economic character, as trade center and imperial city. The latter aspect has probably always predominated over the former. The great commercial activity which grew up rapidly was therefore primarily concerned with supplying the vast population with the necessities and luxuries of life.²⁸ The immediate environment of the city is not particularly productive. A limited amount of grain, vegetables, sheep, game, and timber, some oysters and mussels, and a large quantity of fish could be obtained locally.²⁹ But most of the wares necessary for feeding, clothing, and sheltering the people had to be brought from distant places by sea and land. The territories around the Black Sea provided an abundance of grain, meat, wool, timber, hides, honey, wax, and metal.³⁰ Asia Minor,

²³ Evliya Effendi, i. i. 23, speaks of "Kostantiniyyeh, which is an ocean of men and beautiful women, such as is to be found nowhere else . . . a mine of men."

²⁴ Knolles, *ut supra*. Happellius, ii, 128.

²⁵ This may be inferred from the extension of the suburbs, which has proceeded gradually and is continuing. Garzoni (Alberi iii, i, 394) said that Chalcedon (Kadiköy) was deserted (c. 1573) and Scutari but scantily inhabited. These are now large and prosperous communities, while many others have developed on both sides of the Bosphorus.

²⁶ Ricaut, *Present State*, 151. Government, 70.

²⁷ Ricaut, *History of Turkish Empire*, ii, 81.

²⁸ Garzoni *op. cit.*, 393. Sieur J. Savary, *Le Parfait Négociant*, Geneva, 1752, pp. 812 ff.

²⁹ Gyllius, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-9, has much to say of the wares and trade of Constantinople.

³⁰ A. Badoero, in Alberi, iii, i, 353, says that the territory near is so sterile, from aridity and paucity of inhabitants, that the city could not get along a fortnight without bread, meat, and fish from the Black Sea.

Thrace, and Greece sent horses, grain, meat, dried fruit, soap, and cloth. Egypt furnished rice, cotton, hemp, sugar, and drugs. Arabia contributed horses, coffee, and spices. Persia offered silk, decorated tiles, carpets, and fine fabrics. The nations of western Europe sent gold and silver coins, woolen cloths, and a thousand varieties of manufactured articles. India, Malaysia, and China sent, via Bagdad, Mecca, and Cairo, muslms, pearls, precious stones, spices, drugs, and silks.³¹

But while self-sustenance on a high plane of comfort and luxury was probably the chief economic concern of the city, its transit trade was far from inconsiderable. It is true that a century before 1453 the ruined state of politics and administration which followed the collapse of the vast Mongol Empire had broken the long east and west trade lines that had led through the city between India and China on the one hand and central and western Europe and northern Africa on the other.³² The through oriental trade had thus been driven to the southern routes through Syria and Egypt. Most of it, 45 years after the capture of the city, began to be drawn still farther south by the discovery of the long but open and easy route around Africa. The conquest by Selim I of Syria and Egypt in the years 1514 to 1517 gave, therefore, nearly empty channels to the Turks. At about the same time the reconstitution of Persia threw up an eastern barrier which the mightiest sultans were unable to destroy. Among the vast plans which Suleiman the Magnificent and his grand vizier Ibrahim projected in the years of their united and vigorous young manhood, when it seemed not too great a dream that the world might become theirs, appears to have been one of conquering Persia, shattering the Portuguese power in the Indian Ocean, and drawing the spice trade of the world through Constantinople.³³ But they and their successors were able only to secure the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea without obtaining control of either the Persian highlands or the Indian Ocean. Had there been a future to the Uzbek power with which Suleiman formed alliance in 1556, the road across the Black and Caspian Seas might have been reopened as far as the Mogul Empire in India, and a little later even to the frontier of the Manchu Government of China.³⁴ But since the Cape route continued to prevail, Constantinople lay too far to one side to compete with Alexandria, Beirut, and Smyrna for the remnants of the through trade, or even for the trade between the west and the Ottoman territories beyond the Dardanelles. The only through

³¹ See Morosini, in Alberi, iii, iii, 258.

³² For a discussion of the statements in this paragraph see my articles on the relation of the Turks to oriental trade in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, September, 1915, and Annual Report of the Amer. Hist. Assoc. for 1914.

³³ P. Zen (1530) in Alberi, iii, iii, 122: "Disse che il Signor avea mandata a tor le spezie tutte dello Egitto, e sete e spezie della Soria, per farle venir a Constantinopli."

³⁴ Hammer, *Geschichte*, iii, 353.

trade of any consequence that remained to Constantinople was that of the backward regions of northern Persia, Tartary, and the periphery of the Black Sea with the south and the west.

The Ottoman merchant shipping, like the caravans of ancient Mecca, was contented with two trips a year; one was taken in the summer to the Black Sea ports in the north, and one in the winter to the Syrian and Egyptian coasts at the south.³⁵ A separate group of Turkish ships appears to have cared for the trade of the long south shore of the Mediterranean. The Turks found the commerce between their ports and western Christendom so thoroughly in the hands of Italians, Marseillaise, and Catalans that they never took any serious part of it. Instead they permitted the westerners to maintain colonies and retain privileges in the maritime cities of the empire, including the capital, which were not balanced by like settlements of Turkish subjects in the west.³⁶

There remained to Constantinople, however, a very considerable transit trade, based upon its extraordinary geographical position at the meeting place of continents and the confluence of seas. This trade was negatively established and for a long time increased by the expansion of the Turkish dominions, which broke down successively to a vast distance on every side the obstructing political frontiers. By ancient Turkish and Saracen policy and custom, native merchants were on the whole well protected against foreign competition and domestic disorder and oppression, and internal trade was left remarkably free.³⁷ Sultans and other great people built and kept up lines of caravansaries along the great highways. On the roads from the city eastward to the Persian frontier, and south-eastward to the Cilician Gates, and thence down the Euphrates to Bagdad and Bosra, and southward through Palestine to the holy cities and to Egypt, and thence westward along the African coast to Kairowan and the Moroccan border, the traveler could count on finding at convenient intervals secure refuge and adequate shelter for himself and his animals, at little or no expense.

On the great European road through Adrianople, Sofia, Belgrade, and Budapest to the Austrian frontier not far from Vienna, the endowment of the caravansaries was in the great days of the empire sufficient to provide not only lodging but also entertainment for man and beast.³⁸ The merchant traveling by land was treated as a welcome guest. The Black Sea was kept free from piracy by the exclu-

³⁵ Blount, in J. Pinkerton, a general collection of voyages and travels in all parts of the world, London, 1808-1814, Vol. X, 250

³⁶ Perhaps the best brief description of the French colonies in the Levant, which may be taken as typical of all foreign organizations, is to be found in P. Masson, *Histoire du commerce Français dans le Levant au XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1911, pp. 139-184

³⁷ [D. Urquhart], *Turkey and its resources*, London, 1833, pp. 123 ff. Slade, *op. cit.*, I, 426.

³⁸ So Happelhus affirms, IV, 202.

sion, during three centuries after 1475, of all but regulated Turkish shipping.³⁹ Beyond the Dardanelles, it is true, the privileges of foreign merchants and the frequency of Christian piracy made some trouble. Tolls, duties, and other charges were carefully regulated and comparatively light. Nothing seriously hindered the natural economic sway of Constantinople except the barrier of the political frontiers.

This limitation was in reality very considerable, though the frontiers were far away. The trade routes which cross at Constantinople are potentially among the very greatest in the world. There is probably no more pregnant phase of the great world war than the struggle of the water route through the Bosphorus against the land route between Berlin and Bagdad.⁴⁰ The one stands for the easiest communication of the enormous drainage basins of the Black and Caspian Seas with the outer world, the other for the solidest and shortest way between western, central, and southeastern Europe and western and southern Asia and northeastern Africa. The full control of both routes by a less conservative and restricted, a more active, advanced, and fortunate power than the Turks were ever able to become, might indeed have meant, as many observers, including perhaps Tamerlane and Napoleon I, have said, "the empire of the world."⁴¹ In some happy future day of universal peace, security, and freedom, the city may realize to the full its extraordinary economic possibilities. As for the Turks, by reason of their intrinsic limitations, their foreign policies and enmities, and varying circumstances on the three continents of the Old World, the trade along all the principal roads was much hindered at the frontiers, and their capital, though it became great, fell far short of what it might have been.

Among the internal circumstances which retarded the development of Turkish commerce, both domestic and foreign, not without compensating advantages, was the persistence of Moslem conservatism and medieval individualism. The joint-stock or even the regulated company had no chance to spring up. Nor did the Ottoman jealousy of the hereditary influence of subjects permit the establishment of enormous and active family fortunes.⁴² Nevertheless many individuals—Turks, Arabs, Armenians, Greeks, and Jews—prospered exceedingly from the lively trade.

The business of Turkish Constantinople embodied itself externally, after the ancient oriental method, in bazaars and khans or cara-

³⁹ Eng. Hist. Rev., Sept., 1915, 582-583.

⁴⁰ See the article by Prof. Morris Jastrow on *The World's Highway*, in *The Nation*. Aug. 31, 1916, and my letter in *ibid.*, Oct. 12, 1916, pp. 345-346.

⁴¹ Knolles, *op. cit.*, 340, and *Briefe Discourse*. Baron de Tott, *Mémoires sur les Turcs et les Tartares*, Amsterdam, 1784, pt. 1, 4.

⁴² Government, 59.

vansaries, the latter being, so to speak, the terminal stations of the great roads.⁴³ Local merchants and manufacturers in very small groups trafficked and worked in little square shops, which were built along narrow and crooked streets, and sometimes roofed over, street and all, to constitute the low rambling buildings known as bazaars. The shops of merchants and artisans of similar occupations were usually clustered together. Numerous guilds supplied solidarity to the various groups.⁴⁴ Visiting merchants found abundant accommodation in the many khans, which, loftier and more substantial than those by the roadside in the country, provided places for baggage animals in their courtyards and ground-floor rooms, while above were secure chambers where the merchants could live and keep and display their goods.⁴⁵ Many of the khans and hostels provided without any payment room and food for three days to all comers—merchants and pilgrims, Moslems, Christians, and Jews.⁴⁶

There is not space to develop the political importance of Turkish Constantinople as fully as the less known economic side. Some have questioned the title of Constantinople to the appellation of capital in the political sense. The Turks had at different times three capitals. Evliya Effendi quotes:

You imagine you see the meadows of paradise in Istambul, Brusa, and Edirneh.⁴⁷

The headship of the state was personal in the Sultan to such an extent that the chief officers of government, including the chief executive, the chancellor, and the treasurers, were kept regularly with him, and all important government business was transacted near him.⁴⁸ Now the Sultans remained by no means always in their palaces at Constantinople. They paid little attention to Brusa after 1453, but continued to maintain a palace in Adrianople. Suleiman in his later years spent the winters there.⁴⁹ Mohammed IV, by reason of unpleasant memories from the assassination of his father and his own hardships, held a strong aversion to the city by the Bosphorus.⁵⁰ The more capable Sultans went often on campaigns, sometimes for long periods. Nevertheless the city was more of a political capital than any other place, for the Sultans were there, on

⁴³ Garzoni, *op. cit.*, 392.

⁴⁴ Evliya Effendi, in i, ii, 104-250, gives an extensive and interesting account of the guilds of Constantinople as they appeared in procession before Sultan Murad IV in 1638.

⁴⁵ Happpellius, *op. cit.*, IV, 193-194, 202.

⁴⁶ Morosini, *op. cit.*, 270: "Oltre di ciò fabbricano anco ospedali molto più superbi di edificio che non sono le proprie case, in molti de' quali si dà il mangiar per tre giorni continui a chi ne vuole, non solo a turchi ma anco a cristiani e giudei."

⁴⁷ Evliya Effendi, i, i, 101 (Constantinople, Brusa, and Adrianople)

⁴⁸ Government, 90, 191. M. D'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'empire ottoman*, Paris, 1788-1824, vii, 399

⁴⁹ Busbecq, *op. cit.*, i, 198

⁵⁰ Ricaut, *History of Turkish Empire*, ii, 88 ff.

the whole, during a majority of the time.⁵¹ After 1453 it was always, both at home and abroad, regarded as the premier city and the imperial seat.⁵² Mohammed II appears to have felt that he acquired a new rank and position in the world because of its possession.⁵³ The time was not yet, anywhere in Europe, for the construction of vast buildings for parliaments and departments of government such as would establish beyond dispute the location of a capital city.

For his residence Mohammed built, first, a large but rambling and inconvenient palace a little to the northeast of the center of Stamboul.⁵⁴ Later he took over the hill and promontory at the extreme northeast of the city, including a large portion of the area of old Byzantium, with the entire site of its Acropolis. This tract had belonged to the Church of Santa Sophia, which lies adjacent, and had been until lately covered with churches, cloisters, and schools.⁵⁵ The Sultan decreed that this land should pay, as endowment for the church, now become a mosque, a perpetual daily rent of 1,001 aspers of a bullion value at that time approximating \$46 per day, or \$27,000 per year.⁵⁶ He cleared the area almost completely, and upon the commanding site, with its matchless outlook over the sea of Marmora, the Bosphorus, and the Golden Horn toward Asia and Europe, he built comparatively modest accommodations for his great household. The Serai was never a palace in the ordinary sense of a large imposing building, but was rather a cluster of structures, mostly one storied, distributed in a large park.⁵⁷ At first the Sultan's women were left in the old palace, and only the inner household, including the college of pages, resided in the Serai. But in the time of Suleiman the women, with their eunuch guards, began to be removed thither and to become a powerful element in the Government, whether for good or for bad.⁵⁸

When the Sultan was in Constantinople he gave audience in the small but splendid throne room between the middle and the inner gates; and on four days of the week the great officers of administra-

⁵¹ Garzoni, *op. cit.*, 393.

⁵² A. La Jonquière, in his *Histoire de l'empire ottoman*, Paris, 1914, I, 161, quotes a letter of Suleiman's, "Écrit . . . de la résidence impériale de Constantinople, la bien munie et la bien gardée." See also in Alberi's *Relazione*, Navagero, III, I, 36, 42; Barbaro, III, I, 301, Garzoni, III, I, 393; Zane, III, III, 390; Ricaut, *History of Turkish Empire*, II, 88.

⁵³ Knolles, *Generall Historie*, 350: "After that *Mahomet* was thus become Lord of the imperial citie of Constantinople, as is aforesaid, and had fully resolved there to place his imperiall seat, . . . he took upon him the name and title of Emperour and is from that time not unworthily reputed for the first Emperour of the Turks." Sir Charles Eliot, *Turkey in Europe*, London, 1908, pp. 115, 274.

⁵⁴ Venter, *op. cit.*, 467.

⁵⁵ Knolles, *Generall Historie*, 342. Government, 202

⁵⁶ Ricaut, *Present State*, 215.

⁵⁷ See note 6 above. Blount in Pinkerton, x, 251, says that the palace "seems but a garden house for pleasure."

⁵⁸ Government, 121 ff.

tion and justice met in the near-by Hall of the Divan and transacted the principal business of state. Hence proceeded declarations of war and orders for the assembly of the army and the fleet; in consequence a large part of the army and the entire fleet before going on campaign were usually reviewed near or from the Serai. Here was carried out with fearful promptness many an execution, even of younger brothers of newly enthroned sultans. Hence went forth many a pair of messengers to the residence of a distant officer, guarding carefully an imperial order to have him slain and to bring back his head.⁵⁹ Here the Janissaries, the Spahis of the Porte, or the populace were wont to assemble when things were going wrong and accomplish a change of cabinet by the process of requiring the extermination of the old membership and the appointment of a new group.⁶⁰ Sometimes amid great tumults, with perhaps the burning of many houses and the slaughter of many people, an intolerable sultan was deposed or even destroyed.⁶¹ Here, in short, centered the strong life of the powerful empire, imperfectly constituted but sternly assuring its continuance by the speedy removal of obstructive individuals; exerting by effective means an irresistible authority as far as its remote frontiers; striking crushing blows against rebels within the empire and far-distant enemies without; engendering the fear of imminent conquest in the minds of the inhabitants of large portions of three continents; descending in the stupid and shameful reigns of some sultans to depths of extreme degradation; mounting under other sovereigns to great heights of noble purpose and just government. There was a singular strength and persistence in the system, to which many elements contributed. The structure of the Government was ingeniously solid, the old imperial tradition helped, and religion was a powerful influence; salvation was often found in the disagreements of enemies and the aid of friends; but no small amount of credit for durability is to be given to the city itself, a center, a stronghold, a pillar of strength, and a pivot of power.⁶²

Under the sultans the city has been one of the great religious centers of the world. It did not cease to hold the primacy of eastern Christendom, which it had already enjoyed during 11 centuries. The patriarchs of Constantinople, ranking a little lower in the ancient church than the patriarchs of Rome, but possessing parallel authority, had been appointed and invested by the emperors, and now

⁵⁹ Evliya Effendi, vol. II, 212, 216, gives an example of this practice.

⁶⁰ For example, in 1632, during the reign of Murad IV, when the populace demanded 17 heads of prominent officials and obtained them.

⁶¹ As Osman in 1622, and Ibrahim in 1648.

⁶² Eliot, *op cit.*, 17, 53, 87, speaks of Constantinople as "even in the hour of collapse and decay imparting to the house of Osman . . . a mysterious strength," and as "an unparalleled national citadel, possessed of a strength far more lasting than any which mere fortifications give."

were similarly chosen by the Padishahs.⁶³ If their honor was diminished outside the empire by their subordination to a sovereign who was upheld by a rival religion and accounted an infidel, they found compensation by the addition within the empire of a wide civil headship over their numerous co-religionists, as administrators, legislators, and judges.⁶⁴ In fact, by reason of the patriarchs' double authority, Constantinople continued to be not only the religious but the political capital of all the Greek Orthodox Christians of the empire. Other Christian groups and the Jews had likewise their chiefs at Constantinople, who might not be the highest personages of their religion, but who likewise had an extensive civil power over all their votaries in Turkey.⁶⁵

Mohammed II felt that his empire was the *Dar ul-Islam*, the home of Islam, and that he was the divinely appointed defender of his faith.⁶⁶ But after his grandson Selim I had overthrown the Mamluke power, the Sultan became the protector of the holy cities and acquired, whether or not he ventured to use the title, the *de facto* position of caliph or successor of the prophet Mohammed.⁶⁷ This made him the chief personage of all Moslems everywhere, and gave a religious foundation to his desire to bring them all under his scepter and to conquer the rest of the world for Islam. His chief religious adviser was the Mufti of Constantinople, known from the time of the conquest as the Sheikh or Senior of Islam, who possessed in matters touching the faith a decisive authority as broad as the limits of the empire.⁶⁸ Head of the Ulema, or learned men, he ranked in some respects above the sultan himself. He proclaimed wars and pronounced on the execution of great personages, and on the deposition of an undesirable sultan. With the two Kaziaskers, or judges of the army, he controlled all the appointments of the counsellors and judges of the empire. His power rested ultimately on his capacity as interpreter of the Sheri, or sacred law of Islam, a constitution that was superior even to the sovereign.

The Turkish educational system, in the great days of the empire, was closely associated with the Moslem religion and therefore was likewise centered in the premier city. The only road to ecclesiastical, legal, and judicial preferment, as well as to certain administrative offices, lay through the three grades of the numerous endowed

⁶³ Hammer, *Geschichte*, II, 1.

⁶⁴ Eliot, *op. cit.*, 243, expresses the judgment that Mohammed II made the Greek patriarch far stronger than he had been under the Byzantine Empire.

⁶⁵ A detailed development of this subject may be found in Count F. van den Steen de Jehay, *De la situation légale des sujets ottomans non-musulmans*, Brussels, 1906.

⁶⁶ Government, 64.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 150.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 207 ff.

institutions, the schools, colleges, and law schools.⁶⁹ As the number, attendance, and importance of these grew, Constantinople became not only the educational center of the existing empire, but one of the great historic university centers of the Moslem civilization. The Turks were never strong in scientific investigation, philosophical speculation, or theological subtlety, and in these respects Stamboul never rose to rivalry with the older splendors of Bagdad, Cordova, Cairo, or Samarcand. But its scholars possessed a Roman soundness and practicality, and, though often a retarding force, they have, on the whole, contributed greatly to the strength and durability of their empire.

Thus, in many ways, Turkish Constantinople has been great. Some have said, however, that the influence of the city is far from salutary, and that, whether from an enervating quality in its frequently prevailing south wind, or a charming of the senses and a lulling of the emotions by its enchanting scenes,⁷⁰ or a too great ease of life in its favorable location, or the accumulated habits and traditions of 25 centuries, the city tends to diminish the personal activities of its inhabitants, like an eternal Lotus land.⁷¹ Nay, more, its effect upon moral qualities has frequently been said to be degenerative. In the three periods of its history, as "luxurious Byzantines," "Greeks of the lower empire," and "unspeakable Turks," its inhabitants have had a bad name. High hopes have been brought low; noble ancestors have had degenerate descendants; cunning, falsehood, deceit, avarice, treachery, and cruelty have risen and flourished. The full establishment of the household of the sultan on the beautiful Seraglio Point marked the beginning of rapid deterioration for his line. The centering in the patriarch of Constantinople of the Greek orthodox subject nationality developed sycophancy, simony, and sacerdotalism. The Moslems increased here in overwhelming pride, intolerance, and readiness for massacre. An educational system that was hardly surpassed 300 years ago became a heavy drag upon the nation. A government that was terribly strong and fairly just and comparatively efficient became a by-word as "the sick man of the East." A Turkish friend of mine, artist and poet, thought of the city as a corrupt and fatal sorceress, which had wrecked the manhood and vigor of his people.⁷² If such be the fixed and changeless character of the place, the nations of the world may well take thought before they strive to obtain so beautiful an "apple of Sodom."

But every city has in it something of Corinth and Gomorrah, together with something of Rome, Athens, and the new Jerusalem.

⁶⁹ Government, 203 ff.

⁷⁰ Moro, op. cit., 333.

⁷¹ Morosini, op. cit., 287

⁷² The late Tewfik Fikret Bey.

Why should Constantinople be judged by its worst or estimated at the level of a time of decadence? In its last period of prime the testimonies in its favor were many. It was called "the most beautiful and most fortunate city not only of Asia, but even of the world";⁷³ "a city fatally founded to command";⁷⁴ "the most proper situation in the world, to be made the head of a great Empire";⁷⁵ "of all places the most apt to command the world."⁷⁶ The last writer quoted spoke in 1634 of "the Turks, who are the only modern people great in action, and whose empire hath so suddenly invaded the world, and fixed itself on such firm foundations as no other ever did; I was of opinion that he who would behold these times in their greatest glory could not find a better scene than Turkey."⁷⁷ Said Gyllius: "Though all other Cities have their periods of Government, and are subject to the Decays of Time, Constantinople alone seems to claim to herself a kind of immortality, and will continue a City, as long as the Races of Mankind shall live either to inhabit or rebuild her."⁷⁸ Even when the city had fallen to its lowest recent phase, about 100 years ago, the poet could say:

And all save the spirit of man is divine."⁷⁹

The modern resurrection of Rome, Athens, and Alexandria began in the nineteenth century, and of Constantinople also, though at a slower rate. The tenacity of Mohammedan customs, good and bad, and the vigorous senility of Ottoman governing institutions yielded only gradually to efforts at improvement. But since the fateful day, 90 years ago, when Mahmoud II broke the power of the Janissaries, the city has shared in much of the change and progress of the age. Modern palaces have been built, as well as great government houses, barracks, museums, and many substantial private dwellings. Fires have become fewer and less extensive. The population has increased and its health has improved. Plague comes almost not at all, and smallpox and cholera seldom, and never in great epidemics. While the frontiers have fallen in on nearly every side, the far-traveling steamship and railway train have balanced the loss of domestic trade. Bazaars and khans have not disappeared, though caravans come no longer. Business after the European fashion is embodying itself in large shops, department stores, warehouses, power plants, and a few manufactories. Local transport is accomplished less by pack horses, porters, and picturesque rowboats, and more by wagons and carriages, electric trams, autobuses, and steamers. Government has now its codes of law and courts of justice on western models, its con-

⁷³ Garzoni, *op. cit.*, 393.

⁷⁴ Knolles, *Generall Historie: Briefe Discourse*.

⁷⁵ Busbecq, *op. cit.*, I, 123.

⁷⁶ Blount, in Pinkerton, x, 251.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 222.

⁷⁸ Gyllius, *op. cit.*, 11

⁷⁹ Byron, *The Bride of Abydos*, Canto I, 1.

stitution, parliament, ministry, and parties. Religion has lessened in importance. The few mosques that are built do not bear comparison with the superb structures of the great days. The old schools and colleges are declining, and a new and modern educational system is being developed. In all phases of Turkish life the old and the new are curiously mingled, but everywhere the old is passing and the new is gaining.

Constantinople is still Turkish, and has lately demonstrated the abiding strength of its defenses, both in the natural situation and in the spirit of the Turkish people. In the present conflict one side has sworn to take the city from the Turks and initiate a Russian phase of its existence, which might become greater and more dominant than any phases that have gone before. The other side would leave the Turks in place and supply them with the means and energy for rapid modernization. In either case the external city is likely to undergo great changes during the twentieth century. There is not much likelihood, however, that if it continues to be the capital of the diminished Ottoman Empire, its inner spirit will be thoroughly transformed. The great days of the sixteenth century can never return. An equally great new phase under the Turks, though with Teuton advice and aid, is not to be expected. If in the course of time the Germans should obtain complete control and ownership, the story would again be different. But civilization has developed northward, and it does not seem possible that Constantinople can become the Russian or the German capital. As a subcapital for the one nation or the other it might increase greatly in wealth, power, and influence; it might, for one thing, disserve the British Empire by capturing the Mediterranean road, but the day seems to be past when it could seriously threaten to dominate the world.

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XIII. A. THE STUART PERIOD: UNSOLVED PROBLEMS.

By WALLACE NOTESTEIN,
Professor of History in the University of Minnesota.

B. UNSOLVED LEGAL AND INSTITUTIONAL PROBLEMS
IN THE STUART PERIOD.

By ROLAND G. USHER,
Assistant Professor of History in Washington University.

THE STUART PERIOD: UNSOLVED PROBLEMS.

By WALLACE NOTESTEIN.

An examination of the files of the American Historical Review would lead one to suspect that the phrase about the poor gleaning after Gardiner had been generally accepted in this country. It is remarkable that the period Gardiner covered—a period so closely connected with American history and traditions—should have been so well let alone. Even in England, however, there have been few laborers in Gardiner's particular field since his day. That eminent scholar, Professor C. H. Firth, who is continuing Gardiner's narrative with so much distinction, has more than once appealed to English students to take up some of the fundamental work still to be done in that period. It is upon the subject of the chance for such work that I wish to speak. And I shall have to limit myself to the first half of the seventeenth century, and still further to the matter of parliamentary history.

One can not begin such a paper without mention of what Gardiner has done for all scholars of seventeenth-century England. His service is inestimable. He was the first student to use a large part of the known material. If he was as unsystematic as has been reported, he must have had a prodigious memory for places where information was to be found. He brought to light a great body of unused materials, and he pieced old and new information together with the utmost pains, to give us a mosaic that is the best thing of its kind. He covered fifty-four years of English history where the body of sources was enormous and that of monographic literature pitifully slight and gave us the story of what happened—the plain course of events. One cannot mention a year between 1603 and 1656 in which he has not told us much that we did not know, most of it worth telling. The dependence upon him of the writers in the Dictionary of National Biography carries its own moral. No doubt students will add somewhat to his narrative, especially as new sources are exploited, yet it will always be hard to improve upon the chronological order of events as Gardiner has set it forth. Though it may be possible to doubt the motives which Gardiner too easily attributed to men and to criticize his comment, sometimes inconsistent, as Mr. Usher has

pointed out, and certainly not always fair, it will be hard enough to say this fact or that is wrong. Gardiner was so careful to say just how much he knew, he had such a genius for refined qualification, that it is more difficult than it looks to trip him up. When he seems most surely cornered he squirms out by an unnoticed phrase. By his skill in ransacking all possible sources and by his infinite pains in untwisting the chronological order of events (was ever any other historian so interested in the exact sequence?) he has built a monument that will be as everlasting as that of which poets have boasted.

It is not true, of course, that Gardiner found the Stuart-period legend (Hallam, Carlyle, Spedding, Bruce, Sanford, and Forster must be given their due meed), but it is true that he left it history. If he has been a pioneer and only that, he has been one who, after others had cut down the trees, cleared up the underbrush and pulled out the stumps, so that the land is ready for the plowing. Or, to use another figure, he has widened the path through the woods into a main road, bridged the streams, and left it to others to settle the country. It must be said, further, that Gardiner did just that thing he could do best. Not social history; it is really extraordinary how seldom Gardiner stops to tell us what he must have known about the way people lived, what they thought, and the class distinctions they made; not constitutional history, though curiously enough there have been those who called him a constitutional historian; not philosophic history was his talent. He was not a Buckle, a Maitland, or a Lecky. He had no gift of the gods to understand events. Mr. Usher lays Gardiner's faults to a wrong method. Admitting the wrong method, one may inquire, Were they not more due to the want of genius? Gardiner no doubt realized his human handicaps and sought to do that thing he was most fitted for—to straighten out the order of events. He was interested in the order of events for its own sake, and for another reason, I think. Gardiner was beyond all else curious as to the character of the men who crossed his pages. Were they finely honest? Were they men of entire integrity? His new documents about Buckingham were welcome because they served to answer such questions more narrowly as to that figure. About Cromwell he was ever asking the same questions. Was he always above-board? Was he scheming for his own greatness or for some far ideal of government and religion? With some reason Gardiner believed that, by following the thread of a man's actions in and out, one could form a moral judgment upon him. He was interested in moral judgments. It was this interest that sometimes led him astray. He overestimated, for example, the part of Eliot because Eliot was the moral idealist of the opposition to the King, and he underrated the part of Coke, who was its intellectual leader.

Mr. Usher has implied that Gardiner was unfair; that he was prejudiced in favor of the parliamentary party. No doubt he was. Gardiner was really the last of a school. In the early part of the nineteenth century the attention of men was again directed to the civil wars, largely by a group of writers who were Whigs or radicals, and who were eager to recall to the public mind the popular heroes of the early seventeenth century. William Godwin, Thomas Carlyle, John Forster, John Bruce, J. L. Sanford, David Masson, were all of them in sympathy with the parliamentary leaders. All of them, too, were students and used history with a good deal of care. Gardiner was the successor of these men. It might be difficult to prove, but it is hard not to believe that he must have been influenced in his choice of subject by the books of the Carlyle circle, as it may fairly be called. With John Bruce he was intimately associated. He took up the work of these men, not to finish it, but to do it over again. He was nevertheless a member of their school. He was the last, and much the greatest, of the historians of the civil wars (Firth really belongs to a later period) who wrote the history of the early seventeenth century from the outlook of Liberalism. "Gardiner," writes Lord Acton to Mary Gladstone after a conversation with the historian, "contrives only by effort not to revile the good old cause." He did so contrive, however, and he was, more than any of his predecessors, a man desirous to be just.

But there is no time to deal with the question of Gardiner's fairness. Not by better intentions but by fuller materials and more refined criticism of materials can the period ever be treated more fairly. The day has come for a more searching analysis of sources than Gardiner had time for, that we may arrive at more just estimates and that we may grasp more fully the bearing of facts, not alone in their chronological, but in all their aspects. It may be said for Gardiner that he has put those who follow under a reasonable handicap—a handicap such as confident investigators should welcome. Not by extensive agriculture but by intensive cultivation can they hope to realize profits. About such work in respect to parliamentary history, for the years 1603 to 1660, I wish to point out certain opportunities; to show, first, that there is a large body of materials yet to be used for the first time, some of them overlooked by Gardiner, more turned up since his time; to show, secondly, that old materials, such as the Commons Journals and the widely copied manuscripts of speeches in the Commons, are of less authority than Gardiner assigned to them, and must be used with more discrimination; to show, thirdly, that the history of the Stuart Parliaments must be studied in the light of earlier centuries; and, fourthly, that there is a range of problems about Parliament which Gardiner left almost untouched.

The new materials for the history of the Commons debates are nearly as much again as those to which Gardiner had access. A new account for the session of 1624, a long and detailed one for 1626, one for 1628, another for 1629, and at least three for parts of the Long Parliament have been listed since Gardiner's day. At that rate it is to be expected that the upturning of country houses, likely to come in the wake of the war, will bring to light many more such accounts. As those notebooks are found, they must be carefully edited and indexed.

Not only are such new diaries to be found, but those already known in Gardiner's day and those since turned up must be made accessible to scholars. It is rather a remarkable oversight that the most important and the one known for the longest time among the manuscript accounts of the Long Parliament, that of Simonds D'Ewes, is as yet unedited. For the same Parliament, the notebooks of Whitacre, Moore, Yonge, Peyton, Geoffrey Palmer, and an anonymous writer are all in manuscript. Three of them have never yet been used by historians; two others have been used slightly because they were in cipher. Gardiner read ciphers, as we all know, but he did not use them overmuch when anything else was to be found. Thomas Carlyle talked wistfully of one diary of the Long Parliament still to find. Since his day two have been printed, and have been made use of by Gardiner; six, of which Gardiner used three, are still in manuscript. The matter of new materials since Gardiner's day may be illustrated also by the session of the Commons for 1628. Gardiner used a considerable body of printed sources and three notebooks in manuscript. In the case of one of those he used an imperfect and incomplete copy, though a complete copy was to be found no farther away than the Inner Temple; in the case of a second, he missed the second volume, which was in the British Museum; in the case of the third, a shorthand notebook, he used it altogether too sparingly. But since Gardiner's day two new manuscript notebooks, one of them an almost verbatim record, and the other much fuller than anything he used, have come to light. As a matter of fact Sir Richard Grosvenor's four substantial notebooks, listed for a long time in the Historical Manuscripts Commission as parliamentary debates for 1628, belong to Trinity College, Dublin. It might readily have been supposed by Gardiner that the four manuscript notebooks were merely variants of the standard account to be found in the British Museum, an account already partly printed in the well-known *Ephemeris Parliamentaria*, as well as in Rushworth. Or, to illustrate from 1626, a new manuscript brought to light in Cambridge University contains at a reasonable estimate at least four times as much detail for the debates of 1626 as was before to be found in all known sources.

Such new materials are going to make possible a more careful analysis and interpretation of those hitherto used. By the comparative use of the new and old accounts for 1628 it is possible to determine more nearly than ever before the character of the Commons Journal, a matter Gardiner never stopped to consider. It is true that in one place he did notice that it left out certain resolutions. That it was not official at all, that it consisted of preliminary jottings by the clerk of the Commons and was something quite different from the finished "Clerk's Book," which has been lost, nearly all of it, seems never to have occurred to him. He had other matters more pressing than to determine the exact character of the Commons Journal, the reasonable reliability of which was obvious to anyone. Yet its notes were no more dependable, its record of speeches not a whit more official than those of other note takers.

Of another kind of parliamentary material of which Gardiner made use, the reasonable reliability was much less certain. It was a kind of material that required the most careful sifting—I refer to the manuscript speeches and proceedings existing in many copies. Anyone at all familiar with the manuscript materials in the British Museum will at once recognize the genus. There will be found, for example, a speech of Glanville's in three different copies in the Harleian MSS, in two different copies in the Stowe MSS. There will be several copies of the speech in the Bodleian. The speech will be included within a folio volume of speeches for the session. These copies will be the same in the main; they will have verbal differences, sometimes differences in sentences. Such transcripts of speeches were evidently sold and had considerable circulation. These speeches in separates and collections Gardiner has used almost without question. Save for a few of Eliot's speeches in 1628 and perhaps a dozen other speeches, the untrustworthiness of which was generally recognized, I do not think he ever doubted them. He rejects a speech of Sir Edward Cecil's in the Parliament of 1621 because someone at the time had pronounced it a forgery, and a few pages farther on accepts another speech of little better credit. He fails to realize that such speeches represent all degrees of trustworthiness. Many of them were the form of the speech as the orator himself wrote it out afterwards, polished off perhaps as compared with the spoken speech. In other instances they were speeches as they were prepared by scriveners who made a living by selling them, scriveners who got hold of them by hearsay or by bribing members with good memories, and who now and again put speeches in men's mouths that they never spoke. And furthermore, if the separates were by chance fairly good reproductions of what had been said, they were likely to suffer much in the process of copying. An extreme illustration of this result is to be found in connection with the session of 1628. Gardi-

ner cites a speech of Sir Thomas Wentworth to show that Wentworth was partly in sympathy with the King. But the truth is that Gardiner was using a manuscript separate where the copyist had failed to insert in the margin the name of Sir Humphrey May, privy councillor and supporter of Charles, who had spoken just after Wentworth. Hence Gardiner read May's loyal words as those of Wentworth, and fell into rather a serious error. This is, of course, an unusual case. Yet Gardiner's willingness to accept this whole genre of material, circulated manuscripts, or their printed equivalents, that had no authority behind them, is surprising. As we read speeches nearly stenographic, such as Sir Richard Grosvenor gives us for 1628 and 1629, we learn that they were very different from these in the manuscript versions. There was much more quick sharp talk back and forth, the homely talk of direct unsophisticated country gentlemen, and much less full-dress debate with elaborate openings, periodic sentences, and eloquent perorations, than Gardiner would lead us to believe. The more critical use of manuscript separates, the rejection of many of them, and the re-examination and study of others is part of the work of future students of seventeenth-century history.

It must be said, in passing, that the small quantity of destructive criticism that can be credited to Gardiner is surprising. In all the eighteen volumes of the narrative, in his many editions for the Camden Society, in all his papers for the English Historical Review, the Archaeologia, and other periodicals, there is little of that tearing-down work that Firth has done so well. I can not think of any body of parliamentary sources about which he ever raised serious questions, save about Eliot's *Negotium Posterorum*. He never stopped to assess the variant values of the different parts of Whitelocke, as Michael in his life of Cromwell has done; or, if he was aware of them, he never told us. It is true, of course, that he is constantly comparing contradictory accounts to determine which was right. And he has in more than one instance pointed out mistakes in D'Ewes's *Journal of the Long Parliament*. But such criticisms seem never to have been based upon a systematic study of the character of the source as a whole. He never cared for source-study on its own account. German method had no lure for him. He put his faith in common sense, and he used such uncommon sense often that it seems hypercritical to find fault with him. Yet his method had dangers. He trusted too much to the "test of probability," as he called it. What would this man probably do in the given situation? What would that man say? In telling of the mob which in July of 1647 forced the Parliament to repeal the militia ordinance, Gardiner had to choose between the agreeing accounts of Waller and Holles on the one hand, and the single story of Bamfield on the other. Holles and Waller were

men of integrity, and Holles was a man who wrote within the year and who wrote in any case carefully. Bamfield was an intriguer all his life, who was trusted by no party, not even by those who employed him, and who wrote, moreover, more than 40 years later. Yet Gardiner was inclined to believe Bamfield and to discredit the joint testimony of Holles and Waller.

There is further work to be done in the parliamentary sources by the use of them in connection with earlier English history—my third point. It must be fairly obvious to any one that the seventeenth century, of all centuries, can not be understood without a deep knowledge of earlier periods. It can be said with the greatest assurance that Gardiner was not familiar in any specialized way with the parliamentary history of England. Mr. Usher has criticized him for using the term "Elizabethan constitution" in different senses. He has, I think, made his point. The handicap under which Gardiner labored—I think he would have admitted it himself and have said that he could not do all things—was a greater one than carelessness in the use of such terms as the "Elizabethan constitution." It is really necessary, if one is to write intelligently of the various matters at issue between 1603 and 1660, that one shall be thoroughly familiar with the course of the struggle of Parliament from the thirteenth century to the end of Elizabeth, and in particular with the Lancastrian period. In that period appeared those many claims of Parliament, which, centuries later, were urged so earnestly by Sir Edward Coke as precedents. We are beginning, I hope, to realize what Gardiner sometimes saw darkly, but again forgot, that those lawyers of the early seventeenth century who met at Sir Robert Cotton's house, and examined parliament rolls, made more claims than they could have substantiated, that they interpreted vague phrases of 1397, of 1407, and 1451, to suit their particular needs in a time when the Commons had become a much more self-conscious body. Not that they were in most instances attempting to mislead. They were simply guilty of that sin to which historical students are prone, the sin of interpreting the past in the light of their own time. They were studying history with a purpose. They saw freedom of speech in the vaguest words; they saw initiation of money grants by the Commons in precedents of slight import; they found complex parliamentary procedure in words that meant nothing of the sort.

As I have said in another place some time ago, the Commons were not, in 1628 and 1629, to use those years again, regaining old lost trenches. What they were really doing was to thrust forward into new trenches. How far this is true of the whole struggle I do not know, but much recent work looks in this direction. There are, however, matters enough yet to be investigated. We must study more carefully, in the light of earlier history, the privileges and practices

of Parliament, such matters as the place of subsidy bills, the function of the Privy Council in introducing legislation; we must indeed examine a score of questions that have to do with the rights and procedure of Parliament. "The state and honour of this assemblie," said Sir Robert Phelips to the Commons in 1628, "consists in nothing more than in the privileges of his house; if they are invalidated and once left, they are never recovered again." It is simply a guess, but one perhaps worth recording, that there is a great field of work in the development of procedure between the end of Henry VIII's reign and the beginning of the Long Parliament. It may be that we shall find that during that Elizabethan period, when Parliament is said to have been merely holding its own, it was really through the unobserved accretion of principles of procedure steadily gaining ground. And not only precedents, but such questions as tunnage and poundage deserve most careful investigation in the light of all the debates in Stuart Parliaments and many earlier Parliaments. Such matters Gardiner could not have spoken finally upon had he been granted three lives. There is work for many scholars. Without any minute knowledge of the past, Gardiner attempted to see both sides of issues that involved the past. He attempted honestly to present the arguments of the lawyers for the King, as well as those of the opposition. If his efforts to be just now and then seem labored and do not ring quite true to his deepest feelings—an English country gentleman has dubbed him, in an angry footnote, "St. Just"—it is because he wanted that profound knowledge that could dare to condemn one party; if his fairness sometimes verged close upon weakness, it is the weakness of one attempting to pass judgment without all the information he could wish.

And now, to come to my fourth point, there is a range of problems which Gardiner left untouched. It is remarkable that no monographs have been written about the electoral campaigns for the Stuart Parliaments. Already in American history the presidential campaigns are being threshed out with considerable gain to our understanding. As early as 1626 there is evidence that the elections were being watched with care, not only by the King's party but by an opposition. It is more true in 1628 and still more in 1640. The evidence for a fairly well organized parliamentary campaign prior to the Long Parliament is to be found in many places. That evidence might possibly support the assumption that by that time Parliament was speaking for the nation.

The deeper questions of the membership of the several parliaments, what kind of men were elected, how the parts of the country were arrayed, how the trade interests came in, deserve examination. It might turn out that hard times had something to do with the strength of the opposition to the King in the Long Parliament.

Such work as Prof. W. C. Abbott has done for the Cavalier Parliament, must be done for the earlier Parliaments. About this kind of thing Gardiner must have known a great deal. He did not stop to tell us what he knew, probably because he felt that he did not know it thoroughly enough.

The rise of the organized opposition to the King is yet to be studied. Here, again, we look in vain to Gardiner. The group that met at Sir Robert Cotton's house he must have known all about; the little working gang that manipulated the Long Parliament could not have been unknown to him. Yet such matters find little space in his restrained pages. We should like to know how it came about that the Long Parliament hit upon its purposes so quickly, how Pym attained so easily his unquestioned leadership, how the Independents gained control in 1644, and how the New Model Ordinance was slipped through.

By the use of parliamentary materials opened since Gardiner wrote and the constant lookout for new sources, by a more thorough analysis of the sources which Gardiner used and a finer discrimination in sifting them, by a closer relating of the Stuart Parliaments to those of earlier times, and by the investigation of many aspects of the history still unstudied, it may be possible not only to get closer even than Gardiner to that sought-for truth of events, but to make ready for those wider interpretations, for that historical philosophy which Gardiner shunned. It may be possible to attain more nearly to that final comment, that—

"Perfect witness of all-judging Jove,
As he pronounces lastly on each deed."

To such a conquest of sources American students may well address themselves. When the young students of English history have left the British Museum, the Record Office, and the Bodleian to fight for the maintenance of those principles of government, the development of which has been their study, it is the more incumbent upon American students to take their places in the manuscript rooms.¹ There are going to be few others left to work. By the cooperation of many scholars the way may be prepared for a greater than Gardiner.

¹ This was read in December, 1916.

UNSOLVED LEGAL AND INSTITUTIONAL PROBLEMS IN THE STUART PERIOD.

By ROLAND G. USHER.

Prof. Notestein has spoken of the number and importance of the parliamentary problems in Stuart history which Gardiner left unsolved; the unsolved legal and institutional problems are quite as numerous and significant. The permanent tangible result of the revolution of 1640 was the legislation of 1641, which abolished the prerogative courts and the provincial councils, and which wrote into English law and English history certain precepts about their growth and about the development of the common law courts which have yet to be thoroughly investigated and tested. Only a very little has been done. The Star Chamber, the Court of Requests, the Admiralty, the Council in the Marches of Wales, the Council of the North, have been superficially investigated for the Tudor period, and, as far as this work goes, it is extremely valuable. But only the high commission has been dealt with for the Stuart period, though Miss Skeel is at work on the Council of Wales, and another student on the Council of the North. Neither, however, possesses the requisite knowledge of Roman and English law for a study approaching finality. Something, too, is known about the Privy Council, but no complete study has yet been made for the Tudor period; and the excellent preliminary survey of Prof. Viles has never been printed. For the all-important years of the personal rule of Charles we have as yet only the conjectures of Masson.

The real key to the explanation of the institutional history of the period is probably not the growth of the administrative courts and councils, but the development of the courts of common law. Here literally nothing has been done with the original records since Plowden and Dyer, Moore and Coke prepared their digests and summaries of cases. The whole history of the common law for this period has been written, not from the evidence itself, not from the records, but from such selections from the records as the early controversialists on the common-law side of the dispute believed to represent the truth. The eminent lawyers who have recently pursued researches in the legal history of the sixteenth century have assumed the substantial accuracy and adequacy of the reports. Dyer's and Coke's ideas of *assumpsit* or of the action on the case are certainly

of the first importance. But can we assume that they necessarily knew what the real trend of legal development in the sixteenth century had been? Can we assume that we are investigating the merits of a legal controversy between the common-law judges and the Crown, or between the judges and rival jurisdictions, when we accept the judges' notions of precedent and law as true, though we can test their accuracy only by the judges' own selections from the records of decisions made by the judges themselves and their predecessors? It is a literal fact that we have never studied the history of the common law in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; we have studied and analyzed the ideas about its history which its contemporaries wrote for us.

The little first-hand work that has been done on the common-law records shows how important the modifications of the judgments of history will be. At the same time it shows, not so much that the judges intentionally falsified the truth, but that their notions of historical truth and of historical evidence differed considerably from ours. They studied the past with notions about the Romans, the Saxons, and William the Norman which would make even a modern high-school student stare. Coke unquestionably believed that Brutus, fleeing from burning Troy, settled in England, and that he recognized and codified the Common Law, which was thus comfortably demonstrated to have been older than Alfred and William the Conqueror, and hence superior in obligation to the royal prerogative.

We need a first-hand study of the common-law records themselves, an impartial study of the history of Roman law in England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a thorough study down to 1640 of the administrative councils and prerogative courts from their own records where available, and from the official correspondence, before we can suppose that we have grasped the historical significance of the Revolution of 1640 and historical truth about the great constitutional controversies of the seventeenth century. The amount of work to be done, if any results approximating finality are to be achieved, is so vast that only the cooperation of many competent scholars will enable us to make progress at all. The common-law records are so complete and so voluminous that any attempt to discard the printed reports and work from the originals involves a greater amount of physical effort than any one man can endure. The published Register of the Privy Council stops at 1603; the volumes from 1603 to 1612 were burned in the fire of 1616. I was told in 1914 that the Historical Manuscripts Commission had decided to continue publication of the record at least to the year 1640, but my informant added that nothing would be done for some years, and surely the war has postponed such plans indefinitely. In any case, the register is of little real assistance, for it contains little

besides an increasingly stereotyped and formal record of quasi-legal actions and of the attempt to enforce some sort of regulative economic policy. This means that for the Privy Council, as for the Star Chamber, the Provincial Councils, the Court of Requests, the Admiralty, the Commissioners for Sewers, and the numerous minor but important administrative and legal bodies, the really valuable material is extremely scattered and fragmentary, difficult to collect and evaluate. In studying the relation of all these bodies to the common law and ecclesiastical hierarchies, the greatest care is necessary to separate the facts from the controversial reaction of contemporaries to them. This wastes time and effort, for it means that considerable masses of material, carefully collected, will often be eventually found valueless.

One important contribution to parliamentary history, which Prof. Notestein did not mention, would be a critical edition of the first volume of the Commons' Journals. The MS. volumes preserved in the archives at Westminster are in several anonymous hands of varying dates, contain obviously many additions and marginal notes to the original text. The whole has been printed in the volume familiar to us without distinction as to handwriting, the probable priority of the entries, the marginal material, or the obvious interpolations, contemporaneous or otherwise. It seems impossible that this should be the original clerk's book of notes taken in the house, or even his original transcript of it, with spaces for notes of speeches he should receive from the members. Prof. Notestein believes the section for 1628 to be the Clerk's Book, but there are many reasons for supposing that the entries for the earlier parliaments are not the clerk's notes. It may well be so much of the original record as the committee appointed in 1640 to survey the Clerk's Book may have thought wise for us to see. But we should like to know which view is correct. We need desperately a critical edition of the MS. itself, with a solution, if possible, of its numerous chirographic problems and some approximate settlement of its claims to be regarded longer as a genuine contemporary record. Here again the amount of labor of eye and hand and the necessary expense for rotographing, typewriting, and the like will be great and must depend on cooperative effort.

The importance of working in Stuart history lies in the fact that so much has already been done in it. Gardiner, with all his shortcomings, was still a very great man, and his judgment was that institutional history must rest on a more assured skeleton of political history and upon a more definite idea of personalities and their relationships than we had for any period in English history when he began his work. He has given us a firmer foundation and more nearly adequate materials to build with in Stuart history than exists

for any other period of English history. The issue of expediency is broad, but is there not something cogent to be said from the point of view of the promotion of general historical research in favor of a closer approximation to accuracy and finality in the Stuart period? Prof. Pollard, of the University of London, is extremely anxious to organize cooperative work between the men working in the Tudor period, and Prof. Newton, of the same university, has asked me to cooperate in organizing the work in the early Stuart period down to 1640. These gentlemen feel that an obstacle to such researches lies in the unwillingness of members of the profession to begin such extensive and difficult work, which a period of years is inevitably necessary to finish, without some sort of assurance that the field is not already preempted and that indefinite possession of it can be assured. From candidates for the doctorate no effective competition is likely, because the technical equipment imperative for such work is too elaborate to be easily or rapidly acquired. It seems probable that the number of men likely to attempt the solution of such questions will be only too few, and that a little correspondence can easily prevent them from encroaching on each other's fields of labor. Thus research will be stimulated, duplication will be prevented, and our information upon the period will advance more rapidly. I should consider it a favor if those who are pursuing researches in this period, or who contemplate work in it, will communicate with me or with Prof. Newton, if he has not already written them.

XIV. BEGINNINGS OF THE OLDEST EUROPEAN ALLIANCE:
ENGLAND AND PORTUGAL, 1640-1661.

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BEGINNINGS OF THE OLDEST EUROPEAN ALLIANCE: ENGLAND AND PORTUGAL, 1640-1661.

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The oldest existing European alliance, the oldest alliance in the world, is that between England and Portugal. It has lasted uninterruptedly for more than 250 years, unshaken by wars and revolutions. One might, indeed, if so inclined, trace its history with intermissions to the medieval alliance of the houses of Aviz and Lancaster, or even to the beginnings of Anglo-Portuguese friendship in crusading times.¹ This character of continuity, so extraordinary in that most unstable field, international relations, can be due only to the presence of common enemies and the absence of divergent interests. Both nations have found their advantage in it.

The purpose of this paper is to trace briefly the main current of Anglo-Portuguese negotiations from the outbreak of the Portuguese war of independence in 1640 to the consummation of the alliance in 1661—a period almost coincident with the Puritan revolution. Two treaties of permanent interest fall within its scope: (1) The commercial treaty of 1654, negotiated by the despised Rump and signed with much satisfaction by Cromwell, establishing those intimate commercial relations commonly but, I am persuaded, erroneously attributed to the subsequent Methuen treaty; and (2) the treaty of 1661 by which Charles II accepted as consort the most richly dowered princess, it was said, ever seen in Christendom, thereby determining the whole course of his foreign policy.

It will be important for us to observe the action of those underlying forces which have drawn England and Portugal together, notwithstanding revolutions and changes of dynasty. Among these was their common animosity to Spain and the Netherlands in the seventeenth century, and to Spain and France in the eighteenth. Alliances are not built upon community of race, religion, or ideals, to say nothing of sentiment or affection, but upon community of fears. England and Portugal have never lacked common enemies. Another force of the same tendency was the growing influence of the English com-

¹ Miss Viola Shillington, in *The Beginnings of the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance*, Trans. Royal Hist. Soc., N. S. xx. 109-132, confines her attention to the medieval period

mercial classes in the government of the Commonwealth and Protectorate,² a permanent result of the Puritan revolution which Charles II accepted with good grace. The demands of the London merchants for the commercial concessions of 1654 and for the retention of Jamaica in 1661 bring these treaties together in a causal relation not otherwise obvious. They were both at bottom trading treaties, a concession to London.

There was, however, a disturbing factor of another tendency. I refer to the friendship between the houses of Braganza and Stuart during the Puritan Revolution, and the early plans for the marriage of Prince Charles with an Infanta of Portugal. It served to draw down upon Portugal the wrath of the English Republic and to postpone for some 20 years the completion of an alliance which was in the end inevitable.

But before considering these matters in detail, it will be necessary to touch briefly upon the attitude of France and the Netherlands toward Portugal in her long struggle for independence. The hostility of Spain may, of course, be assumed to be unalterable.

I.

A comparison of the Portuguese war of independence with certain aspects of our own Revolution might be made to our no small discomfort. The Portuguese endured with more than patience 60 years of Spanish misrule, involving loss of liberties and the irretrievable ruin of a proud empire. Though unprotected by 3,000 miles of intervening ocean, they resisted for 28 years, with an unanimity sadly lacking in our heroic period, the overwhelming military power of a bordering State. Their hopes, like ours, rested upon France, then the ancient and implacable enemy of Spain as later of England. It is true that Mazarin for one short interval abandoned Portugal in the treaty of the Pyrenees, thereby casting her at the feet of Charles II. Nevertheless, Portuguese independence, like our own, was in no small measure the product of French intervention.

The Netherlands were then in the last phase of their war of independence against Spain, and the Portuguese naturally hoped for support against the common enemy. It was a vital matter, for the cooperation of at least one maritime power was essential to maintain these overseas communications without which Portugal could not exist. Never were anxious hopes more cruelly shattered. A 10-years' truce was, to be sure, arranged in 1641, the first treaty to be signed by the House of Braganza. Notwithstanding its exorbitant concessions and attenuated advantages, it would have served Portugal well

² " . . . the city has become more powerful than it ever was under the kings." Bordeaux to Mazarin, Apr. 1, 1660. Guizot, Monk (London, 1851).

enough if it had been kept; but it soon appeared that the colonial rivalry of these powers made effective cooperation impossible. The Dutch had grown rich preying upon Portuguese colonies while under the ægis of Spain, and it was not to be expected that they would refrain from further conquests under Portugal's precarious and impotent independence. Under the pretext of delayed ratification their attacks continued and led, in 1657, to a formal declaration of war. In 1661 Charles II mediated a peace between them,³ the first fruits of the new Anglo-Portuguese alliance. The mediation was successful because backed by force and the will to use it. Upon the whole, Portugal feared Holland next after Spain.

Thus the stage was set for the Anglo-Portuguese alliance. To Portugal the support of a maritime power was essential. It was impossible that this power should be Holland. Assuming the hostility of England to the Netherlands and to Spain, their normal relation at that time, and the Anglo-Portuguese alliance was inevitable.

II.

The negotiations between England and Portugal opened auspiciously. At the same time that the treaties of 1641 with France and the Netherlands were being arranged, an embassy appeared at London and signed a treaty the following year.⁴ The signature was unduly delayed because the English negotiators had learned the provisions of the Dutch treaty and naturally demanded as favorable terms. In the end, the position of both parties being precarious, a compromise rather favorable to England was agreed upon. Certain demands were conceded, not expressly but by inference, while others were referred to subsequent negotiations which never took place.

The treaty of 1642 secured to the English merchants in Portugal a fair degree of religious toleration, protection from pecuniary losses on account of the Inquisition, a limited extraterritorial jurisdiction, and a certain immunity from Portuguese laws under their own consul. Unlike the French and Dutch treaties, there was no provision for English military assistance. It is interesting as the precursor of the more important treaty of 1654, into which nearly all its provisions were incorporated.

These auspicious beginnings were soon interrupted by the hurrying events of the Puritan Revolution. John IV openly espoused the cause of the Stuarts and rendered them greater service than any

³ A precarious one until supplemented by the treaty of 1669

⁴ Portugal Restaurado, I, 152 (Lisbon, 1679). Quadro Elementar, xvii, 18. Additional information will be found in a manuscript volume in the library of the Ajuda Palace (49-x-35) entitled *Livro da Embachada e Ministrarias de Francisco Andia de Leitão*, II ff. 207-329, beginning with Feb. 2, 1641, the date of Leitão's instructions. It has been damaged by water and is in places illegible.

other monarch, not excepting the services of France or Spain. It was through Portuguese ambassadors that Charles I communicated with his royalist supporters in London and with the queen on the Continent. They secretly conveyed letters in cipher and smuggled into England supplies of money and ammunition furnished by their royal master. This was not done without acrimonious disputes with Parliament, nor, as the ambassador in London thought, without personal danger.⁵

John IV's interest in the Stuarts was no doubt quickened by a plan for the marriage of Prince Charles to a Portuguese princess, first proposed, so far as we know, in 1644.⁶ It was a statesmanlike project, and there is reason to believe that Charles thought well of it. But the more purposeful Henrietta Maria had other plans. From 1643 to 1646 she persistently negotiated for a marriage between Charles and the eldest daughter of the Prince of Orange as a means of reconciling France and Spain in the interests of her husband. She proposed impossible conditions, and only succeeded in arousing the suspicions of both combatants. Shortly after the execution of Charles I the Portuguese ambassador at The Hague was again discussing the matter with Charles II and found him sympathetic.⁷

Upon another occasion Charles remarked to the same ambassador that Portugal was the only country that had taken up arms in his behalf. He was referring, of course, to the protection of those royal pirates, Rupert and Maurice, who had taken refuge in the Tagus from the pursuing Republican fleet. It was but a feeble war, meagre in military incidents. Portugal was particularly vulnerable to the English blockade and could only retaliate by imprisoning English

⁵ There are in the library at Evora nearly 200 news-letters from Antonio de Sousa de Macedo, ambassador in London, to the Marquez de Niza, ambassador to France, from Aug 1, 1642, to Sept. 15, 1646. Mr Edgar Prestage has used them in a short account of the embassy, entitled, *O Dr. António de Sousa de Macedo, Residente em Londres (1642-1646)*, which appeared after this paper was written. An interesting *Relacion des services de Monsieur de Sousa* will be found in *State Papers Foreign*, Portugal 4, and an English version in bundle 6. See also, *The Marquis de Niza to Charles II*, Dec. 4, 1661, *ibid*, Portugal 4.

⁶ "A Match is proposed between Prince Charles, and the Princesses of Portugal, And the Advantages thereby to accrue to his Majestie."

1. A present Dowry in Money to the value of some hundred thousand pounds

2. A powerfull assistance in Shippes and otherwise, both from the Portugal and the French, whereby

3. The Rebels Traffick at Sea wilbe wholly overthrowen (in) a short time

4. A greater confidence rayseed from the French to his Majestie, upon this ground, that

5. Hereby the Spanish Faction wilbe abated.

All this to be effected upon terms so facile for his Majestie to comply withall, as shall not neede to consult many men about it." (Endorsed) "1644, portugall Match." *State Papers Foreign*, Portugal, 4

⁷ " * * * me respondeu que daqui a dous annos seria bom tempo." Coutinho to John IV, March 1, 1649. *Cartas escritas de Hollanda a El Rei D João IV pelo seu Embaixador Francisco de Souza Coutinho*, f 65. This interesting manuscript volume of 454 pages is in the library of the Ajuda Palace (49-xi-9). The letters are from Dec. 6, 1648, to Aug 6, 1649. They contain many references to Charles II and to the state of English politics.

merchants and sequestrating their property. When the battle of Dunbar made it obvious that the Commonwealth would not soon be overthrown,⁸ John IV sued for peace, the price of which was an indemnity and the commercial concessions of the treaty of 1654.

III.

Portugal was the only country to express its abhorrence of the regicides by overt acts of hostility. It was the first to undergo the humiliation of formally recognizing the hated new régime. Don João de Guimarães was the first diplomatic agent to present a letter of credence addressed in the prescribed form to "The Parliament of the Commonwealth of England."

One may obtain a singularly complete knowledge of the history of this embassy by simply combining the entries in the Commons Journals with the corresponding documents printed or summarized in the first volume of the Portland MSS.⁹ Not a paper is missing nor a date uncertain. I will mention two matters of some interest, the warlike mood of the Rump and the unusual conditions upon which they reluctantly consented to accept an indemnity.

The stern men who had executed their King had no desire for peace. Less than three weeks after the battle of Dunbar, Sir Henry Vane, for the committee of the navy, had reported to Parliament the expense of no less than 32 ships and 5,000 men to be stationed off the coast of Portugal.¹⁰ When Guimarães arrived at Southampton in December, 1651, it was only by the slender majority of one vote that Parliament granted him permission to come to London to present his credentials,¹¹ so evenly balanced were the partisans of France and Spain, and so near was Guimarães's mission to ending before it had begun.

The demands of Parliament as presented to Guimarães were extraordinary in one respect. Reparation was demanded, not as the price of peace, a phrase with which we have recently become familiar, but as the price of beginning negotiations at all. Full indemnity was demanded for all losses, public and private, in return for a cessation of arms for six months, during which negotiations might proceed looking to a permanent peace. What demands would be advanced after the payment of the indemnity or security given therefor, Guimarães tried in vain to discover. This was the procedure by which the Rump extorted the commercial concessions of 1654.

During the negotiations, Parliament made one concession, viz, that in estimating the English losses, the value of Portuguese ships

⁸ Whitelocke, *Memorials*, p. 484.

⁹ Hist. MSS. Comm.

¹⁰ Commons Journals, vi, 467.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 511.

captured should be allowed as an offset. In all other respects it was inexorable. After five months of active effort without agreement, Guimarães asked for a safe conduct "for his going into Portugal and for his return, which he hoped would be speedy," in order "to persuade the King, his master, to assent unto the Parliament's desires." Parliament considered this a confession of a lack of powers and sent him a passport to go but not to return. In vain he protested that he thought he had been doing the Parliament a service; that there had been a misunderstanding; that he had expressed himself ill; that he did not well understand the Parliament. In vain he begged permission "not to make any use at all of the said passport, but to continue and to conclude a treaty of peace." It was to no purpose. He was summarily and ignominiously dismissed.

IV.

Guimarães's difficulties arose in part from the fact that he was minister only, not ambassador, and was supported by an inadequate entourage. At a time when state ceremonials were matters of practical importance, this could only appear as a grudging and meager recognition of a sensitive upstart republic. Guimarães's successor was no less a person than the King's grand chamberlain, Dom Roderique de Sá e Meneses, Conde de Penaguião, in character of lord ambassador extraordinary, supported by an imposing train.¹² The six preliminary articles were duly signed after Penaguião had materially reduced the indemnity by persuading Parliament that it had made what he called "a mistake in arithmetic." Thereupon, he proposed, as Guimarães had intended to, a renewal of the treaty of 1642.

It would be impossible, even if it were desirable, to give a detailed account of the course of the subsequent negotiations. Our knowledge of them is derived chiefly from the papers of the committee of the English Council of State which conducted the negotiations.¹³ They are voluminous, as such papers go, but they are for the most part undated, and we have no chronological thread from other sources upon which to string them.¹⁴ However, the main point is clear enough. The English merchants interested in the Portuguese trade had furnished the committee with an elaborate list in 38 articles of those additional privileges and concessions which they

¹² His journey to London is described in *Relação da Viagem*, *Bibliotheca Nacional*, No. 259, ff. 26-32 v. He was delighted with his reception at Plymouth.

¹³ British Museum, Add. MSS., 4192.

¹⁴ Penaguião's letters were probably lost in the Lisbon earthquake when the greater part of the records of Portuguese foreign affairs disappeared in the waters of the Tagus. It is possible that his letters contained interesting notices of Milton, who was frequently spokesman for the committee.

thought desirable. They got without exception everything they asked for.

The treaty of 1654 was long regarded by English merchants as the great charter of their liberties in Portugal. Little was added subsequently to their privileges or immunities. It confirmed and extended rights previously granted, removed petty annoyances, extended their extraterritorial jurisdiction and their religious freedom, gave them freedom of trade with Brazil and the west coast of Africa on terms of equality with Portuguese subjects, and, finally, provided that Portuguese customs duties should never be increased above the existing rate. If it is true that Portugal ever became England's commercial vassal it was from this moment.

Guimarães's mission had ended ingloriously with a personal humiliation not devoid of comedy; the closing scene of Penaguião's was shrouded in tragedy. Pantaleão de Sá, the ambassador's brother, had become involved in a street brawl, in which an English bystander was shot, though not by Pantaleão. In spite of tearful interviews and the intercession of the entire diplomatic body, Cromwell refused to interfere with the stern course of English justice. Penaguião hurriedly signed the hated treaty on the morning of his brother's execution and fled from the scene in agony and horror.

The ratification of the treaty was delayed for two years by the religious clauses, which in the opinion of the king's spiritual advisers, were not within secular competence.¹⁵ John IV made the unhappy suggestion that the disputed clause be submitted to the Pope for judgment as to their compatibility with papal decrees. Cromwell, the arch opponent of papal pretensions, replied by blockading Lisbon. There being no alternative, John IV yielded to *force majeure* and ratified the treaty five days before the arrival of a great commercial fleet from Brazil, to the deep disgust of the English admiral.

V.

It might seem that after such humiliations nothing remained for England and Portugal but hatred and sullen aloofness. But international relations are governed less by sentiment than by iron necessity. In the very next year, the Netherlands having declared war, Portugal sent an ambassador to beg Cromwell for assistance. It was Dom Francisco de Mello, afterwards Conde da Ponte and Marquis of Sande, who remained in England until after the Restoration and who signed the treaty of 1661.¹⁶

¹⁵ Their opinions will be found in *Collecção de Papeis manuscritos*, Bibliotheca Nacional, No 869, ff. 384-405

¹⁶ Really Francisco de Mello e Torres, though he seldom used the latter name. He is not to be confused with his contemporary, Francisco de Mello, who left a name in Portuguese literature.

The fortunes of Portugal were at their lowest ebb. Attacked simultaneously by Spain and the Netherlands, basely deserted by Mazarin, spurned even by the Pope, she had not a friend in Europe. A false ray of light appeared when the English Council of State, April 18, 1660, agreed that 12,000 men might be recruited in the three kingdoms for service against Spain.¹⁷ Within six weeks, before the agreement had become operative, Charles II had been restored to his kingdom. It seemed to be the last blow of a malignant fate. After suffering untold humiliations for the Stuart cause, the Portuguese were caught at the last moment in league with the murderers whom they abhorred. It was a point on which Charles was sensitive. He unceremoniously dismissed Bordeaux, the French ambassador, for too great intimacy with Cromwell; and it was rumored that he would receive no ambassador who had treated with preceding governments.¹⁸ Fortunately, in view of Portugal's services to his house, he looked upon this agreement as a pardonable counsel of despair.¹⁹

We have reached the negotiations of 1660-61, the most complicated and interesting of them all. It would take a small volume to do them justice. I can only briefly indicate what I conceive to be the leading motives of the parties involved.²⁰

Charles was firmly resolved upon his restoration to undo everything that Cromwell had done, especially in the field of foreign affairs. This would have meant friendship for Spain and enmity for France; for the rivalry of these powers so overshadowed the European horizon that the policies of other nations were determined largely with reference to it. No matter what the form of government might be, during the greater part of the seventeenth century

¹⁷ The treaty is printed in Castro, *Collecção de Tratados*, I, 226. It was of course never ratified.

¹⁸ "The Earl (St Albans) also told me that they intended to adopt the plan of not admitting another foreign minister who had treated with the preceding governments." Bordeaux to Mazarin, June 18, 1660 Guizot, *Monk* (London, 1851)

¹⁹ "There was another Ambassador at the same time in *London*, who might be thought to stand in the same predicament with *Bordeaux*, though in truth their cases were very different, and who received a very different treatment" Clarendon, *Life*, II, 179 (ed. 1778)

²⁰ Our principal sources of information are the letter books of the Conde da Ponte in the possession of the present head of the family at Lisbon, Sa. Da. Thereza da Saldanha da Gama, to whom I am under deep obligations. Her son-in-law, James A. de Mascarenhas, Esq., was also most helpful. Unfortunately, the letters for the early part of the negotiations, the part which is most obscure, were in a volume which has been lost. Extracts from the later letters have been printed in a very mutilated form in *Quadro Elementar*, vol. xvii. The Conde da Ponte also wrote a *Relação da Embaixada*, describing the bewildering court intrigues of which the Marriage Treaty was the center. It has every appearance of having been formerly one of the Conde da Ponte MSS. In some manner it came into the hands of the poet, Robert Southey, and is now in the British Museum (Add 15,202). The Clarendon MSS in the Bodleian, hitherto unused for this subject, are indispensable. A MS by Sir Robert Southwell in the British Museum (Add. 20,950) will be found briefly summarized in Eachard. It is frequently cited, but the original MS. seems to have escaped notice.

there was a French and a Spanish party struggling for supremacy at the English court.

The question of alliances hinged upon the king's marriage, about which centered the intrigues of all Europe. The outcome was the unexpected triumph of the French party and the defeat of Spain—the continuation rather than the reversal of Cromwell's policy. The determining motive for this decision, I am persuaded, was the desire of the English court, nervous in the presence of still slumbering revolutionary fires, to placate the mercantile classes, first, by retaining Jamaica, a Cromwellian conquest from Spain, and second, by opening the way in India to "the most beneficiallest trade that ever our Nation Inioyed."²¹

The first written Portuguese proposal for the marriage pointed clearly in the direction of India. It proposed a dowry of 2,000,000 crusados, the cession of Tangier,²² an offensive war against the Dutch in the East Indies, and the retention by the English of all places they might capture there with the exception of Mascate and Ceylon, the latter of which was to be divided between the two crowns.²³ There was no mention of Bombay, nor was Madeira offered at any time.²⁴

A naval war in distant waters obviously suggested "the possession of some port and place of strength" as a base for the English fleet. Accordingly, Clarendon asked in his counterproposal,²⁵ for a dowry of four millions, the cession of Tangier, Bombay, Bassein, Mozambique, either Pernambuco or Rio de Janeiro, direct trade from England and Newfoundland to Brazil without touching at Lisbon, and the establishment of a number of English factories at certain points named. Though he soon moderated these excessive demands to essentially the final terms of the treaty, he clung tenaciously to the hope of further concessions, even, strange to say, after the final ratifications, so anxious was he to make this Catholic marriage palatable to the Puritans.

²¹ Maynard to Clarendon, Nov. 11, 1660. State Papers Foreign, Portugal, 4.

²² Catherine had previously been offered to Louis XIV, with a dowry of two millions of crusados and Tangier. *As Saudades da Terra*, II, 279. Tangier was a source of great expense to Portugal as later to England.

²³ Clarendon MSS. 75, f. 217.

²⁴ The statement of a Portuguese historian that the queen mother was at one time prepared to surrender Madeira rests upon a misapprehension. *As Saudades da Terra* pelo Doutor Caspar Frutuoso. *Historia das Ilhas do Porto-Sancto, Madeira, Desertas e Selvagens*. Manuscrito do Seculo XVI anotado por Alvaro Rodrigues de Azevedo, II, 278. Funchal, 1873. The statement is based upon a clever and plausible argument which is completely demolished by a document in the Torre do Tombo, MSS. de S. Vicente, vol. 21, f. 216. This Alvará, which the editor overlooked, provides that upon the Infanta's marriage she shall return Madeira, Lamego, and Moura to the crown and receive 500,000 crusados as compensation. Catherine's surrender of the "Ilha da Madeira com todos seos lugares" will be found in a manuscript volume in the library of the Ajuda Palace, *Collecção das Doações do Infantado* (49-xi-10), I, 75. See also *Movimento do Orbe Luzitano* in the same library (50-v-36), I, f. 143.

²⁵ Clarendon MSS. 75, f. 204.

In October, 1660, the Conde da Ponte left secretly for Lisbon to secure the consent of his Government to the terms of the treaty. He had hardly gone before the Varon de Vateville²⁶ arrived from Spain for the express purpose of preventing the Portuguese match. Threatening "perpetual war" if he were unsuccessful, Vateville offered Charles the choice of a number of princesses, some of them Protestants, to be adopted by the King of Spain as a daughter, and given a dowry equal to that offered by Portugal, or any sum that Charles might name. Extensive trading privileges were offered in Portugal and the Portuguese colonies, which, to be sure, were not then in the power of Spain. But—this was the fatal stumbling block—Dunkirk and Jamaica, having been seized by the Usurper while the two crowns were at peace, must of course be restored. Tangier, Bombay, and Jamaica, i. e., the East and the West India trade, were the foundations of the Portuguese treaty.

Vateville easily secured the support of the English Catholics, who were ordinarily Spanish sympathizers and to many of whom the support of Spanish policies had become, as it were, a matter of faith.²⁷ Even a Protestant queen, they argued, who owed her position to Spain, could do more for the Catholic cause in England than a Catholic one dependent upon Protestants, who would turn heretic for lack of religious privileges.²⁸ This would be specially true of the Infanta of Portugal, for Portuguese independence had not received papal recognition, and there was no communication between the Portuguese and papal courts.²⁹ They therefore attacked the Infanta openly with such bitterness and "inveighed against her with such unseasonable sharpness" as reluctantly to convince the Puritans that no great evil could come from a marriage so unpalatable to the English Catholics, Spain, and the Pope. Of all Catholic marriages it was the least objectionable. "The truth is," wrote Clarendon, "there is enough in that treaty after the passionate desire of a Protestant, * * * the advantages and benefits to trade, make the merchants much enamored of it, and sure we have very ill luck if in the East and West Indies they do not make incredible benefit by the concessions even to their own hearts' desires." Those who were in the secret were astonished to observe

²⁶ The name usually appears as Baron de Battevilla. I am greatly indebted to Dr. Charles H. Cunningham for procuring copies of Vateville's voluminous correspondence at Simancas.

²⁷ " * * * que ordinariamente são Castelhanos." Add. MSS. 15, 202, *Relação da Embaxada*, 23 " * * * passou esta opinião entre os Catholicos por huma decisão ou Portugal, falando com tal paxão, que escandalizão os homas, não só indifferentes, mas ainda os Erejes de seo partido " *Ibid.*, 24.

²⁸ " * * * a Iffanta se faria Ereje, porque lhe não davão previllegios." *Relação*, 24.

²⁹ No Portuguese bishop received papal recognition from the Restoration until 1671, with the single exception of the Bishop of Lamego, 1659-1669, "unicus hoc tempore episcopus." Gams, *Series Episcoporum Ecclesiæ Catholicæ*, p. 102.

Spain and the Catholics urging Charles to espouse a Protestant queen, while Clarendon and the Puritans were zealously supporting the cause of a Catholic one.³⁰

Charles's conduct was vacillating and contemptible throughout. His political sagacity, so often extolled, was not obvious in a matter which concerned him most intimately. "Am I not a man of my word?" he cried to the Conde da Ponte after the announcement of the treaty. "Am I not a good Portuguese?" The ambassador admitted, in effect, that Charles was what God had made him. If he had sometimes questioned the king's veracity, it was only in his quality as ambassador. As Francisco de Mello he had never doubted it. Charles expressed his appreciation of the distinction.³¹

The final impetus to the treaty was given by Louis XIV, who desired a secret channel for French assistance to Portugal. With the greatest possible secrecy he intimated to Charles his approbation of the Portuguese match.³² Whether the outcome of the negotiations would have been the same without his intervention it is impossible to say. In this battle of intrigues about a vacillating king it may well have been the decisive factor. It is curious to observe that an alliance destined to become a thorn in the side of France was regarded in its inception by Louis XIV as a mere incident of French policy.³³

VI.

It would exceed the limits at my disposal if I were to describe how dissatisfied everyone was at first with this treaty, which has lasted so long; what Charles and Catherine thought of each other; how angry Catherine was with the Conde da Ponte and by what arguments the Conde justified himself; ³⁴ how Catherine asked her spirit-

³⁰ *Ceux qui voyoient ces intrigues sans prevention, admiroient comment un Chancelier Protestant pouvoit persuader au Roy son Maître d'épouser une Princesse Catholique et comment un Roi Catholique pouvoit proposer au même Prince une femme Protestante.* D'Ablancourt, *Mémoires*, p. 76.

³¹ "Abraçoume El Rei, e eu a elle de joelhos pelos pés tres vezes; e levantandome, dice; e bem, sou homem de palavra? sou bom Portuguez? A todo lhe respondi, que Sua Majestade hera o que hera, e que não só tinha de Deus o ser sobre os homens, mas o ser sempre o mesmo; e que se Sua Majestade culpava as minhas desconfianças, que eu como Francisco de Mello nunca duvidara, e que como Embaxador hera necessario escrever. Estimou a distincção." The Conde da Ponte to Luiza de Gusmão, May 21, 1661. Conde da Ponte MSS, Cartas que * * * o Marquez de Sande * * * escreveu a S. Magestade. A few of the letters of this volume have been printed in *Quadro Elementar*, vol. xvii. The language has been modernized and many passages omitted with no indication that the letter is not complete.

³² The greater part of this remarkable secret correspondence has been printed in *Clarendon State Papers*, III (supplement). It was known only to five persons.

³³ *Œuvres de Louis XIV*, I, 65 (Paris, 1806).

³⁴ Papel que o Marquez de Sande escreveu ao Padre Mestre Antonio Fernandes da Companhia de Jesus, Confessor da serenissima Rainha da Grão Bretanha para fazer presente a S. Magestade, Londres a 7 de Fevereiro de 1663. Conde da Ponte MSS. Cartas que * * * o Marquez de Sande * * * escreveu a S. Magestade.

ual advisers whether she might not in conscience leave her husband and return to Portugal, and how the answer was in the negative;³⁵ what precautions were taken to prevent a mutiny at Tangier by concealing the treaty from its inhabitants;³⁶ and how the unexpected happened and the mutiny came at Bombay; how the Catholics of those places complained of the violation of their religious privileges; how the British soldiers, recruited from the worst elements of the three nations, behaved so ill that the Portuguese began to assassinate them, until "for every English man that was slaine, they presently kild two, or three, of the first Portuguesez they met withall, since which they live in such security";³⁷ how these soldiers complained of their pay and were otherwise so unmanageable that they did more harm than good;³⁸ how disappointed the English were in Tangier and Bombay; how the indemnity and the dowry got in arrears, and how "froward and captious" the Conde da Ponte was about it. All this would make an interesting story that has never been told. From such beginnings who would have predicted a permanent alliance? Truly, alliances are not built upon affection. And yet, more by English mediation than by force of English arms, the Portuguese got what they wanted—recognition of their independence by Spain in 1668, and relief from the pitiless Dutch scourge in 1661 and 1669. For England it was a step toward Mediterranean power and an empire in India. The alliance had justified itself.

³⁵ *Movimentos do Orbe Lusitano*, Ajuda Palace (50-v-39), v. f. 31

³⁶ The Portuguese Secretary of State received a written order from the Queen Mother to omit all references to Tangier in the final reading of the treaty before the council of state. Um diploma secreto, *Arquivo historico Portuguez*, VI, 225. The editor of this remarkable document assumes that it was for the purpose of misleading the councillors, who would not otherwise have ratified the treaty; but there was in fact no serious opposition. The motive was more likely the one averred in the opening words of the document: "Por quanto convело a meu serviço que per nenhũa a maneira pudesse vir a noticia dos moradores do Fortaleza e Cidade de Tangiera. que ella se dave em dote á Infanta D Catherina, * * *." See also Clarendon MSS., 75, f. 460.

³⁷ Maynard to Clarendon, Clarendon MSS 77, f. 90a

³⁸ Add. MSS. 43, 329, f. 67.

XV. CHINESE SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS AS A FOUNDATION
FOR REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT.

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One of the oldest books of the Chinese, "The Classic of History," records that the ancient King Wu, who overthrew the Shang Dynasty in 1122 B. C., justifying himself for his attack upon his sovereign, said: "Heaven sees as my people see; Heaven hears as my people hear."¹ Thus even in that early age the authority of government was held to rest upon the consent of the governed. In the sixth century before Christ the old prophet, Laotzu, taught: "Love the people and you may govern them without appearing to do so."² Mencius, that ardent advocate of popular rights in the third century B. C., advised his king not to be content to consult his ministers before making appointments to office, but to obtain the opinion of the people also regarding the nominees.³ Many such sentiments may be found in ancient Chinese literature. Too much importance, however, must not be attached to them, for they really mean no more than that the welfare of the people is the true object of government. They are of value, nevertheless, as showing that a people among whom such sentiments are cherished are not wholly unprepared for popular rule.

From of old until 1912 the Chinese had known no form of government but the monarchical; and we are often told that the Chinese are ultra conservative, that their institutions have remained unchanged since the days of Confucius, that they have lost their plasticity, have become hardened and fixed, and that change or progress for the Chinese, therefore, is impossible. The Chinese are conservative indeed, and they have much that is worth conserving, but they are not mummies wrapped in the cerements of a dead past. They have, not once only but many times, reacted to a changed environment, and they are showing the same disposition to-day. Previous to the present era of reform, which may be said to have begun in 1898, there were three striking instances in Chinese history of attempts at social and political reform.

¹ The Shu King; the Books of Chou, sec. 2 書經.周書.泰誓中.

² The Tao Te King, ch. x. 道德經.第十章.

³ Mencius, Bk. 1, pt. II, ch. vii, 4, 5. 孟子.梁惠王章句下.第七章.

The first was that which marked the overthrow of feudalism by Ch'in Shih Huang Ti in 221 B. C.⁴ The second was under the reign of Wang Mang,⁵ the Usurper, at the beginning of the Christian era, when this man, who was a strange admixture of lofty ideals and criminal instincts, attempted the abolition of slavery and of private property in land.

"Henceforth," he said, "the land shall belong to the State; the slave shall belong to himself."⁶ He was perhaps the first also to establish a government monopoly for the manufacture of distilled liquors. Moreover, he levied an income tax and also provided State loans in aid of agriculture. There is nothing new under the sun. He tried to control the prices of farm produce, to protect both the peasant and the consumer against the sharp practices of the middleman. Four times a year maximum and minimum prices were fixed for all staple articles in three grades: Prime, medium, and inferior. Public storehouses were built. Whenever prices fell below the fixed minimum the Government bought at the minimum price until the market improved; and when prices rose above the maximum, the Government opened its storehouses and sold at the maximum until prices became normal. But these reforms were not appreciated by the people, and Wang Mang was slain by his own troops.

The third reformer was Wang An-shih, who attempted in 1069 A. D. to revive the impracticable schemes of Wang Mang along with others conceived by himself.⁷ A drought which appeared in 1074 A. D. convinced the people that heaven was opposed to such reforms. A subsequent attempt to carry them out was foiled by an untimely comet, which made its appearance in 1104 A. D.

I cite these three remarkable attempts in order to show that the Chinese have not been indifferent to the great problems which elsewhere have agitated human society; that, on the contrary, they have pondered them and have not been unwilling to make experiments with a view to their solution. Although these three great men did not accomplish all that they desired, each left an indelible mark upon the social history of China.

Feudalism did not entirely pass away when overturned by Ch'in Shih Huang Ti, but he gave it a mortal wound. The Han dynasty, which succeeded Ch'in, began at once to divide the empire into a number of feudal principalities,⁸ but the Emperor wisely left the ad-

⁴The Shih Chi. Bk. vi, Ch'in-shih Huang. 6. 史記.秦始皇.

⁵History of the First Han Dynasty. Bk. xcix, pt. II. 前漢書.卷九十九.列傳.

⁶Ibid.

⁷The History of the Sung Dynasty, Bk. cccxxvii, Lieh Chuang, 86. Other references in Bks. clxxiii, clxxiv, clxxvii. 宋史.

⁸History of the First Han Dynasty, Bk. xix. 前漢書.

ministration of the government in the hands of the provincial governors. This mixed system continued through many centuries.

The Manchus, who conquered the empire in 1644 A. D., rewarded their military leaders with titles of nobility in nine grades and large grants of land with serfs to cultivate it. Some of these titles were hereditary forever. In the case of others the son's title was one grade lower than that of the father, and thus in a few years the descendants of the proudest noble were all commoners unless they had been able by their own efforts in the service of the State to raise themselves to a higher rank than that which they had inherited.

All the soldiers of the conquering armies were divided into 24 banners—8 Manchu, 8 Mongol, and 8 Chinese. These bannermen were either gathered into military settlements, to which land was attached, in return for which military service was rendered, or they were retained in the capital, where they were assigned homes and required to serve the imperial court or the palaces of the princes.

Thus the Manchu princes held their lands on a military tenure.⁹ The system was really feudal, but the lands covered only a small part of the empire, being confined chiefly to Manchuria, Mongolia, and the Province of Chihli. No attempt was made to administer the empire through the princes; the ancient provincial system was continued. Many peasants, however, at the time of the conquest surrendered their lands to Manchu nobles for protection,¹⁰ just as in Europe in the Middle Ages by a process known as "commendation" peasants placed their lands under the protection of an overlord. Thus these Chinese peasants and their descendants were reduced to the status of serfs and attached to the land forever. The payments demanded of them in money and in kind were very heavy. It is said that they amounted to five times the tax paid by freemen. These payments went, of course, not to the imperial exchequer but to the Manchu overlord. Such was the pitiable condition of these serfs when, in 1910, an effort was made to abolish slavery in China.

While predial slavery had entirely disappeared in the empire previous to its conquest by the Manchus, domestic slavery and penal servitude had continued from the most ancient times. I have just mentioned the attempt made by Wang Mang in 9 A. D. to abolish slavery. Whatever may have been the result during his lifetime, after his death the institution seems quickly to have revived. It survived, indeed, down to our own day. In 1906 Chou Fu, the Viceroy of Nanking, submitted to the throne a memorial praying for the prohibition of the traffic in human beings and the emancipation of those

⁹ See the *Ta Ch'ing Hui Tien*, Bks. 159, 161, 1111, 1117, 1119.

大清會典

¹⁰ The *Ta Ch'ing Hui Tien*, Bk. 1197. There are numerous other passages in which reference is made to this class.

already held in bondage. The memorial was not acted upon until 1910, when the Prince Regent issued a rescript granting in part the prayer of the old viceroy, but still stopping short of the complete abolition of slavery.¹¹ It is only fair to the Manchus to say that the emperors of that dynasty at various times showed a disposition to reduce the evils of slavery. Although the transfer of hereditary slaves by a written deed from one owner to another was tolerated by the law, the sale of free persons was forbidden by the fundamental statutes of the empire adopted at the establishment of the dynasty. The sale of children, however, in time of famine had been tolerated as a life-saving measure. It is interesting to note that in 1739 A. D., 68 years before the slave trade was forbidden by Great Britain, an imperial edict in China forbade under heavy penalties the traffic in natives of the East Indies.¹² A little later severe punishment was provided by statute for kidnapping and selling the indigenes of southwest China.¹³ Again, in 1810, the hereditary slaves in certain districts of central China were set free by decree of the throne,¹⁴ and in 1903 the To-min, a degraded class of outcasts in Chehkiang whose origin is unknown, were relieved of their civil disabilities and granted the status of freemen.¹⁵ From the beginning of the dynasty the statutes made abundant provision for the manumission of slaves by their masters or their redemption with the consent of their owners.¹⁶

Nevertheless the evils of slavery were not slight. The penalties provided for captured runaways were whipping and branding.¹⁷ Crimes committed by slaves were far more severely punished than the same offenses when committed by freemen. Even after emancipation they were denied the full rights of freemen until the third generation. Of the several classes of slaves in China, those whose status was least objectionable were the pao-i, or retainers of the Manchu nobles; some from Tartar tribes, some Korean, and others doubtless Chinese. Originally they constituted an important element of the Manchu military organization. They occupied a position midway between the slave and the freeman. They were bound to render suit and service to their lords, but on the other hand they were subject

¹¹ See a translation by the writer of the memorial and rescript, published in the *American Journal of International Law* for October, 1910.

¹² The Ta Ch'ing Lü Li, vol. xxv 大清律例, 卷二十五。

¹³ This was in 1741. See the Ta Ch'ing Lü Li, vol. xxv.

¹⁴ The Ta Ch'ing Hui Tien, Bk. 158, and the Ta Ch'ing Lü Li, vol. viii.

大清會典, 卷一百五十八

大清律例, 卷第八。

¹⁵ A decree to this effect was issued in 1728, but seems to have been ignored. The decree of 1903 was reported to the Department of State by the legation at Peking.

¹⁶ There were certain exceptions, however, to these provisions. See the Ta Ch'ing Lü Li, vol. viii 大清律例, 卷第八。

¹⁷ Ta Ch'ing Lü Li, T'ao 6, Tu Pu Tse Li Fu Tsuan, Bk. I. 大清律例, 刑大, 監捕則例

to the same code of laws as freemen, and were eligible to take the examinations and hold certain offices. These bondmen were not released by the rescript of 1910. The apology for declining to do so was that they were not slaves in the ordinary sense, as was shown by the privileges of admission to the examinations and of holding office. The real reason for the refusal to set them free was the opposition of the Manchu princes to whom they were bound. The same obstacle—fear of the slaveholding nobles—prevented the complete emancipation of the household slaves and the serfs of the Manchus. The household slaves were of two sorts—descendants of captives taken in war and those who themselves, or whose ancestors, had been reduced to slavery as a punishment for crime. Slavery was a statutory punishment for various crimes. Vicarious punishment was required by the penal code, until revised in 1905, for certain crimes of great enormity. The wives and daughters of men guilty of high treason, parricide, and certain other offenses were given in slavery to the families of deserving officials. The sons of such criminals, if under 16 years of age, were made eunuchs and also enslaved. All sons over 16 years of age and all other male relatives, if they had guilty knowledge of the crime, were put to death with the criminal.¹⁸ If they had no such guilty knowledge of the crime they were made eunuchs and reduced to slavery.¹⁹ Of the serfs I have already spoken. These three classes of slaves belonging to the Manchus were refused emancipation. But they were given the status of hired servants, which gave them a better standing before the law. They were no longer liable to the heavy penalties of the slave code. They were, however, required to remain with their masters as though engaged for an indefinite term of years. The change in their condition wrought by the rescript was, therefore, little more than nominal.

As for the slaves of the Chinese subjects, they were all set free, without exception, by the edict of 1910. But slavery was never so common among the Chinese as among the Manchus. Male slaves in Chinese households were very rare. The majority were women and girls. These girls were often well treated and permitted to share the companionship and education of the daughters of the house. By the rescript of 1910 all male and female slaves of the Chinese were given the status of hired servants and ordered to be set free at 25 years of age. In order to provide for children whose parents in times of famine may be unable to support them, the rescript allows such children to be bound for a term of years, but never for a period extending beyond the 25th year of age. Provision was made, too, for the redemption of such children by repayment of a portion of the purchase price, if during the period

¹⁸ Ta Ch'ing Lü Li, vol. xxvi, 大清律例, 卷二十六。

¹⁹ Ibid.

of service it could be shown that the child was not being well treated. This hasty survey will suffice to show that slavery was much more common and much more oppressive in the north than in the south. The existence of large estates, held on feudal tenure and tilled by serfs, and the use of eunuchs and household slaves in large numbers in the north no doubt explain in part the striking difference in the attitude of the inhabitants of the northern Provinces from that of the people of the south toward republicanism. But this difference is only partially explained by these circumstances. The historical relations between the northern Provinces on the one side and the dependencies of Manchuria and Mongolia on the other, with the racial intermixture and the cultural interchange that resulted, will explain still more the difference in character and ideals of the populations of the two regions mentioned. The large-boned man of the north, of slow mental processes, of patient endurance and genial nature, inured to hardship and accustomed to much interference with his personal freedom, used to class distinctions and to dependence upon the favor of his superiors, was and is entirely unlike the lithe, slender man of the south, of quick wit and irascible temper, who has lived far from the Son of Heaven and his court, and who has, as we shall see, been pretty much the master of his own destiny.

The question of the tenure upon which land is held is one of considerable importance in such a study as we are making. We have seen how futile were Wang Mang's efforts to prevent private property in land. The Chou system, according to which eight families combined to till 100 mou for their lord, did not, of course, survive the decline of feudalism. The system, however, in so far as its bearing upon the question in hand is concerned, was scarcely different from the practice which prevailed in Europe until recent times. There, too, the poverty-stricken peasant tilled his lord's land in addition to his own petty holding, and thus by his service paid his rent.²⁰ Easy access to land, we know, promotes independence, and the division of the land into small holdings favors social equality, while large holdings with dependent tenantry promote class distinctions and political dependence. In China there are in the north, as we have noted, some large estates held by the Manchu princes. There are also a few large holdings in Shantung and Kiangsu Provinces; some, the property of wealthy commoners, some belonging to temples. But, generally speaking, throughout China proper the holdings are very small, particularly in the central and southern Provinces, and about one-half of the land in China is tilled by the peasant owners.²¹ The largest estates in the Province of Chihli, the Province in which

²⁰ See Mrs. J. R. Green's *Town Life in the Fifteenth Century*, pp. 10, 11.

²¹ *Journal of the China Branch of the R. A. S.*, New Series, vol. xxiii, "An Inquiry into Questions of Land Tenure and the Condition of the Rural Population in China."

the capital is situated, contain at the most 100,000 mou each. A mou equals one-sixth of an acre. Sixty per cent of the landowners in that Province own 100 mou or more apiece. In Shantung Province there are estates of 100,000 mou, but not more than 30 per cent of the landowners hold as much as 100 mou each. In the northern part of Kiangsu Province, the Province which contains Nanking and Shanghai, there was one family a few years ago (1888) which owned as much as 400,000 mou (66,000 acres), and another which held 300,000 mou (50,000 acres). But the farther one goes from Peking to the south or west the smaller the holdings grow as a rule.

It is impossible as yet to obtain accurate statistics in China. The figures given are obtained from an inquiry into the questions of land tenure and the condition of the rural population in China, made in 1888 by the China branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. According to this report the average holding for all China seems to have been from 1 to 5 acres to a family. It is difficult, however, to judge of the condition of a family from the size of its holding unless we know how many persons are comprised in the family. In some instances, though very few, the number of members of the family is given in the report. In Manchuria one family contained 200 members and cultivated several hundred acres. In Fukien Province a single family, more properly a clan, was reported as containing 2,000 members and owning and cultivating 1,650 mou (275 acres). Another had 1,400 members and owned 2,300 mou (383 acres). Generally speaking, 1 mou is regarded as sufficient to support one person. Where land is leased it pays rent in kind as a rule, and this amounts to three-tenths of certain crops and one-half of others. Wages were and still are pitifully small, 3 or 4 cents a day for farm hands with a bowl of rice, or about \$12 a year with food, lodging, and a suit of clothes. During the present year (1916) the American consul at Chungking reported upon wages in the Province of Szechuen, showing that for agricultural labor they are no higher than those just given. Poverty, however, is a relative term. Where the standard of living is low the wants are few, and if there be sufficient food and clothing, there may be no real suffering. But where people are content with a low standard of living, they are not likely to take much interest in political questions. When stern necessity compels them to give their whole time and attention to the questions, What shall we eat, what shall we drink, and wherewithal shall we be clothed? they will be able to give little thought to the Government under which they live except to evade, so far as possible, its demands for taxes and service. This must be more decidedly the case in the north of China where the rigors of the climate make so much more difficult than in the sunny south the struggle to preserve life.

On the whole it would seem necessary to admit that the minute subdivision of the land, while tending to promote the independence of the individual, also bears witness to a condition of poverty that can only be discouraging to political activity. The only stimulus which it appears to have given to what may be called political activity is the temptation that it has brought to the more adventurous to join in revolutionary movements in the hope of bettering their condition by plundering the more fortunate.

In buying property in China one soon discovers how great a number of people may be interested in even a small piece of land. Although a father's estate is legally divisible equally among his sons (except that an extra share is allowed to the eldest to enable him to maintain the sacrifices at the ancestral altars), in practice this division of the estate is often postponed for several generations; brothers and cousins with their descendants living together in the old homestead, whose rooms grow in number with the growth of the family. Together they join in the cultivation of the land.

The family, not the individual, is the social and political unit in China. The solidarity of the family is a universal characteristic of the Chinese, but it is more marked in the south than in the north. In the south, due perhaps to the infrequency of invasion by alien tribes, the family seems to have been more permanently attached to a single locality and the ties of kinship are stronger and more extended than in the north, where invasion, strife, and capture have so often apparently uprooted the family and dispersed its members. At any rate the clans are larger and far more powerful in the south than in the north, and much more disposed to tyrannize over their members and to unite in defense of their kindred. Clan feuds in south China are numerous and clan wars are frequent.

This disposition to preserve family relationships and to unite kindred for mutual protection undoubtedly tends toward the preservation of independence by opposing effectual resistance to the encroachments of an autocratic government. Bertha Surtees Phillpotts in her "Kindred and Clan" points out the democratic tendency of a similar condition of affairs in various parts of Europe in the Middle Ages and after. There, however, kinship was recognized through both male and female ancestry, which tended to prevent the definite organization of a clan, for the kindred which gathered one day in defense of a relative through the mother, would not at all be the same group of individuals assembled the next day to assist a relative upon the father's side. It is evident that at different times the same persons might meet both as friends and as enemies. Miss Phillpotts says:

We may summarize what seems to have been the tendency of the kindreds by describing it as democratic—that is to say, that in discouraging the rise of

petty local chiefs they tended to keep the status of all freemen equal—but we must believe that they achieved this result by refusing opportunities to the strong as well as by protecting the weak against outside aggression. They were not democratic in the sense that the medieval church was democratic. But though it seems that we must concede this quite considerable degree of influence to the kindreds, we must be careful to note that it implies no active organization, no conscious political aim on their part. It was achieved as it were anonymously, by what we may call passive resistance. We still have no right to think of the Teutonic kindreds as “organizing” themselves in any but the temporary manner, or as combining for aggression. A kindred can only be said to exist at the moment when it groups itself round a given kinsman, and a large proportion of this group must merge into other groups if some other individual is in need. So long as kinship was recognized through both male and female—i. e., during the whole period—these characteristics of the kindreds must have set very definite bounds to their political power²²

In China, however, the clan was not weakened by the recognition of the claims of maternal kindred, and therefore it has been both formally organized and has exerted a more permanent influence than in Europe, not often by direct political action but indirectly by union in defense of customary rights and in resistance to new imposts by either local or imperial authorities. Miss Phillpotts points out that the union of kindred in certain districts of East Frisian territory preserved those districts as independent commonwealths governed by their own peasantry until the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in spite of repeated attacks by dukes and archbishops with trained armies. She draws this conclusion from her studies: “We must acknowledge this much: where adhesive kindreds persist into the later Middle Ages there the peasant or townsman tends to be free. Where, on the other hand, the solidarity of the kindred disappears early, there the liberty of the individual suffers and seignorial rights make their appearance.”²³

The great power wielded by the clans in certain provinces of south China as contrasted with their weakness in the north suggests that in this fact we may find one reason for the more independent spirit exhibited by the people of Kuangtung.

The family law in China is very similar to that which prevailed in ancient Rome. The family includes not merely parents and children but servants and slaves as well as paternal relatives. This family, as a social unit, under the penal code was responsible until 1905 for the conduct of its members. Hence, as already stated, when an individual was found guilty of certain great crimes, not only the criminal but his male relatives, including first cousins, and his mother, wife, and unmarried daughters were also punished. Thus the wife was and is recognized as belonging to her husband's clan. There is but one wife unless the husband has to support double *sacra*, as is the

²² Kindred and Clan in the Middle Ages and After (1913), pp. 256, 257.

²³ Ibid., p. 254.

case with the young Emperor Hsuan T'ung, who must keep up two lines of descendants, one for the Emperor T'ung Chih and another for the Emperor Kuang Hsu. But while there is only one wife, there may be several concubines. There is a marked tendency at present to frown upon concubinage, but it is still legal. The concubine is protected by law. Her children are legitimate and share equally with the children of the principal wife in any division of the property.

Even in cases where a girl is wronged by a man and bears him a child, the child, if the mother is not a common prostitute, is made legitimate by the law and must be so acknowledged by the father. Moreover, he must make the girl his wife if he be unmarried; and if already married¹, he must make her his concubine.

The head of the family is the father or the eldest surviving member of the oldest generation, and the power of the father over his children is absolute—identical with the *patria potestas* of the Romans. Wealthy families have an ancestral temple, or clan hall, around which is a plat of ground whose produce is used primarily for the upkeep of the temple and support of the worship of ancestors. In this hall the ancestral tablets and the family records are kept, and here clan meetings are held and family affairs discussed and settled.

With such a compact organization the clan, as one can see very readily, is a powerful institution. Theoretically it may be subject to the jurisdiction of national law and local government, but practically, when the government and the clan come into conflict, the government usually gives way. The clan not infrequently administers punishment to disloyal members; sometimes a beating with the bamboo; sometimes excommunication; and occasionally it even passes sentence of death and executes it without interference by the constituted authorities.²⁴

This strongly organized institution, the clan, must be admitted, then, to have in it some elements at least rather more favorable to autocratic than to republican government.

The family is not only the political unit in China, but is regarded as the true type of government. The local official is called "The Father-Mother of the People." He stands *in loco parentis* to them, and the emperor holds a similar relation to the whole state. Since the father exercises arbitrary and absolute control over wife and children, the family tends to inculcate in its members a willingness to recognize the emperor as having the same unlimited authority in the state. Nevertheless, the solidarity of the clan appears, on the whole, to have afforded in some degree a preparation for the exer-

²⁴ Village and Town Life in China, by Y. K. Leang and L. K. Tao.

cise of self-government. The clan does not appear to be autocratically controlled by the patriarch who happens to be the representative of the eldest generation, but rather to be controlled by the votes of its members in clan meeting assembled. The custom of meeting in council and taking action in concert according to the will of the majority tends decidedly toward democracy. This tendency is the more evident when we consider that the united action of the clan is always in defense of clan or family rights, and frequently in opposition to the measures of the authorities representing the central government.

It must be noted here, however, that the solidarity of the family is being gradually undermined. Perhaps it has served its purpose. At any rate, there is now evident in China a strongly marked tendency toward individualism. Respect for the will of parents and the control of the elder generations is passing away. Mr. Liang Ch'i-chao, the foremost scholar of China and one of the leaders of the reform movement of 1898, in a recent article laments this tendency.²⁵ It is particularly noticeable in the ports where foreign influence is strongest and among those who have received an education either in mission schools or abroad. No doubt the emphasis placed by Christianity upon the worth of the individual and the responsibility of each one for his own conduct which it inculcates, the duty of obeying God rather than man, and the forsaking of father and mother, if needs be, for Christ's sake, all tend to weaken the authority of the family and promote individualism. Intercourse with the people of the west, who are so strongly characterized by individualism, must be admitted to have been an important factor in weakening family authority among the young Chinese.

Chinese farmers, as a rule, group themselves together in villages. Isolated farmhouses are rare. The Chinese is a social being and, moreover, there is greater safety in the village where the night watchman makes his rounds and beats the hours with his rattle or his gong. Frequently the village is protected against robbers by a rampart of earth and gates that are closed at dark.

Rev. Arthur Smith states that probably three-fourths of the people in China live in villages. Within a radius of 10 li ($3\frac{1}{2}$ miles) in Shantung there were 64 villages, averaging 188 families to a village. If we estimate five persons to a family, this would mean a population of over 60,000 within a radius of $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles, all living in country villages.²⁶ The Chinese village is an interesting institution. Its customs date from an unknown antiquity and are as jealously guarded against encroachment as any ever enjoyed by the towns of England. These customs show that the village community has always enjoyed a large measure of autonomy.

²⁵ An article in a Shanghai journal.

²⁶ Village Life in China.

The Ta Ch'ing Hui Tien provides that 10 households shall be grouped together as a tithing with a tithing man at the head; that 10 tithings shall be organized into a hundred with a hundred man in control; and that 10 hundreds shall be combined into a li or fang, also with a headman.²⁷ In a city the term "fang" was used for a thousand families, and in a village the term "li." The recognition of this arrangement in the fundamental law of the Empire evidenced a disposition upon the part of the Manchu Government to secure the cooperation of the people. The law required the headmen to be honest, to be able to read and write, and to be married. But this organization of the village existed long before the Manchus came to China. A very similar arrangement flourished during the Chou dynasty (1122 B. C.), and probably long before that time. In the Chou period five families were grouped together and made mutually responsible, one for another. Five of these groups—i. e., 25 families—constituted a lü. Four lü were grouped together in a larger combination of a hundred, and five hundreds were called a t'ang or clan, five t'ang were called a chou, and five chou—i. e., 12,500 families—were known as a hsiang. Each of these divisions had its headman.²⁸ The system varied from age to age, as occasional reference to it in the histories shows, but it remains to-day in all essentials what it was 3,000 years ago. Theoretically, the headmen of a village are chosen by the people and appointed by the district or county magistrate. In some places this is actually done. The village elders are usually the most well-to-do and the most influential men in the village. Through these representatives the village practically governs itself. So long as the taxes are paid and there is no serious breach of the peace, the officers of the National Government take no notice of affairs. When communication between the mandarins and the people is necessary, it is effected through the ti pao, or constable, who appears to be an officer of the village, but also a subordinate of the county magistrate. All members of the tithing are mutually responsible for the behavior one of another, and the headman is called to account if a man in his tithing proves disorderly or criminal. He must see that all losses by theft are made good. He is also responsible for the taking of the census once every five years. He is security, too, for the payment of taxes due and the rendering of services required from his tithing. When quarrels occur or petty suits at law are instituted, these elders of the village are appealed to, or, on their own initiative, interfere to effect a settlement. Repairs to the walls and gates of the village, the management of fairs and markets, the holding of theatrical

²⁷ Bk XVII, also Bk CLVII, and elsewhere. 大清會典, 卷十七又一百五十七.

²⁸ The Chou Li, vol. III. Ti Kuan, 周亦豐土官.

entertainments, and the policing, sanitation, and defense of the village are all duties of these elders.

There is usually a village temple which serves the common purpose of a town hall and a place of worship. A committee elected annually keeps the temple in repair and attends to the festivals and sacrifices. Frequently also there are commons for the use of the villagers or for the support of the temple worship. When the country falls into disorder or robberies become frequent the villagers organize themselves into trainbands or draft a certain number of young men for military service in the protection of the village. The villagers generally unite in support of a public school, but this is a voluntary arrangement and not compulsory. Since the new public-school system was adopted in 1905, many villages have voted the use of the village theatrical funds for the support of schools. Volunteer fire companies are found in some villages and are common in all towns. Thus the Chinese village to all intents and purposes is a self-governing community. Morse, in his *International Relations of the Chinese Empire*, says:²⁹

It is doubtful if the actual existence of a government is brought tangibly to the notice of a tenth, certainly not to a fifth, of the population. The remaining 80 or more per cent live their daily life under their customs, the common law of the land, interpreted and executed by themselves. Each village is the unit for this common-law government, the fathers of the village exercising the authority vested in age, but acting under no official warrant and interpreting the customs of their fathers as they learned them in their youth. The criminal law is national, but with a more or less general uniformity each circumscription has its own local custom in civil matters. Questions of land tenure, of water rights, of *corvées* (when not imperial), of temple privileges, of prescriptive rights in crops, in details differ from district to district, will probably differ from prefecture to prefecture and will certainly differ from Province to Province * * *. The official head of the village is the *ti pao*, or land warden, nominated by the magistrate from the village elders, but dependent upon the good will of his constituents * * *. The *ti pao* acts as constable and is responsible for the good conduct and moral behavior of every one of his constituents; he is also responsible for the payment of the land tax and tribute.

What is true of the village is true also of the city. Each street or ward is organized in a manner similar to that of the village, and thus provision is made for police, lighting, drainage, protection against fire and defense of the mutual interests of neighbors against official interference. On one occasion in 1838 we are told in Williams's *Middle Kingdom*, the governor of Canton decided to search the shops and houses in a certain street to ascertain if there was opium stored in any of them. The shopmen came in a body to the head of the street to meet the officers of the law, and told them that

²⁹ *International Relations of the Chinese Empire*, by H. B. Morse, pp. 19 ff.

on no account would such search be allowed. The officers decided that it was best to retire.³⁰

Lecky, in his *Democracy in Europe*, says that town populations tend to democracy, while cultivators of the soil favor aristocracy.³¹ China, despite the fact that agriculture is its chief industry, is largely a nation of townspeople, for even the farmers dwell in villages and are accustomed to community organization. One can hardly say indeed that the cities are more democratic than the villages, although it is true, as in all countries, that there is more enlightenment in the city than in the country village. Education is more general in the city. It is true, however, as Lecky says, that agricultural communities are more conservative than maritime communities. The intermingling of nations and races necessarily makes for progress. The inhabitants of Canton, therefore, to which city foreign trade was so long confined, and those of the other open ports of China, are much more progressive than those of the inland towns. Cities, of course, furnish more opportunities for popular cooperation than villages, and are able to call upon a larger number of men when resistance to tyranny is necessary.

The ancient, customary rights of the people of the cities and towns of China have been very jealously guarded by the guilds, just as the boroughs of England were protected in their ancient privileges by the guilds of the Middle Ages. In China the guilds are of two sorts—the provincial or district guilds, and the trade guilds. The former are associations of fellow townsmen or fellow provincials dwelling in a city distant from their own homes. They are, generally speaking, of the nature of clubs and often possess beautiful buildings provided with everything necessary for social entertainment. Travellers from the home towns put up in these club houses during their stay in the strange city and are assisted in their business by the guild or its officers. The guild stands sponsor for its members or for fellow provincials properly introduced, and it also exercises a wholesome restraint over them by threatening to withdraw support if the practices of a firm or an individual are contrary to the rules. The influence of the guild, too, is used to further the commercial interests of the home town or province and to promote the political advancement of expectant or substantive officials from the district represented. When such an official takes office in the town where the guild is located, he is expected to make a handsome contribution to the funds of the guild, and he in turn is most hospitably entertained by the guild. These guilds are also benevolent societies. They provide relief for their fellow townsmen in case of destitution and they maintain a cemetery for those who die unprovided with funds for the

³⁰ *Middle Kingdom*, by S. Wells Williams, I, 487.

³¹ *Democracy in Europe*, I, Introduction, p. xlii.

return of their bodies to their homes. The influence of these guilds at the provincial and national capital is not small. They are often able to thwart the plans of local officials when they aim to tax heavily the trade with their native towns, and in Peking the members of the guild become unofficial, but real and powerful representatives of their provinces. When national legislation adversely affects the interests of their section of the country, they can often secure its repeal by holding a guild meeting in protest and sending messages home which sometimes bring about a strike or boycott with riotous demonstrations verging on rebellion. The authorities become alarmed and not infrequently surrender.³²

When the National Government in 1911 attempted to nationalize the railways of China and took over the lines proposed for Hunan and Szechuen, the people in the latter province strongly objected unless they should be fully indemnified for the money subscribed toward the Szechuen Railway. Out of 11,000,000 taels raised for this work seven had been lost by the president of the railway in stock gambling, and although the work had been going on upon the line for some years there was really nothing to show for the expenditure but some 20 miles of earthwork. The Government offered to pay for the earthwork and to give the subscribers 4,000,000 taels' worth of shares in the new line. This the people positively refused to accept. They would have 11,000,000 taels; nothing less. The Szechuen Guild in Peking called several meetings, which were marked by stormy scenes, and which appointed committees to wait upon the cabinet ministers with very emphatic demands. They were warmly supported by the people at home, who rioted in various towns and finally brought on the revolution which swept the Manchus off the throne.

The craft guilds are even more powerful than the provincial guilds. Their organization, too, is more democratic. They fix the standard of weights and measures for the trade which they represent; they regulate wages and determine the number of apprentices allowed. The members of the goldbeaters' guild of Soochow some years ago killed one of their fellows for taking more apprentices than the rules permitted.³³ In some guilds the only apprentices allowed are sons or nephews of the proprietor. Others allow no apprentices except men from their own home city. For instance, the fishhook makers of Wenchow are all from Foochow and will allow no apprentices except from the latter city. The needle makers of Wenchow all hail from Taichow, Chehkiang, or from the province of Kiangsi, and will admit no members except from these

³² These statements and those which follow concerning guilds in China are derived in part from my own observation and more largely from a monograph on Chinese Guilds by D. J. Macgowan, and from *The Guilds of China*, by H. B. Morse.

³³ Morse's *Guilds of China*, p. 30.

two places. The goldbeaters of Wenchow are all from Ningpo, and their guild is closed to all but Ningpo men. These trade guilds also fix prices. The millers of Wenchow fix the price of flour once every month. The bankers' guild determines rates of exchange and discount. The tea guild of Shanghai fixes rates of insurance and commissions in the tea trade. This guild also forbids all trade with a delinquent foreign firm and will permit no dealings with a foreigner who has a suit against one of its members.

As in Europe during the Middle Ages some guilds were authorized to hold court and settle disputes, so in China, though without authorization of the Government, the guilds attempt to settle all difficulties between their own members. Some even forbid members to appeal to the official courts in such disputes. If they violate this rule they forfeit the assistance of the guild in subsequent troubles. Severe punishment is sometimes inflicted upon those who violate the regulations, as in the case of the Soochow goldbeater just mentioned, but ordinarily the punishment is a fine or expulsion. Like the guilds of Europe those in China have their patron saints. The druggists worship Hua T'o, the God of Medicine; the bankers, the God of Wealth; the Swatow Guild, the Queen of Heaven. Others worship the Goddess of Mercy or the God of War. Many of the guilds support a Buddhist monk as chaplain to attend to the religious services. On the fête days of the saint there is frequently a pageant and sometimes a feast in the guildhall followed by a theatrical entertainment. Some of the guilds are quite wealthy. The fishmongers of Ningpo were reported 26 years ago to have a fund equal to \$700,000 in United States currency. New members upon entering that guild were required to make a deposit of \$3,000 each to cover possible fines. The druggists' guild of Ningpo was reputed to have an income equal to \$500,000 a year.

Guilds have existed in China from very ancient times. The bankers of Ningpo attempt to trace theirs to the period of the Chou dynasty (1122-256 B. C.). As a rule the craft guilds are local only. For example, each city has its carpenters' guild, but there is no provincial, much less any national union or guild of carpenters. There are, however, some exceptions to the general rule. The Shansi Bankers' Guild has its branches in every important city in China. This makes it possible through this guild to purchase native drafts on these places. The tea and silk guilds control the trade in these articles over large districts.

Recently chambers of commerce of the western type have been established in many of the ports, and there is a national chamber at Peking; but these can not take the place of the guilds, each of which regulates its own trade.

When a reputable member of the guild is accused by the government authorities the guild comes to his defense and goes surety for him, but if a member be found really guilty of serious offense the guild will arrest and deliver him to the authorities.

Until recent years China had no civil and no commercial or industrial legislation. The Ta Ch'ing Hui Tien is, in a good degree, a constitutional compilation, and the Ta Ch'ing Lü Li was the penal code of the Manchus. Civil suits under the old régime were tried, as were the criminal cases, by administrative officials, but the law applicable in civil suits was nothing more than the customary practice of the locality and varied, therefore, from province to province and sometimes from port to port. This customary practice was simply that laid down in the regulations of the guilds concerned. The craft guilds, therefore, may be said to have given to China the only commercial code which it possessed under the old régime. The guilds are not incorporated, neither are they as a rule directly recognized in national legislation, but they are nevertheless the jealous guardians of the common law—that is to say, the customary unwritten law of China. Although the guilds are not formally recognized by the government, the government rarely undertakes to coerce them. No mechanic or merchant can succeed in doing any considerable business outside the guild which regulates his trade. As a rule such a person is only too glad to join the guild and submit to its regulations.

The guilds are organized on a democratic basis. The members elect annually a treasurer and an executive committee. The committee generally, but not always, consists of 12 members, each one of whom serves as president for one month in the year.

Many instances can be given of successful resistance by the trade guilds to obnoxious legislation of the Government. A few years since a new mint was established in Kiangsu Province and a large quantity of silver dollars issued. The viceroy at Nanking fixed the exchange value of the dollar in copper cash. The banks and cash-exchange shops demurred, saying that the amount of silver in the dollar was not sufficient to purchase the number of cash indicated. The viceroy threatened the bankers and exchange dealers with punishment, but they stood firmly together and closed their doors. For three days they did no business whatever. On the fourth the viceroy yielded, and the dollar exchanged at the market rate. In 1874 the municipal council of the French settlement at Shanghai decided to extend two streets across the cemetery belonging to the Ningpo Guild. The cemetery lay within the boundaries of the settlement, but the members of the guild protested strongly against any disturbance of the graves of their fellow townsmen. The municipality insisted on

carrying out its plans. A riot ensued, lasting two days, and a number of Chinese were killed, but the French municipality was compelled to give way and to enter into a written agreement that the cemetery would not be disturbed. This was confirmed in 1878 by the French minister at Peking. Twenty years later (1898) I was living in Shanghai when the French municipal council decided that the whole cemetery should be removed for sanitary reasons. Again there was a serious riot. The police were on hand in force to execute the order of the council, the volunteers were called out, and sailors were landed from the warships in the harbor. Some 20 Chinese were killed. The Ningpo merchants, bankers, artisans, and servants all refused to do any work, and a large part of the trade of the port of Shanghai was at a standstill. In the end the guild carried its point, and the cemetery is still undisturbed.

I have a lively recollection, too, of the riot raised by the wheelbarrow men in April, 1897, to resist an increase of the municipal license from 400 to 600 cash a month (that is, from 20 to 30 cents). On this occasion also the police, volunteers, and landing parties from the men-of-war availed nothing; after five or six days' protest the tax was reduced to the original amount, although in the following July the municipal council was able to carry its point.

In Europe during the Middle Ages and afterwards the guilds often controlled the local governments. In China, although able at times to defy the local governments, the guilds do not often undertake the administration of government. There are, however, two well-known exceptions to this rule—the Great Guild of Newchwang and the Swatow Guild. All the principal Chinese bankers and merchants in Newchwang belong to the Great Guild, which is a self-constituted municipal council. It maintains streets, drains, and reservoirs; controls the commons, and relieves the poor, and supports these enterprises by levying dues, by tolls on bridges, taxes on trade, and license fees. At the same time it makes and enforces regulations regarding banking, markets, and exchange.

The Swatow Guild is even more extensive in its control of affairs. It levies taxes, maintains a fire department, fixes the standard of weights and measures, determines rates of commission, and punishes fraud. It also has its branches in every port in China where any considerable number of Swatow men are located, and through these branches controls the interprovincial trade of the port. Both the Newchwang and the Swatow Guilds are very democratic in their organization. A committee of four, elected annually, controls the Newchwang Guild. That at Swatow is governed by a council of 48, also elected annually, and maintains 4 clerks and 1 secretary.

When a foreign shipping company, a few years ago, in order to protect itself against fraud, drew up a new form for a bill of lading,

the guild quietly took action against the company. There was no riot, no demonstration, but that shipping company found no cargo at Swatow for any of its vessels, and, after a brief experience, the company was only too willing to restore the old custom. Morse says that in 1890 the provincial authorities of Kuangtung levied a new tax on trade to which the Swatow Guild objected. Collectors were sent from Canton, but nobody paid the tax. Nobody would even rent a house or office to the collectors, and they returned to Canton. The tax was abandoned.³⁴

The guilds of China, therefore, whether provincial guilds, craft guilds, or merchant guilds, have all been of great value to the Chinese in training them for the exercise of self-government. The democratic organization of the guilds has given them experience in electing officers and administering large affairs, and their discussion of economic and financial questions connected with their own lines of trade has prepared them to understand and pass upon governmental measures of wider scope pertaining to commerce and industry.

But more important than clan or guild to the success of republican government is the establishment of the public school. Thomas Jefferson said: "If a nation expects to be ignorant and free in a state of civilization, it expects what never was and never will be."³⁵ Lester Ward, in his *Applied Sociology*, says: "Nothing, however, worthy of the name of scientific legislation—i. e., legislative invention in the interests of the people—is possible except in a democracy in which all the people are intelligent, so that the representatives of the people are persons of considerable mental development."³⁶

Schools have existed in China from very ancient times, and always the Chinese have paid honor to learning. There are records of various attempts of the Government in the past to establish schools. Such an effort was made in 738 A. D., under the reign of Huang Tsung, of the T'ang dynasty. Schools were ordered to be established in every department, county, and village. It is said that there was no village without its school. In 1036 A. D., under the Emperor Jen Tsung, of the Sung dynasty, it is said that schools were established in every department and county, and that a new system of examinations was adopted. Wang An-Shih, too, among his many reforms, included a revision of the regulations touching examinations. The Ming dynasty also sought to promote education. But, whatever success may have attended these attempts, there was no public-school system in modern China until that adopted by the Manchu Empress Dowager Tzu-Hsi in 1904. Previous to that date the Government maintained public examinations, but the schools were private. Many

³⁴ Morse's *Gilds of China*, p. 57.

³⁵ The Writings of Thomas Jefferson (ed. Paul Leicester Ford), X, 4.

³⁶ *Applied Sociology*, by Lester F. Ward, p. 338.

young men were taught at home by tutors. The poorer families of a village or of a city neighborhood clubbed together and engaged a teacher for their children, and charitable individuals often established free schools for a limited number of boys. The number of persons, however, who are able to read and write is quite small, although larger than it was 20 years ago.

The great end and aim of education under the old régime was to prepare one for the civil-service examinations. The incentive to study was the hope of obtaining office. By these examinations the Government sought and obtained, as a rule, the brightest men of the country for the civil service. The solidarity of the family greatly assisted in this result, for, once a boy showed himself possessed of more than ordinary talent, the whole family or clan combined to support him at school and promote his advancement, not only because his success reflected credit on the family but because, once in the official career, he would both enrich himself and provide for his relatives.

The old system of education, however, had very little in it to equip a man satisfactorily for the duties of a magistrate's office, except that it gave him a thorough knowledge of his native language and the classical literature of his country. He knew nothing of the geography or history of the world outside of China, and scarcely anything of mathematics.

After the Boxer folly of 1900 the Empress Dowager decided that China must have modern education, since that was reputed to be the source of the strength of western nations. So, indeed, the Viceroy Chang Chih-Tung had declared years before the Boxer rising.⁸⁷ He, therefore, was the man to devise a system of public schools. Another of the great scholars of China, Chang Po-Hsi, was associated with him in this work. Together they drew up a scheme based upon the Japanese school system, which provided for all grades from the kindergarten to the university. This report, in eight volumes, was submitted in 1904, and immediately the effort was made to carry out its recommendations. The Viceroy Yuan Shih-K'ai, of Tientsin, was the most efficient official in executing the decree. He engaged as provincial superintendent of education Dr. C. D. Tenney, an American, formerly president of Tientsin University and now Chinese secretary of our legation at Peking. The new system was enthusiastically received by the people of China. Many village communities set aside old entertainment funds for the use of the schools, and temples were everywhere converted into school houses. But there was great dearth of teachers. This want has since been in part supplied by the increasing number of graduates from mission schools

⁸⁷ In a volume entitled Hsin Hsueh, the "New Learning."

and colleges as well as from the Government normal schools. At first no provision was made for the education of girls, but this defect has been remedied to some extent.

The revolution, with the disorders which have followed since 1911, and the lack of funds are causes that have somewhat retarded the progress of education, but the set-back, it is hoped, is only temporary. The best schools, of course, are in the cities. Village schools are poor affairs, and the poverty of the peasantry makes it impossible for them to give their children anything like a thorough education.

The masses of the people, therefore, have always been densely ignorant, and as yet there has been but little improvement in country districts and in the remote provinces. For this reason alone, if there were no other, we must admit that any intelligent participation in the government by the great mass of the people is impossible and must remain so for some time to come. But republican government can exist, nevertheless, when the suffrage is limited, as it is, by an educational qualification.

This review would be incomplete without some reference to the attitude of the native religions toward republicanism. Confucianism, which was the established religion under the Manchu dynasty, is thought by many foreign observers to be imperialistic in its tendencies, but this is not the opinion of the foremost native scholars, who are now agitating for the adoption of Confucianism as the state religion. Under the old régime, it is true, the Emperor, as high priest of the people, offered the sacrifices upon the altar at Peking, but the elected president is just as truly representative of the people, even more representative than any emperor can be, and may just as properly offer these sacrifices. President Yuan did so, and it is probable that his successors will do the same. The chief objection to Confucianism as a state religion is the emphasis which it places upon ancestor worship, not that reverence for one's forebears is a bad thing in itself, but that the backward look discourages progress. Men who are ever intent on walking in the paths which their fathers trod will be slow to admit the advantages of the newer way.

Although Confucianism is the generally observed religion in the home, the school, and the state, Buddhism, too, has its devotees. Original Buddhism was perhaps more discouraging than Confucianism to progress, since it aimed to suppress all desire, and desire is the mainspring of progress. But the form of Buddhism which is most popular in China is Amidism—the worship of the Amida Buddha. Its creed seems to show distinct traces of Christian influence.³⁸ At any rate, it teaches the existence of one supreme

³⁸ See synopsis of *How to awaken faith in the Mahayana School*, by Rev. Timothy Richard in the *Journal of the China Branch of the R. A. S.* New Series, vol. xxvii, No. 2.

being, whom even the Buddhas must worship, a being filled with compassion for those who are "ignorant and out of the way." It teaches that salvation is to be had not by works of asceticism, but by trust in the mercy of the Amida—Amida, who does not sit like Sakyamuni upon a lotus throne wrapped in contemplation, indifferent to the world around him, but who has risen to his feet and is ready to stretch out a helping hand to them who would be saved. Amidism does not point to Nirvana as the destined end of the blessed soul—not to absorption in an unconscious existence, but to a life of immortal happiness in a world to come. The suppression of desire to which it exhorts men is the suppression of evil desire. It does not, therefore, discourage human enterprise; and as Buddhism has always been democratic in its teaching, recognizing no distinctions of caste or class, it can not be considered necessarily an obstacle to republicanism. So at least its most intelligent adherents thought in 1912 when they organized a society to promote the establishment of their faith as that of the state. The chief objection to Chinese Buddhism is that, while there are a few intelligent monks and laymen who understand their religion, the majority of the monks are densely ignorant, and not a few of them are vicious.

Taoism is unable either to help or to hinder the progress of self-government, except that it hinders as all ignorance hinders personal liberty. Lao-tzu's philosophy, it is true, is elevating and inspiring, and Chuang-tzu's brilliant paradoxes are the delight of the learned of all schools. But neither Lao-tzu nor Chuang-tzu had anything in common with modern Taoism, which is but a mass of gross superstitions.

To sum up the results of this survey of the social institutions of the Chinese, we may, I believe, affirm these things:

1. Although the Chinese since very ancient times have known no form of government but the imperial, they have for 3,000 years enjoyed a good degree of local autonomy.

2. While slavery was not entirely abolished in China by the Manchus, and while a titled aristocracy existed in the vicinity of Peking with estates held on feudal tenure and cultivated by serfs, yet, generally speaking, throughout the whole empire the people were untroubled by class distinctions and, with the exception of the very few proscribed classes, the humblest citizen might aspire to any office beneath the throne.

3. Except in the vicinity of Peking the tenure of land has been such as to make small holdings possible, and small holdings have been the rule. The cultivation of the land in great part by those who own it has tended toward independence and democracy.

4. The masses of the people are uneducated, and therefore unable to appreciate the responsibility of citizenship in a republic, so that

the suffrage is rightly limited; but the training received in family councils, in village administration, and in guild affairs has been of great service in preparing those who do exercise the right of suffrage for an intelligent discharge of their duties in choosing representatives for provincial legislatures and the national parliament, or in serving their fellows in the enactment of laws.

5. Although the native religions have flourished under monarchical government, Chinese religious literature clearly declares the right of the people to resist tyranny and makes their welfare the test of good government.

When the Empress Dowager in 1905 appointed a commission to prepare plans for the introduction of constitutional government she had no thought that she was preparing for a republic. That commission reported in 1906. In 1907 the first municipal elections were held. In 1909 the provincial legislatures were established, but without authority except to propose laws. The first national parliament met in 1910, and was also limited in authority to deliberation and recommendation. But from the first it showed itself a turbulent body, although possessed of real political sagacity. It demanded power to legislate and insisted that the cabinet should be responsible to parliament. The regent refused these demands. When the parliament reassembled in 1911 the revolution had already begun. But the rebellious armies of the south would probably have had far less success if their efforts had not been supplemented by the work of parliament, which, step by step, forced the Manchu princes into retirement and created a situation which made the abdication of the Emperor a necessity. This remarkable development, all within the short space of four years, is of itself strong evidence of the capacity of the Chinese for self-government, and encourages one to believe that such capacity could only be due to preexisting social conditions and to experience acquired in institutions of long standing and of a popular character.

XVI. ADMIRAL CHARLES WHITING WOOSTER IN CHILE.

By CHARLES LYON CHANDLER.

ADMIRAL CHARLES WHITING WOOSTER IN CHILE.

By CHARLES LYON CHANDLER.

Charles Whiting Wooster was born in New Haven, Conn., in 1780, being the grandson of Gen. David Wooster, who was one of the eight brigadier generals first named by the United States of America in 1776, and the son of Thomas Wooster, who was born at Danbury, Conn., July 30, 1751. When only 11 years old he went to sea, and when he was 21 he was in command of the ship *Fair American*, of New York, which arrived at Philadelphia from Surinam on November 17, 1801. Later, according to the Chilean historian, Vicuña Mackenna, he was "captain of the port of New York, with the title of colonel"; and in 1812, we find him again sailing the Spanish Main, in command of the United States privateer *Saratoga*. From 1812 to 1815, when he sailed the seas in command of her, he took 22 British vessels, including the British letter of marque *Rachael* off La Guaira, after a celebrated naval action. These captures may explain why Cochrane so disliked Wooster, and the sneering allusion to him in Julian Corbett's *Life of Cochrane*. When the War of 1812 was over we find him again returning to peaceful maritime pursuits. He arrived at Philadelphia from Liverpool on April 2, 1816, in command of the ship *Halcyon*, after a 50 days' voyage.

The South American wars of independence had reached a critical stage. The United Provinces of the Rio de la Plata alone were free from the Spanish forces when the year 1816 began. Chile, Peru, and what are now the Republics of Colombia, Venezuela, and Ecuador were still filled with King Ferdinand's forces. King John VI reigned over Portugal, the Algarves, and Brazil, and was soon (on Dec. 3, 1817) to subscribe to the holy alliance at Rio de Janeiro. The orders of the King of Spain were still obeyed from Florida to Southern Chile.

On January 17, 1816, José Miguel Carrera, the Chilean patriot, arrived at Annapolis, Md., after a 63-day voyage from Buenos Aires. Not long before, President Madison had issued his famous proclamation of September 15, 1815, forbidding the export of arms and ammunition from the United States to South America. Long before Madison's proclamation, citizens of the United States of America were taking a vigorous part in the South American wars of independence. Alexander Macauley, of Baltimore, had been captured

and shot by the Spaniards at Pasto, Colombia, on January 26, 1813, after he had served for some time with the Colombian patriot forces. Samuel William Taber, of New York, had invented a submarine boat for the patriots of Buenos Aires, and had been imprisoned by the royalists at Montevideo while in their service, together with his fellow countryman John Vincent Wardell, who was captain of a battalion of light infantry in the service of the United Provinces of the Rio de la Plata. Taber died near Buenos Aires on November 8, 1813. The activities of various United States citizens in Chile at this time will be stated presently. Villamil, of New Orleans, was beginning his career in what is now Ecuador.

Carrera had not been two weeks in the United States when he was formally received by President Madison at the White House on January 26, 1816; and now began his unceasing propaganda in the United States on behalf of Chilean independence. He had two ships built for that cause, which he later brought to Buenos Aires; and he enlisted the sympathy of many adventurous young citizens of the United States in those days when three-quarters of our foreign commerce was carried under the Stars and Stripes, which flew all over the world from Mauritius and Canton to Bergen and Riga. Both Vicuña Mackenna and Garcia Reyes¹ state that Carrera inspired Wooster to come to Chile; and it is hardly to be doubted, when we consider Carrera's enthusiasm and Wooster's sanely adventurous temperament. Besides Wooster's wife had just died. The sea was in his blood, for the old Gen. Wooster had traded from Connecticut to the West Indies when that State was still a British colony. So on November 26, 1817, Wooster sailed from New York City on his armed bark *Columbus*, with a cargo of 66 cases of guns, 47 artillery grenades, 61 barrels of powder, 312 barrels of cannon balls, and 309 cases thereof, as well as much peaceful cargo, such as 391 cases of crockery and 97 reams of news-print paper. The New York Evening Post for Friday, November 28, 1817, comments on her sailing as follows:

Sailed on Wednesday last, the elegant corvette brig *Columbus*. Charles W. Wooster, commander, with a number of passengers, bound on a commercial voyage to the northwest coast of America,² thence to Canton, and back to the United States. We are authorized to say that this vessel, in point of naval architecture, equipment, and sailing, has perhaps never been excelled by any that has before left this port.

On February 4, 1818, the *Columbus* arrived at Buenos Aires, consigned to Messrs. Zimmermann, Lynch & Co. The guns and artillery seem to have been landed here, and were apparently taken charge of

¹ In his *Memoria sobre la primera escuadra nacional*, Santiago, 1846

² Madison's proclamation was still in effect, and no one liked to commit an "overt act" against Spain.

by the consignees³ who were accustomed to receive shipments of this nature. Two years and a half before the senior partner, John Christian Zimmermann (1786-1857), of New York City, had arrived in Buenos Aires on the *Kemp*, of Baltimore, with a large supply of munitions of war, and shortly before Wooster's arrival two boats had arrived on the same day at Buenos Aires, December 16, 1817, with arms and ammunition for his firm, one with powder from Baltimore, the other with 188 cases of guns from Salem.

Wooster may have met a relative of his by marriage in Buenos Aires. His cousin, Julia, had married, on October 6, 1811, David Charles de Forest, of Huntington, Conn., who had been in business in Buenos Aires since February, 1802; but though she had returned to New Haven nearly a year before, in April, 1817, her husband did not leave Buenos Aires until March, 1818. It is, however, almost certain that Wooster saw Carrera while in the River Plate. That active Chilean had arrived in Buenos Aires from the United States in February, 1817, and remained there and in Montevideo until his arrest on March 29, 1818. Possibly he saw the United States commissioners, Rodney, Graham, and Bland, who reached Buenos Aires February 27, 1818. Their secretary, Brackenridge, describes the trade between the United States and Buenos Aires in 1818 as follows:

From the United States they received lumber of all kinds, and furniture of every description, coaches and carriages of all sorts, codfish, mackerel, shad, and herring, leather boots and shoes, powder and munitions of war, and naval stores, ships, and vessels, particularly those calculated for their navy or for privateers.

I have been unable to ascertain the exact date when Wooster left Buenos Aires on the *Columbus*; it was probably toward the end of March, 1818, and was probably not unconnected with Carrera's arrest. The *Columbus* arrived at Valparaiso on April 25, 1818, when the Chileans were beginning to form their much-needed navy; for, though both Chacabucum and Maipú had been won on land, further progress toward complete independence was difficult without sea power. Only four months before Wooster's arrival in Chile 3,400 veteran Spanish troops had been transported from Peru to Talcahuano, which was still held by the royalist forces; and the absolute independence of Chile had only been proclaimed some two months and a half before, on February 12, 1818. The royalist fleet was not driven away from the neighborhood of Valparaiso until almost the day of Wooster's arrival. A United States bark, the *Ariel*, from Baltimore, had forced the blockade on February 13, and decoyed her pursuer, a Spanish warship, under the guns of the Playa Ancha battery, which succeeded in injuring her.

³ See La Gaceta de Buenos Aires, Feb. 14, 1848.

Chile was still in a rather unsettled condition. It was only after considerable negotiations that the Chilean Government bought the *Columbus*, on August 6, 1818, from Zacharias W. Nixon, who seems to have acquired her from Wooster shortly before. On August 10 she was renamed the *Araucano*, and on the same day Wooster was given the rank of captain in the Chilean Navy, the *Araucano* being placed under his command on August 14. Bernardo O'Higgins, then supreme director of Chile, issued a proclamation to the new navy on September 7, 1818, in which he mentions the North Americans who were lending their services to the Chilean squadron.

It was not the first time that citizens of the United States of America had commanded vessels of the Chilean navy. In 1813 the Chilean Government purchased the United States armed brig *Colt*, which mounted eight long 12-pounder guns, ten 9-pounder cannonades, two long 6-inch guns, and two swivels. She had a crew of 90 men, 16 of whom were citizens of the United States of America. Their names and ranks were: William Barnet, sailing master; Samuel Dusenbury, midshipman; Timothy Chase, master's mate, of the *Pearl*; Henry Heacock, master's mate; John S. Waters, carpenter; Peter N. Hanson, gunner; John Heck, interpreter; Henry Smith, seaman; William McKoy, seaman; Sevelo Denton, seaman; James Dawmas, seaman; Moses Pierce, seaman; Le Roy Laws, seaman; Willis Forbes, seaman; Jeremiah Green, seaman; Frederick Rasmonson, seaman.

Her former chief officer, who was placed in command of her, was also a citizen of the United States of America, named Edward Barnewall. Johnston himself was commissioned as "Teniente de Fragata," first lieutenant in the Chilean navy. The *Colt* was ready for sea on April 26, but was treacherously captured by Spaniards from Peru, which was still held by Spain, on May 2, and her crew were held in captivity until their release by a decree of September 13, 1813, of the viceroy, Pezuela. On November 6, 1813, they returned to Valparaiso, and Johnston reached Santiago on December 8, 1813. He left Chile in the *Essex Junior* on April 27, 1814, having had Chilean citizenship conferred on him in the previous month.

Wooster was now one of the three captains in the Chilean navy. On September 17, 1818, one of the captains, John Higginson, retired, leaving Wooster and Capt. William Wilkinson second under Admiral Blanco Encalada, in command of the Chilean navy. On October 10, 1818, the Chilean squadron left Valparaiso. Wooster commanded the frigate *Lautaro*, of 50 guns and 350 men, then the second largest ship of the Chilean navy. The *Araucano* was in command of a young adventurer, a citizen of the United States of America named Raymond Morris, who had taken part in the battle of Chacabuco under the patriot forces in February of that same year. The *Araucano*

carried 16 guns and 110 men. The shores of Valparaiso were crowded with people of all ages and sexes to see the squadron sail to attack the Spanish fortress of Talcahuano. On the day after sailing they lost sight of land, being carried along by a fresh breeze from the southeast. Blanco Encalada now opened his sealed instructions, in accordance with which he directed his course to the island of Mocha, where he was to remain to await the enemy's convoy. The voyage continued without incident for several days, the squadron crossing the route frequented by ships proceeding from the Straits of Magellan to Callao. Daily drills were held and the squadron's efficiency was considerably improved. On the evening of the 14th, when the squadron was about 10 to 12 leagues distant from the island of Quiriquina, the *Araucano* was detached and ordered to sail to the island of Santa Maria, the commander in chief continuing his course with the *San Martin* and the *Lautaro*. In the early morning of the 27th they learned from the English whaling ship *Shakespeare* that the Spanish war frigate *Maria Isabel* had passed into Talcahuano.

The *Maria Isabel* had belonged to the Russian fleet and was sold by the Czar Alexander I to the King of Spain with five other ships and five frigates, to aid him in the restoration of the Spanish monarchy in America as the result of his holy alliance. She was brilliantly captured by the Chilean navy in Talcahuano Harbor on October 28, 1818, Wooster being the first to board her. This was a month before Admiral Cochrane arrived in Chile. In the official report which Admiral Blanco Encalada made to the Supreme Director O'Higgins on November 5, 1818, he highly commends Capt. Wooster, stating that he maintained highest discipline, showing his valor by executing maneuvers with promptness and perfection, making every sacrifice to secure success. This message was reprinted in the *Gaceta de Buenos Aires* for December 3, 1818. On November 17 the squadron triumphantly reentered Valparaiso, though the *Chacabuco* did not arrive until November 22 with two captured Spanish transports. On November 28, 1818, Lord Cochrane arrived at Valparaiso on the British merchant vessel *Rose*, and on December 11, 1818, was placed in command of the Chilean navy. At that time Wooster was still in command of the *Lautaro*, which had then 44 guns and a crew of 228. Cochrane at once got into difficulty with Raymond Morris, who continued in command of the *Araucano*, suspending him and distributing his crew among the other ships of the squadron for refusing to raise anchor 18 hours after they had been ordered to do so. Cochrane had fought against the United States, and seemed to have but little affection toward people from that country. On January 9, 1819, Cochrane received instructions to proceed to blockade Callao, and on the 14th, as the squadron was

about to sail, Capt. Wooster reported to Cochrane that his own vessel could not do so, since his crew was discontented; they had very few clothes and no money, and he thought that in such an exigency his vessel ought not to leave port. Cochrane answered him that his order must be obeyed that night, and that he could take everything he wanted from Cochrane's own ship, even the mast and sails, if he thought them necessary, for the *Lautaro*. Wooster could do nothing else in such a crisis than to resign, and Capt. Guise was named in his place.

Wooster's reasoning was fully justified when a mutiny broke out on the *Lautaro* on the next day. Although Wooster continued in Chile in a whaling enterprise, he did not reenter the Chilean navy until 1822. On March 18, 1822, Wooster was appointed chief of the Chilean naval forces. Early in April, 1822, he sailed to the southward in command of the naval forces of Gen. Bauchef's expedition against the island of Chiloé, which was still held by the Spanish forces. He arrived at Valparaíso on October 26. Three days before, when the *Lautaro* had entered the harbor of Talcahuano, a serious mutiny broke out, the crew refusing to obey Wooster's orders to accompany two transports which were taking provisions and supplies to the expeditionary forces at Valdivia. In the meantime Cochrane had returned to Valparaíso on June 2. On November 27, 1825, Wooster sailed from Valparaíso on the expedition to reduce the island of Chiloé in command of the bark *Aguiles*, where he behaved with great bravery. In the attack on January 11, 1826, the United States citizen, Freeman Oxley, was killed by fire from the battery of San Carlos while serving on the Chilean man-of-war *Aguiles* while endeavoring to board a launch of the enemy. A little over two years before this, in the engagement between the Chilean ship *Montezuma* and the royalist Spanish ship from Chiloé, the *General Quintanilla*, on December 11, 1823, his bravery received special commendation, and the Chilean historian, Barros Arana, states that at the time of his death he was beginning a brilliant career in the Chilean navy for himself by his intrepidity at all costs.

In the year 1829 Wooster was in command of the Chilean navy, in which latter year he was made rear admiral and retired from the service.

Another of his exploits was the conveying in 1826 of Gen. Santa Cruz to Bolivia (which country then had a seacoast), of which country he had been made President while Bolivian minister to Chile.

Perhaps the best way of characterizing the services of Wooster in Chile would be to quote the testimonials of prominent Chileans of his services to their country. On September 18, 1835, ex-President Francisco Vicuña wrote as follows to Wooster:

You informed me that the time is soon coming when you leave for your native land; this news has been very painful to me and to all my family; and when I think of this separation, after 18 years of the closest friendship, my house having been the first which you entered in this capital, my heart is moved, as I review the benefits which my native land has received by your services; but can the risks, the victories, the honor, and other noble qualities of Admiral Wooster be ever forgotten by the honored patriots in Chile? The history of this Republic will not fail to recognize who this man was and what he did for our independence. All his services, all worthy of the highest gratitude and recognition, are engraved in the memory of the best of my fellow countrymen.

Who does not remember the capture of the Spanish frigate *Maria Isabel* in the harbor of Talcahuano? A valorous and risky act, but sustained and accomplished with bravery. Who will forget the daring on that memorable day of the rear admiral who saved the ship *San Martin*, which had run aground, and was in the greatest danger of being lost? The mere name of Wooster drove off every pirate, every Spanish ship which formerly had lorded it on our coasts, causing every class of injury and destroying our commerce completely, driving it forever from our shores.

The memory of good Chileans will be eternal to tell the glories of his triumphs to posterity, due largely to the intrepidity of our rear admiral, who in the ship *Lautaro*, blockading Valdivia and Chiloé, still occupied by our enemies, in the stormiest weather in those rough waters, so feared by sailors, hindered with his indefatigable constancy every reinforcement, every communication, and every aid; and the blockaded were in such terror that the patriots who were in those places took courage, and thought, that with the aid of our maritime forces, they could throw off the yoke of their slavery, as soon after occurred.

And can the year 1825 be forgotten among us? Let us recall to mind the end of our struggles, and the work of the integrity of Chilean liberty accomplished. And who had the greatest part in the actions of that day, in which the Archipelago of Chiloé was cleared of the flood of Spaniards who had fled there after we drove them out from our continent? Wooster it was whose ever excessive daring triumphed in the most difficult actions; on board the warship *Aguiles* he fearlessly advanced before the castles and batteries which raked all the bay with a terrible fire; on another side the gunboats kept up a quick attack, but Wooster, like an aroused lion, rose above the fire and death which were on all sides of him, and concentrated all the enemy's fire on one place. Their flank was therefore left exposed, by means of which the land forces were able to disembark, and in a moment Gen. Freire routed all the enemy's forces, thus placing the seal on the work of the war of independence.

After Gen. Pinto left the Government, in accordance with the law the supreme command of the Republic fell on me, and I had planned to write a biography of the famous men of our revolution, in whose pages you were to occupy a very prominent place; and, considering through this the important services which the nation owed to you, I saw fit to direct that you be commissioned rear admiral of the Chilean fleet, and I have the honor of having signed the commission, which confirms this result of my fully justified line of conduct.

Neither I nor my family shall ever lessen the regard in which we hold you; we will always remember your constant and firm loyalty in the recent disturbances.

Your sincere friend,

(Signed)

FRANCISCO VICUÑA.

Ex-President Pinto commented as follows on Wooster's services:

SERENA, June 30, 1835.

I have received and read with real sorrow your welcome letter of the 12th inst., in which you inform me that you were soon leaving for the United States and asking me for a statement of the services which you rendered to our Republic during the long time that you have served her.

These services are well known, and there is no Chilean who is ignorant of them. You were one of the founders of our squadron in the year 1818; you obtained command of the warship *Lautaro*, and the capture of the Spanish frigate *Maria Isabel*, with a convoy of 2,500 men, was the fruit of this first campaign, in which you won distinguished praise from the rear admiral of the squadron. Whenever he ordered you to undertake a difficult blockade of Chiloé and Valdivia, you performed it to the satisfaction of the Government, so that no Spanish ship could ever reach any of those whom you were watching.

In the year 1825 the second expedition to Chiloé occurred, and in its glorious result, which completed the war of independence, you played a prominent part by the readiness, intelligence, and bravery with which the *Aguiles*, which was under your command, fought the fortresses there while the troops were disembarking. When the garrison in the next year rose in rebellion against the national authorities you were in command of the squadron which led the expedition that subdued them, rendering also in this campaign worthy and important services, which helped to completely establish order in all the archipelago.

When the ministry of war and marine was under my charge in the years 1824 and 1825, and during the time when I was charged with the supreme government of the Republic, in the years 1827-28 and a part of 1829, your conduct always deserved the regard of the Government for your valor, honor, and zeal in the service and precise compliance with the duties intrusted to you.

I will finish by repeating that I am extremely sorry to see a veteran of its independence leave my country—one who has served her with such honor and constancy in the days of risk and danger, when a Spanish cell was generally the end of the career of a patriot.

I remain, very truly, yours,

(Signed) F. A. PINTO.

Gen. Ramon Freire wrote most cordially to Wooster from Lima, Peru, on July 6, 1835, referring to his "important services to my fatherland" and to the "thanks which we owe you for the generous services which you lent us." Again, on August 18, 1835, he informs Wooster that "his services are engraved in the hearts of good Chileans * * * they shall be justly rewarded when the excitement and hatred in which the nation [Chile] is now unfortunately placed shall calm down." The Chilean historian, José Bernardo Suarez, in his *Biografías de Hombres Notables de Chile*, published at Santiago de Chile in 1870, states that "as a seaman Rear Admiral Wooster can only be compared to Lord Cochrane among the foreigners who commanded our ships. His ships, his crews, and their equipment were the best that our navy had. He was rigid and severe in discipline."

Wooster's last years were unhappy. He was in the United States from 1835 to 1837, visiting New Haven, his birthplace, in the latter year. Soon afterward he returned to Chile, and went thence to San Francisco, Cal., apparently in 1848, shortly after gold was discovered there. He died in great poverty in San Francisco in 1849, having been obliged to pawn his Chilean decorations, the medal of Chiloé, and the legion of merit. But even in his last hours the gratitude of his adopted country did not forsake him. The Chilean consul in San Francisco, Felipe Fierro, rescued his decorations from the pawnshop and gave them to the celebrated Chilean historian, Benjamin Vicuña Mackenna, when he visited San Francisco in 1853. Vicuña Mackenna ends his account of Wooster's life by saying:

May these words remove in part the stain of such prolonged injustice and give this Yankee, who made himself famous under the Chilean flag, a worthy place among this gallery of illustrious Chileans.

It is interesting to compare Wooster's ending with that of his fellow citizens of the United States of America who fought in the early South American navies. David Jewett, of New London, was commander in chief of the Brazilian Navy when Wooster was attacking Chiloé in 1826, and in that same year Jonas Halstead Coe, of New Jersey, entered the Argentine Navy, in which he soon afterward distinguished himself as second in command under the famous Admiral Brown. John Daniel Daniels, of Baltimore, had served in the Colombian Navy for many years; he was given a pension for life by Venezuela in 1845. Coe married a daughter of the distinguished Argentine general, Balcarce, and died in 1864 on his beautiful estate in Entre Rios, with his children and grandchildren about him; Jewett died in Rio de Janeiro in 1842, laden with wealth and honors. Both Paul and William Delano, of Massachusetts, who had served with Wooster in the Chilean Navy, ended their long lives in peace and plenty in their Chilean homes. Wooster alone died in poverty far away from his only son, an officer in the United States Army. And at his funeral the American and Chilean flags were draped over the grave of one who, as Vicuña Mackenna fitly observes, "was second only to Cochrane among the famous sailors who came from the Atlantic to place the Pacific Ocean under the shade of our [the Chilean] flag."

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XVII. HISTORIC IDEALS IN RECENT POLITICS.

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HISTORIC IDEALS IN RECENT POLITICS.

By JOSEPH SCHAFER.

The term "ideal" is used in this paper with modest limitations on its meaning. Americans often speak of the "Anglo-Saxon ideal," of the "Puritan ideal," meaning by each a more or less uniform and pervasive but unconscious influence which affects life in most of its manifestations—its politics, its social structure and spirit, its literature and religion; but which usually is less obtrusive on the economic side of things where the law of direct personal interest serves as the dynamic to produce variation more freely. Indeed, relatively, the economic phase of life constitutes the field of "hard facts," in contact with which the tenuous stream of the ideal gradually, though slowly, modifies itself, until at last it becomes a new ideal, or else fades out of the popular consciousness.

In its present use "the ideal" is something much more specific and much more conscious. It is a people's habitual way of looking at and thinking about certain great and permanent aspects of its collective life. Now in order to interpret to themselves the Nation and its life, Americans long since adopted certain categories under which to summarize its leading qualities and characteristics. For one thing, regarding its spaciousness, they called it "continental" and have always boasted it "the biggest thing in the world." They tuned the harp and sang it as "The land of the free and the home of the brave." They adopted the king of birds, unrestrainable in his upward impulse, as emblem of the perfect freedom they had or hoped to attain. All of these are historic national "ideals," but they make special appeal to the emotions, warming the cockles of the heart and fanning the flame of patriotic ardor. They are our Fourth of July ideals, but not for that reason to be despised, since like all heart-gripping ideals they have exerted an incalculable effect on American character and destiny.

On the other hand, history has furnished us with another order of ideals whose appeal is more directly to the intellect, and which for that reason bears a more definite relation to practical affairs.

Two of these were bodied forth by Tom Paine in the famous pamphlet, *Common Sense*, on the eve of American Independence and as constituting arguments for independence. Paine says in one place: "It is the true interest of America to steer clear of European

connections, which she can never do while by her dependence on Britain she is made the make weight in British politics." Here we have an early statement, if not the earliest statement, of the doctrine of American isolation and self-sufficiency, the basis of Washington's neutrality proclamation, of Jefferson's much-quoted inaugural declaration in favor of "peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none," and of the Monroe doctrine. Again, at the emotional climax of his argument, Paine utters the memorable sentiment: "Every spot of the Old World is overrun with oppression. Freedom hath been hunted round the globe. Asia and Africa have long expelled her. Europe regards her like a stranger, and even England hath given her warning to depart. Oh! receive the fugitive and prepare in time an asylum for mankind." This is the doctrine of national hospitality. When amplified, as it was bound to be amplified by others, it made America a city of refuge to the poor, the persecuted, the oppressed of all lands, as well as the conserver of the world's heritage of political and civil liberty.

The dominant theme of our national history is the growth of democracy. This ideal we have had always with us as a regulator of political life, as well as a conscious influence in social life. Indeed, were it held less consciously, the ideal of democracy might be regarded as the civilization "dominant" according to the use of that term by a distinguished modern German historian.¹ For the origin of the democratic ideal we must ascend into the colonial period of American history, and even to the English sources of American life. The Revolutionary patriots were a body of men imbued with a democratic spirit, fundamentally British but developed by three generations of American pioneering. It is now agreed that they fought for independence because they were habituated to a large measure of democratic liberty rather than because they suffered positive oppression of a grievous nature.

At least one other ideal comes down to us from afar along the track of history in such manner as to become a test of social action. It is foreshadowed in the earliest arguments for colonization, like Hakluyt's *Discourse of Western Planting*, and clearly proclaimed in Francis Higginson's *Commodities of New England*. Hakluyt urged the planting of colonies as a means of improving the living conditions of those Englishmen who had lost their grip on material goods at home. And Higginson bears eloquent testimony to the correctness of Hakluyt's views. When he says in his enthusiasm, "Little children here by setting of corn may earn much more than their own maintenance," he hints at an unwonted security of life through the bounty of a generous soil accessible to all. When he says, "A

¹ Karl Lamprecht, *What is History?*

poor servant here that is to possess no more than 50 acres, may afford to give more timber and wood for fire than many a nobleman in England can afford to do. Here is good living for those who love good fires," he suggests a state of human comfort and well-being which was new in the world of his time among the generality of men.

Passing over a long intervening period, during which it was illustrated in a thousand forms, we find the same ideal expressed even more strikingly by Hector St. John Crèvecoeur in his essay, "What is an American?" This essay was published just at the close of the Revolutionary War. It gives us, in some respects, the most delightful picture we have from that time of the free, joyous, hopeful democracy of a prosperous rural community.

Crèvecoeur makes the opportunity to secure, easily, an abundant supply of material goods a ruling feature of American democracy. The American, he tells us, is a European who in coming to the New World has attained a new economic destiny. "Here the rewards of his industry follow, with equal steps, the progress of his labor. * * * From involuntary idleness, servile dependence, penury, and useless labor, he has passed to toils of a very different nature, rewarded by ample subsistence."

While the above group might perhaps be made larger, it includes, I think, those ideals which, whether consciously or unconsciously, have influenced most powerfully and directly the public life of our Nation.

Obviously, these ideals differ in the quality of permanence. The isolation and self-sufficiency of the Nation is a condition dependent on facts which have altered fundamentally since 1776. There is no longer a physical isolation to serve as a basis for the political isolation of which history made us so fond, while the intellectual and moral solidarity attained by the western world during the past century makes the continuance of our time-honored policy an anachronism, like the "spite fence" inclosing a beautiful city home. Yet it is clear that the doctrine of isolation was responsible for much of the vitality of the anti-imperialist propaganda of 1898 and the years following. Says the Democratic platform of 1900: "We are in favor of extending the Republic's influence among the nations, but believe that that influence should be extended not by force and violence, but through the persuasive power of a high and honorable example." But the party stood firmly for the Monroe doctrine. The silver party in the same year declared: "We believe the Monroe doctrine to be sound in principle and a wise national policy, and we demand a firm adherence thereto. We condemn acts inconsistent with it and that tend to make us parties to the interests and involve us in the controversies of European nations." Those whose memories go back to the thrilling days of the Spanish War, the

Filipino insurrection, and other incidents which dramatize the new order of our national life, will recall how hard it was for even the most liberal Americans to abandon the cherished ideal of isolation. Yet it has been shattered before our eyes through the impact of more powerful historical forces; so that we are told by a high authority in national affairs that in future we can not hope even to avoid participating in the wars of the world.²

Although this ideal is no longer valid in its original character, yet it may not be amiss for the American people to inquire whether those high and worthy objects which the policy of isolation was calculated to conserve must be abandoned also. The chief of those objects was peace. "Entangling alliances," we believed, would jeopardize this supreme good. Recent events seem to show the existence among us of a spirit which will insist on world peace as the price of our ungrudging participation in world affairs. Should that impulse prove successful, the motive of our long schooling in isolation will have been vindicated, and the policy itself can be abandoned with joy as one which has served its main purpose and may now properly be enshrined as a sacred memory.

During 140 years the United States, heeding the exhortation of Tom Paine, has literally made itself an asylum for the oppressed of all nations. Yet in two respects time has effected a fundamental revolution in the basic conditions of that policy: First, oppression in the older sense has generally disappeared from the other nations; second, our facilities for caring for those seeking our shores for asylum have relatively decreased. Our wards are filled to capacity. To take in all who might conceivably come in the future on the plea of oppression or hardness of life at home would manifestly endanger the security of our institutions and might even duplicate here the frightful race tragedies of polyglot states like Turkey. Yet the old ideal remains to influence our immigration policy, which thus far has not yet even sanctioned the cutting off of admittedly unassimilable elements whose inclusion must prove as harmful to themselves as to us.

The operation of the asylum ideal has affected the question of immigration in a unique way. The foreigner brought to us not merely his industry, to increase the sum of our material wealth, but he proved his special value by contributing new processes of production, different and often liberalizing customs, and significant new points of view. Naturally and not improperly Americans looked upon the prosperity which followed as in part the reward of their benevolence, and this confirmed them in the policy. On the other hand, the immigrant promptly became a citizen, empowered to help sustain such American institutions or doctrines as pleased him. Thus

² This paper was written and presented in the form of an address in November, 1916. The allusion is to a statement by President Wilson.

the asylum policy grew upon itself, unhealthily, while the reasons for its continuance, in extreme form, became steadily weaker. What the future may do with our ideal of national hospitality remains to be seen. Since that ideal is now in conflict with the ideal of well-being, and also, in some respects, with the ideal of democracy, we would be justified in assuming that it is bound to be modified to suit the new conditions. But for obvious reasons all the political parties are timid about taking a position on the question of immigration control. Neither of the two great parties in 1916 pronounced upon it in their platforms, although it was the subject of congressional discussion during the preceding session and has been taken up again in the present session. Four years ago the only great party whose platform mentioned immigration was the Progressive. It says with truth and studied caution:

We denounce the fatal policy of indifference and neglect which has left the enormous immigrant population to become the prey of chance and cupidity. We favor governmental action to encourage the distribution of immigrants away from the congested cities, to rigidly supervise all private agencies dealing with them, and to promote their assimilation, education, and advancement.

By means of new laws and constitutional amendments the easy transmutation of the newly arrived foreigner into a voter of the State has been largely prevented, and there is a strong tendency to-day to make the test of fitness for general citizenship a real one. These are signs that the American people are thinking of the problem, though as yet they are willing to attack it only very tenderly. Perhaps, after all, the effectual organization of the means of assimilation will point the way to a solution, and the plank of the Progressive Party platform just read may therefore prove prophetic. The American people, including later as well as earlier comers, may ultimately insist on a thoroughgoing policy of immigration control. Yet, in view of their ideal of national hospitality, it is likely that any restrictive plan which may be adopted will be conceived in the spirit of liberality rather than its opposite. We have learned the lesson that, in respect to men of other lands, it pays to be sociable. It would be surprising if we should refuse to admit those who are enough like ourselves to be assimilable to the full extent of our means of assimilation.

Democracy and opportunity, or the sense of ownership of the means of well-being, are doubtless the two ideals of our group which are held most tenaciously by the American people. These two ideals have been so blended together in the public mind as to be well-nigh indistinguishable. To the average American freedom has two aspects: On the one hand it implies civil and political rights; on the other, economic and social privileges. Such a union of the two ideas was inevitable. From early colonial times all landowners

were citizens. But on the frontier all men were potentially or actually landowners, hence all men were of right citizens. Since landholding was universal and conferred no distinction, it followed that all men had a right of citizenship as men. And with land a social commodity, the property of the whole body of citizens, none could rightly be denied access to the land if he chose to take a portion of it for his own use. The citizen had the right of self-help and society supplied the opportunity. And self-help, from social resources, became an ideal of life.

Not only did the ideals of democracy and self-help blend together under frontier conditions, but throughout the course of American history, so long as a frontier existed, they were mutually supporting. Democracy, acting through the General Government, opened fresh lands to the people as fast as they were wanted for settlement. The terms of occupancy grew more and more liberal, until at last the principle was accepted that every citizen was entitled to a farm for the asking. The new lands of successive frontiers were a perennial means of social improvement to the entire Nation. Each new wave of settlement, composed generally of the sturdiest pioneers, also relieved the older communities of thousands of the weaker sort, to whom a new chance meant social regeneration; and always the frontier made for fundamental democracy, whose spirit diffused itself through the whole mass.

In our own time, indeed, with the disappearance of the frontier, a struggle has arisen between democracy and the spirit of self-help in the exaggerated forms represented by monopoly. Human greed, armed with the most perfect exploiting agencies ever devised—the corporation, the holding company, and the trust—grasped at the dwindling fund of social resources possessed by the Nation at large, much as the pioneer settler stole unnoticed into the forest, or rode headlong over 100 miles of prairie in order to drive his stake in the soil of a valued “quarter section.” Prof. Turner pointed out, six years ago,³ that the spirit which dominated our Harrimans and our Morgans was merely the pioneer squatter spirit raised to the *n*th power. They were doing—on a gigantic scale and with infinite efficiency—just what the pioneers had been doing in their small and often halting ways from the beginning—taking portions of the public resources, to which all citizens had a right, and using them to create wealth and power which is the concomitant of wealth. The truth is, as we can now see, that democracy was prodigal of the Nation’s resources so long as these existed in what seemed like limitless abundance. Had the right of acquisition been restricted to such a quantity of land or other resources as would reasonably supply the wants of a family, provision might still re-

³ Social Forces in American History Am. Hist. Review, January, 1911.

main for several generations. But, what with railroad land grants and other special national grants; the unwise actions of States in disposing of their school lands and swamp lands in unlimited quantities at low prices; the lieu land outrage; a bad (and worse administered) law relating to timber lands, which encouraged the engrossing of such land by great corporations—these, coupled with positive venality, as well in public officials as in private promoters, resulted in the untimely exhaustion of our resources so far as the common man is concerned.

The struggle between democracy and what we have come to call "special privilege" has persisted for a quarter of a century. It has resulted in weaponing democracy in ways undreamed by the fathers of the Republic and has developed in the democratic masses both an *esprit de corps* and a confident strategy which have practically forced the enemy to the wall. Many of us, at least, believe that that war is virtually over, though we still wait for the proclamation of peace. When this comes it will permit a more adequate consideration of needed constructive legislation.

It remains to show how the ideal of self-help from a treasury of social resources in the interest of human well-being has survived the disappearance of the frontier and has tended to give shape to the political programs of our time. There is no class of American people whose position has not been affected by the closing of the era of free lands. Those into whose hands large portions passed are growing progressively wealthy through the rapid increase of the purely social value of the lands—the unearned increment. This fact is revealed startlingly by a study of the movement of farm-land values during the period from 1850 to 1910. The census tables show that farm-land values grew very slowly and gradually for 50 years, and such growth as there was is accounted for largely, if not wholly, by the progress of improvements on the lands. In 1850 the average acre of farm land was valued at \$11.33 $\frac{1}{3}$, and at that time only 38.5 per cent of farm land was cleared. By 1890 the value had gone up to \$21.33 $\frac{1}{3}$, but 57.4 per cent was cleared land. During the next 10 years the area of new land taken up was so enormous that the percentage of cleared land in the United States fell during the decade from 57.4 to 49.4, a difference of 8 per cent. The acre value also declined, but not proportionally. Whereas in 1890 it stood at \$21.33 $\frac{1}{3}$, in 1900 it was \$19.30. The surprise comes in the figures for the last census period, that of 1910. Now the farms have become somewhat smaller on the average, it is true, and the percentage of cleared land has risen again from 49.4 to 54.4, or 5 per cent, but the acre value has risen from \$19.30 to \$39.50, or more than 100 per cent. The subjoined table⁴ illustrates these changes more fully.

⁴ Statistical Abstract of the United States (1914), pp. 119, 122.

	Total number of farms	Average size of farms.	Total value of farms and buildings.	Value of the aver- age farm	Acre value.	Per cent of im- proved farm land.
1850	1,449,073	202.6	\$3,271,575,426	\$2 257	\$11 $\frac{1}{2}$	38 5
1860	2,044,070	199.2	6,645,045,007	3,250	16 $\frac{3}{8}$	40 1
1870	2,650,985	153.3	7,444,054,432	2,808	17 $\frac{3}{8}$	46 3
1880	4,008,907	133.7	10,197,006,776	2,543	18 $\frac{1}{2}$	53 1
1890	4,564,641	136.5	13,270,252,649	2,909	21 $\frac{1}{2}$	57 4
1900	5,737,372	146 2	16,614,647,485	2,896	19 $\frac{1}{2}$	49 4
1910	6,361,592	138 1	34,791,125,697	5,471	39 $\frac{1}{2}$	54 4

Of course, those among the 6,000,000 farm owners who held their farms over from 1900 have been enriched, provided they wish to regard their lands as a marketable commodity rather than as a means of supporting a home and family. In the latter case the advantage of the rise even to them is not so clear. On the other hand, the vast annual army of new land seekers—the maturing children of the farmers, the immigrants, and the town-weary—find in the fact of the doubled value of farm lands an almost insuperable obstacle to farm ownership. And Americans have not yet adjusted their views to tenantry. This is a primary reason for the rush to the city so loudly deplored and so threatening in its social implications. While there was yet a supply of free land, that fact regulated the value of privately-owned land and kept it within easy reach of the industrious farmer who wished to buy and pay for his farm out of the savings of a few years rather than go West. Henceforth it appears there is to be no regulator of farm values save the subsistence requirement of an agricultural peasantry who will in most cases lease (not own) the lands and pay all the balance over and above subsistence in the form of rent.

No doubt this sounds pessimistic, but the tendency obviously is to approximate European conditions. Probably several generations will pass before the similarity becomes marked. Meantime, Americans have not forgotten the era of free lands or the ideals of well-being which it engendered. Having political power in their hands, it is hardly surprising that they show a disposition to seek means of escape from the fate which yawns for them. As partial remedies, the agricultural classes are seeking to increase the value of their productions through the control and consequent reduction of transportation charges. The rural-credits movement is meant to enable purchasers to pay for their lands more certainly and to render them more productive by means of timely improvements which wait on a supply of capital. Above all, rural-life education, at public expense, is relied on to produce a generation of young farmers equipped with skill and knowledge which may, if possible, lift them over the interval between opportunity on the old level of free land and oppor-

tunity on the new level of high-priced land. The theory is that there are still margins of profit in farming, but only for those who farm scientifically; wherefore, society has the task assigned it of supplying the requisite scientific training for farmers. Even this can hardly prove a permanent remedy, admirable as is the movement in every respect, for the social value of land will continue to rise until rents devour the new margins as they devoured the old.

Only a few years ago our Government began the process of saving the remnants of the public land for the people. Probably that process will go on till all land wrongfully or illegally monopolized shall be released. Reclaimable lands will be irrigated or drained at public expense; forested areas susceptible of tillage will be opened up. These are some of the signs in current politics that the people remember the ideal of self-help.

A more startling evidence is contained in an initiative bill presented to the people of Oregon at the general election, November 7, 1916. It is called "Full rental value land tax and home-makers' loan fund amendment." The preamble of the bill recites:

(1) We reaffirm our faith in the self-evident truths of the Declaration of Independence, "That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." In pursuance of these rights, all citizens of Oregon are equally entitled to exclusive possession, for their personal use, of land enough for their homes and to yield a living by their labor, without paying any person for the right to live and labor on the land.

Whatever may be thought of the proposals which follow this ringing manifesto—and it should be stated that the bill was defeated, only 22 per cent of the vote on it being in favor—the principle here laid down is in perfect accord with the ideal of self-help which comes to us, not indeed from the Declaration of Independence, but from much older colonial practice. The bill proposed to tax all land at its full rental value and to set aside one-third of the proceeds of such tax as a fund to assist home makers both in town and country. In other words, it was proposed to replenish the treasury of social resources from the social value of land and to encourage the old habit of self-help.

An analysis of the vote will show, I think, that those who favored the bill came mainly from the laboring class—that is, a class which is wholly without land. One day, if present tendencies persist, the landless industrial class will be in the majority. Possibly by that time we shall have forgotten our old ideals and be willing to accept European conditions of life. But probably not. Labor knows that in the long era of free lands its position was secure. Wages were based not on subsistence requirements but on the productivity of labor as applied to the soil. The frontier was the best insurance

against unemployment, and it was a means of rescue from almost every form of disaster which might overtake the laborer and his family. The river valleys, plains, and plateaus chanted their invitations in the spirit of Kipling's settler:

Here where my fresh turned furrows run
And the deep soil glistens red,
I will repair the wrong that was done
To the living and the dead.

Probably American labor will remember. It is altogether wiser and more statesmanlike to assume that it will than that it will not. Indeed, should labor or any other class forget, it would be the statesman's part to remind it of those ideals which have made our country what it is. So, too, it is the statesman's duty to work out plans of readjustment which will place the laborer in a position relatively as secure as that which he enjoyed during five generations characterized by an ever vaster sweep into the fresh lands of the West.

That this duty is beginning to be appreciated is testified by recent platform declarations of all progressive parties, from that of the People's Party in 1892, which proclaimed the union of agricultural and industrial labor, down to those of 1916 which propose specific enactments to safeguard labor and to abolish unemployment.

Perhaps the most complete statement of a national legislative program in the interest of labor by one of the great parties appears in the Progressive Party's platform of 1912 under the caption "Social and industrial reform." This program includes prevention of industrial accidents, occupational diseases, overwork, involuntary unemployment, the fixing of minimum safety and health standards for the several occupations, the prohibition of child labor, the establishment of minimum wage scales, the protection of the health of working women, the eight-hour day for working women and girls, one day's rest in seven for all wage workers, the eight-hour day in continuous 24-hour industries, abolition of contract convict labor, publicity as to all labor contracts and conditions, workmen's insurance against death, sickness, and old age; the improvement of educational facilities for labor by the creation of night schools and continuation schools for industrial training; and, lastly, the establishment of "industrial research laboratories to put the methods and discoveries of science at the service of American producers."

This review shows that our historic ideals must be considered among the actual forces influencing current politics. A clearer recognition of that fact may aid not a little toward the solution of some at least of the thronging social problems of to-day and to-morrow.

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XVIII. AMERICAN HISTORICAL PERIODICALS.

By AUGUSTUS H. SHEARER,
The Newberry Library, Chicago, Ill.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL PERIODICALS.

By AUGUSTUS H. SHEARER.

At the present time about 50 periodicals devoted to history are published in the United States, but as the circulation of most of these is limited to certain localities and to persons particularly interested in the subject, the number of these periodicals and the historical activities calling for their publication are not generally known. A complete list of all that have been published is even harder to find, but as such a list will be published this year,¹ some observations on these periodicals may be of interest to others besides historians, especially those interested in the literary and cultural development of the country.

Besides the journals devoted to history exclusively, there are others which have so much history and historical material included in them that one is inclined to think of them in that class. Such are the economic, political science, international law, folklore, geographic, sociological, archæological, ethnological, and similar journals. Other fields, however, may be considered parts of the historical field, such as genealogy, with periodicals which, though catering to a selfish, narrow-visioned, albeit industrious class, may some day be found of more use to the historical student than they have been as yet; numismatics, whose periodicals deal with one line of tangible sources for history; and antiquarianism, the blind alley of history.

Two other kinds of periodicals are also removed from consideration with reluctance, and yet quite logically—the general periodicals and those dealing with a locality. The general have poetry, literary and political essays, besides the occasional historical article. They are the earliest kind of periodical in the country, perforce, because the country could not support particularized journals, nor were there models of such in Europe. Some of this kind in earlier years were the *American Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, in Boston, from 1743 to 1746; *The United States Magazine, a Repository of History, Literature, and Politics*, in Philadelphia in 1779; and *Carey's American Museum*, which ran for 12 volumes in Philadelphia from 1787 to 1792. In our own years such magazines are the *Atlantic*, *Harper's*, *Century*, and *Scribner's*, and these frequently have their real historical contributions. A mention only of Gideon Welles's diary

¹ See Appendix, pp. 477–484.

would serve to recall that many people read it, enjoyed it, and were informed thereby, people who would never have thought of purchasing that material when it appeared in book form or even of securing it from a library. Even a host of less high-class magazines sometimes allow something which has a semblance of history with a modicum of intellectual effort to appear in their pages. Similarly, the local magazines appealing to certain States or sections of the country, from the *New Hampshire Magazine*, 1793, and the *New Englander*, 1843, and including such well-known and high-class periodicals as the *New England Magazine*, 1884, and *Granite Monthly*, 1877, have, because they cater to a locality, an interest in the local history, notable events, disputed happenings, old landmarks and their preservation, reminiscent stories, preservation of account books, diaries, and other records, which tends toward the development of historic interest and, in some rare cases, of the historic sense.

If the subject matter presents questions as to what should be included among historical periodicals, so also does the matter of regularity and frequency of publication. Some of our libraries in making their classifications and lists have despaired of finding a stable definition, and have adopted the word "serial" to cover everything not a collection of documents or archives—everything which has appeared once with a prospect of indefinite continuance. However, since there is a fairly numerous class which appears with more or less regularity oftener than once a year, and less frequently than newspapers (as well as with a different character), much of the "serial" matter can be excluded, even though with it go many publications of historical societies and other agencies which are decidedly historical in character.

It might seem to the scientific historian that a great number of periodicals masquerade under the designation of "historical," and are not worthy of the name. If one turns to the premier historical periodical of the country, *The American Historical Review*, it is found to contain articles which are the result of research, documents which are worthy of preservation, book reviews, and news notes. To be a real historical periodical, a publication need not have all these classes in each number, but certainly no one class ought to be omitted all the time. With this in mind, there are but few periodicals which will satisfy all scholars, and there are not many which are perused merely for enjoyment, issue by issue. But just as the *American Historical Review* is consulted at some time by every historian, so even the lowliest historical magazine contains in its files material which even the historian at the top of the profession consults as a valuable mine on some point. Further, it contains for periodical reading, articles and news notes which are interesting and illuminating to the average layman. It is true, however, that there is still too much of

the 4th of July or obituary address, or anniversary celebration speech (frequently by a politician with enough oratory to kill trustworthiness) which finds its way into some of our would-be serious and high-class periodicals.

In the matter of documents, letters, etc., it is probable that those printed by our historical periodicals and accumulated through the years are such that the greatest aid has been given to historical research thereby. Especially is this true of such as the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, the *Virginia Magazine*, the *William and Mary College Historical Quarterly*. The publication of documents in these places allows scholars in different parts of the country to get illustrative material, and in some cases final notes which distance and lack of knowledge of storehouses would otherwise prevent.

In book reviews it is only occasionally that anything worth while is done by the local or smaller historical periodical, but as real book reviewers are rare at the present time, even for the best journals, scorn need not be heaped overmuch on the reviewer in an obscure periodical for his inexpertness in this particular field.

As for news notes, they are sometimes trivial, but sometimes are worthy of the periodical and, if read consistently, give a picture of historical activity in a locality which is worth while even to a stranger. The *Minnesota Historical Bulletin* and *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* are examples of excellence; but frequently columns of news notes are not worth while even for the local readers.

In point of time the first American historical periodicals came as an expression of the patriotic feeling in the era of the War of 1812. These publications (all in Philadelphia) were *Walsh's American Review of History and Politics*, 1811-1812; *The War*, 1812-1813; *The American Weekly Messenger, or State Papers, History, and Politics*, 1814-1815; *The Historical Register of the United States*, 1814-1816. Publications due to war feeling were found later in the Civil War period, as to-day in Europe. Other short-lived publications approximating more closely to the real standards appeared mainly in Philadelphia, but also in 1823 in Concord, N. H. (*Collections, Historical and Miscellaneous*), and in 1825 in Worcester, Mass., and in 1836 in New Haven.

In 1842 the *American Pioneer* appeared in Cincinnati, the organ of the Logan Historical Society, and the first of that numerous collection of magazines in Ohio, some nominally literary, but all having historical interests and indicating, short lived though most of them were, that the literary and historical spirit was bound to find expression in the trans-Allegheny region which was still considered very new by the more cultured East. The *American Pioneer* is typical also of the class of pioneer journals containing much material

about frontier life in the form of reminiscences, or of interviews with old settlers, of course sometimes mixed with fiction and containing exaggerated conceptions of the part the relator played. Such periodicals include *Olden Time* (Pittsburgh, 1846-1848) and the *Fireland's Pioneer* (1858).

The first of the genealogical publications was started naturally enough in New England with the *New Hampshire Repository* which in 1847 became the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*. This is the oldest of these periodicals existing to-day, and although it is thought of mainly as genealogical, it has contained much local history, documents, and some treatment of larger historical questions. Other genealogical magazines followed, notably the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* in 1870; and even magazines pertaining to particular families, as the *Keim*, *Kimball*, *Paine*, *Grant*.

Dawson's Historical Magazine and Notes and Queries was the first successful magazine of prominence devoted to history, and in its 23 volumes, from 1857 to 1875, it established the possibility of such an enterprise not, it must be noted, as a result of the labors of a body of men interested in the historical cause, but as a business venture. Later came other such magazines as the *Magazine of History* (1877-1893), out of which *Mrs. Lamb* is said to have made money, and others still in existence.

With all the literary activity in certain Southern capitals before the Civil War it is perhaps strange that only one historical publication was started, unless the feeling that literature and history are not congenial, both as to method and results, was potent there long before modern cavilers could utter their beliefs. The *Virginia Historical Register* (1848-1853) was the only historical publication in the South before the Civil War. After the war it was first the intense feeling developed by believers in a lost cause which brought forth periodicals which were historical in character as soon as there was time and money to spare—*Our Living and Our Dead* (1874-1876); *Confederate Annals* (1882). It was not until 1892 that the *William and Mary College Quarterly* began, and the next year *The Virginia Magazine of History*; then followed the *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association* in 1897, which became the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* in 1913; the *North Carolina Historical and Genealogical Register* in 1900, and the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* in the same year. Whatever the reason for the late appearance of this class of periodicals in the South, certainly the publications of the new South have had a large degree of excellence.

To the West belongs the credit of the first State magazine of history, and to the newer West, too. This was the *Iowa State Historical*

Society's Annals, which began in 1863. Similar periodicals devoted to the historical interests of a State and becoming foremost in their field are the Pennsylvania Magazine, 1877; the Virginia Magazine, 1893; the Maine Historical and Genealogical Recorder (1884-1898); and others more recent which show great promise in Maryland, Illinois, Indiana, Missouri, Iowa, Tennessee, Kentucky, Oregon, Washington, and Utah.

But, not only were these State periodicals starting and finding a constituency which would support them, but smaller localities were establishing their periodicals to record their history. The Mad River Valley Pioneer in Ohio, which appeared for one number in 1870, is probably the first of these, but others followed in different parts of the country—Old Times in North Yarmouth, Me., which ran for eight years from January, 1877; the Newport (R. I.) Historical Magazine for four years (1880-1884), and then for three years more as the Rhode Island Historical Magazine; and so on, mainly in New England. Of these, note must be made of the Dedham Historical Register, 1890-1903, and the Medford Historical Register (1898-date), and of the most recent, The Vineland (N. J.) Historical Magazine (1916). Most of these were established without hopes of gain by a local enthusiast or a group in an historical society, sometimes with faulty methods or misdirected aims, but all giving evidence of the outbreak of the historical, mixed, perhaps, with antiquarian instinct.

It will be noted that, of historical periodicals devoted to a locality, the State magazines were the first which could find a supporting constituency, then those of the smaller region. After these, with an increase of the historical sense which sees things in larger relations than those of small units, came the historical periodicals devoted to sections of the country, such as the Magazine of Western History (1884); the Gulf States Historical Magazine, which lasted for only two volumes, 1902-1904; the Magazine of New England History (1891-1893); the Southwestern Historical Quarterly (1913), developing out of the Texas periodical; Old Santa Fé (1913); and the Mississippi Valley Historical Review (1914). These ought to be, and in some respects are, the best of the historical magazines in the country after the American Historical Review.

Yet this does not exhaust the kinds of historical periodicals which have sprung up in later years, for there are journals which are denominational (Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society, 1901; Catholic Historical Review, 1915); racial (Journal of Negro History, 1916; Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter, 1901); military (Military Historian and Economist, 1916); teaching (History Teacher's Magazine, 1909); and those issued by colleges and containing more than monographs (William and Mary; Smith).

These historical periodicals are evidence of certain stages in the literary and cultural history of the country. They are found first in localities where there was the earliest leisure, the greatest educational advantages, and a due proportion of the professional classes. As to whether homogeneity of the population was a necessity for such efforts is a question. Outside of Philadelphia, of Boston and its vicinity, and a little later of New York, the things of note are the scarcity in the South and the prolificness of the Ohio Valley region. It remained for the farther West to establish the State-supported and State-directed periodicals, as in Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, Illinois. As with their State historical societies, it has seemed difficult for the unsubsidized association of individuals to do much, either locally or generally; and yet, in the face of that statement, which is absolutely true for the local and State societies and their periodicals, is the formation of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association and the publication of its Review, directly due to that same spirit which manifested itself in the earlier societies and publications.

With the rise of the historical sense and a desire for information comes the popularizer and the commercial exploiter. Some of the earlier business historians—Mrs. Lamb and B. J. Lossing—made money out of their ventures, but deserve credit, nevertheless, for keeping a high standard and for educating while popularizing. In later years gaudy covers, profuse illustration, and unexpected headlines tend to attract and interest the populace and result in certain beneficial effects, such as familiarizing the lay reader with the interest and value of documents (as occasionally printed), and with the broader significance of well-known places and events, and with information worth while in itself (at times). The trouble is that much well-written trash, or popular articles, or even misinformation passes for history along with the rest. People are deceived into thinking themselves real historical students (just as by reading some popular magazines they are deceived into thinking they are reading literature or, at the theater, by the scenic effects—costumes, lighting, music—they are deceived into thinking they are witnessing real drama). The encouraging thing about the subject is that there have arisen so many first-class publications in their own fields in the past 10 or 12 years. At the head stand the Mississippi Valley Historical Review and other publications covering more than one State, then a number of excellent State periodicals, and then certain local publications. It is rather a hopeful outlook from the historical point of view for the cultural development of the country.

APPENDIX.

LIST OF AMERICAN HISTORICAL PERIODICALS.

- Adams Magazine. N. Y., 1891-1892. 2 vols. Continued as Magazine of the Daughters of the Revolution.
- Albany Quarterly. (Albany Hist. Soc.) Albany, 1832-1833. 6 nos. Q.
- American Antiquarian. Cleveland. Q. Vols. 1-2 of next title
- American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal. Cleveland, Chicago, Apr., 1878-Jan., 1914. Vols 1-36 Q. (1878-1883); bi-m. (1883-1910), q. (1910-1911); bi-m. (1912-Mar. 1913); q.
- American Catholic Historical Researches. Pittsburg, Phila., July, 1884-June, 1912 30 vols. Q (Absorbed Griffin's Journal, Oct., 1900)
- American Catholic Hist. Soc of Phila. Quarterly Bulletin Phila., Mar 1-Dec. 8, 1892. 1 vol. Q.
- American Catholic Hist. Soc of Phila. Records. Phila., 1884-irreg.; q. (1893); m. Incorporated Amer. Cath. Hist. Researches, Aug., 1912
- American Genealogist. T. A. Glenn, Ardmore, Pa., Mar., 1899-Feb., 1900. 1 vol. M.
- American Heraldic Journal. Columbus, Ohio, Jan., 1901-July, 1902 (?) Vols. 1-2. Q
- American Historical Magazine. New Haven, Jan-June, 1836 1 vol. M.
- American Historical Magazine. N. Y., Jan., 1850, Vol 1, No. 1.
- American Historical Magazine. Vol. 1 of next title.
- American Historical Magazine. Representing Peabody Normal College. Vols 2-5 of next title.
- American Historical Magazine and Tennessee Historical Society Quarterly. Nashville, Jan., 1896-Oct., 1904. 9 vols. Q.
- American Historical Magazine N. Y., Jan., 1906-May, 1909. Vols. 1-4, No 3. Bi-m. See Americana, bi-m
- American Historical Record and Repertory of Notes and Queries Lossing, Phila., 1872-1874. 3 vols. M.
- American Historical Register and Monthly Gazette of the Patriotic-Hereditary Societies, U. S. A. Phila., Sept., 1894-May, 1897. 5 vols. M
- American Historical Review. N. Y., Oct., 1895- . Q.
- American-Irish Historical Society. Journal. Concord, N. H., Apr., 1916- . Q.
- American-Irish Historical Society. Recorder. See Recorder.
- American Journal of Archaeology. Balto., etc., Jan., 1885- . 11 vols. 2 s 1897- . Q. (1885-1896); bi-m. (1897-1899); q. (1900-).
- American Journal of Archaeology and History of the Fine Arts. Title, 1885-1896, of entry above.
- American Monthly Magazine. Wash., N. Y., July, 1892-June, 1913. 42 vols. Continued as D. A. R. Magazine, 1913- .
- American Pioneer. Cincinnati, Jan., 1842-Oct., 1843. 2 vols. M.
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- Beaver. (City History Club) N. Y., 1914- . 3 times a year (Feb., 1916-); typewritten (1914-1915, 1917-1918).
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- Bivouac. Boston. Jan., 1883- (?). M
- Blue and Gray. Phila., Jan., 1883-Apr., 1895. M.
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- Catholic Historical Researches Pittsburg, July, 1885-Oct., 1886. Vols. 2-3. No. 2 of American Catholic Hist. Researches.
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- Cincinnati Pioneer. Cincinnati, Sept., 1873-July, 1875. Irreg.
- Collections Historical and Miscellaneous. J. Farmer, J. B. Moore, Concord, N. H., 1822-1824. 3 vols. M.
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- Confederate War Journal. N. Y. and Lexington, Ky., Apr., 1893-Mar., 1895. 2 vols. M.
- Curio. N. Y., Sept., 1887-Jan. and Feb., 1888. 1 vol. M.
- Current History. New York, Dec, 1914- . M.
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- Current History and Modern Culture. Mar., 1902-1903. See next title.
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- Daughters of the Revolution Magazine. See Magazine of the Daughters of the Revolution.
- Dawson's Historical Magazine. See Historical Magazine.
- Dedham Historical Register. Dedham, Mass., Jan., 1890-1903 14 vols. Q.
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- First Maine Bugle. Rockland, Me. Campaign II, III (*i. e.*, vols); July, 1890-Oct., 1903. Q. (Continuation of Maine Cav, 1st Regiment, Record of Proceedings; cont. by Maine Bugle.)
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- Grizzly Bear. (Native Sons of the Golden West.) Los Angeles, May, 1907- M.
- Gulf States Historical Magazine. Montgomery, Birmingham, Ala., July, 1902-May, 1904. 2 vols. Bi-m.
- Hazard's Register. Phila., Jan., 1828-Dec., 1835. 16 vols W. (Register of Pennsylvania, vols. 1-7.)
- Heraldic Journal. Boston, Jan., 1865-Oct., 1868. 4 vols. M. (vol. 1); q.
- Hispanic American Historical Review. Feb., 1918- . Q.
- Historia. Oklahoma City, Okla., Sept. 15, 1909- . Q
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- Historia. (A Magazine of Local History) Norwell, Mass., Nov., 1898-Oct., 1899. Vol. 1, Nos. 1-6. Bi-m. (Mimeographed.)

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- Historic Quarterly. See Manchester, N. H., Historic Association.
- Historical and Genealogical Researches and Recorder of Merrimack . . . Valley. Haverhill, Mass., Apr., 1857-Jan., 1858. Vol. 1, Nos. 1, 2. Q.
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- Historical Journal. J. F. Meginess, Williamsport, Pa., May, 1887-1894. 2 vols. M. (1887-1888); q. (1894)
- Historical Magazine and Notes and Queries. (Dawson's, 1866-1875.) Boston, New York, Morrisania, Jan., 1857-Apr., 1875. 23 vols. 3 s. M.
- Historical Notes Relating to the Pennsylvania Reformed Church. Phila., May, 1899-Apr., 1900. 1 vol. M.
- Historical Outlook. Phila., Oct., 1918- . M., except July, Aug., and Sept. (Continuing History Teacher's Magazine.)
- Historical Record. (Historical Society, Schenectady, N. Y.) Schenectady, Jan.-Apr., 1872. 4 nos. M.
- Historical Record of Wyoming Valley. Wilkes-Barre, Pa., Sept., 1886-1908. 14 vols. M. (1886-1887); q. (1888-1889); as single volumes, 1899-1908.
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- Journal of Negro History. Lancaster, Pa., and Washington, Jan. 1916- . Q.
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- Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society. Phila., May, 1901- . Irreg.; q. since 1904 (2 years to 1 vol.).

- Kentucky State Historical Society. Register. Louisville, 1903- . 3 times a year.
- Kittochting Magazine. Chambersburg, Pa., Jan.-Oct 1905. 1 vol. Q.
- Knox County Historical and Genealogical Magazine. Rockland, Me., Nov. 1895-Aug. 1896 10 nos. M.
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- Magazine of American History. Port Chester, N. Y., 1912- . M. (Numbered continuously with above.)
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- Magazine of Western History. Cleveland, N. Y., Nov. 1884-Oct 1892. 14 vols. M. (Continued as National Magazine.)
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- Maine Catholic Historical Magazine. Portland, Me., 1913- . M.
- Maine Genealogist and Biographer. Auburn, Me, Sept., 1875-June, 1878. 3 vols. Q.
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- Manchester Historical Association. Historical Quarterly. Manchester, N. H., 1901-1903. 3 vols. Q.
- Maryland Historical Magazine. Balto, Mar. 1906- . Q
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- Mayflower Descendant, 1620-1920. Boston, Jan. 1899- . Q.
- Medford Historical Register. Medford, Mass., Jan. 1898- . Q
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- Military Historian and Economist. Cambridge, Mass., Jan, 1916- . Q.
- Minnesota History Bulletin. St. Paul, Minn, Feb, 1915- . Q.
- Mississippi Valley Historical Review. Cedar Rapids, Ia., June, 1914- . Q.
- Missouri Historical Review. Columbia, Mo., Oct, 1906- . Q.
- Narragansett Historical Register. Providence, R. I., Jan., 1882-Apr., 1891. 9 vols. Q.
- National Genealogical Society Quarterly. Wash, Apr., 1912. Q.
- National Magazine. New York, Nov., 1892-1894. 2 vols. M. (Preceded Magazine of Western History, 1884-1892. Several fake nos, 1895-1897. See Bulletin of Bibliography 4:75.)
- Nebraska History and Record of Pioneer Days. Lincoln, Feb., 1918. M.
- New Amsterdam Gazette. N. Y., 1883-1893. 7 vols.
- New England Bibliopolist. Boston, Jan., 1880-Apr., 1901. 11 vols Irreg.; q.
- New England Family History. N. Y., July, 1907-Apr., 1912. Q.
- New England Historical and Genealogical Register. Boston, Jan., 1847- . Q.

- New Hampshire Genealogical Record. Dover, July, 1903-Jan., 1910. Vols. 1-7, No. 2. Q.
- New Hampshire Repository. Wm Cogswell, Gilmanton, Ohio, Oct., 1845-Jan., 1847. 2 vols. 6 nos. (Merged with New England Historical and Genealogical Register.)
- New Jersey Historical Society. Proceedings. Newark, etc., N. J., 1845- . 4 s. Bi-m.; q. (Irreg.).
- New Netherland Register. N. Y., Jan., 1911- (?) . M.
- New York Genealogical and Biographical Record. N. Y., Jan., 1870- . Q.
- New York Genealogical and Biographical Society. Bulletin. N. Y., Oct., 1869. Vol. 1, No. 1. (Superseded by above)
- Newport Historical Magazine. Newport, R. I., July, 1880-Apr., 1884. 4 vols. Q. (Continued as Rhode Island Historical Magazine.)
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- Now and Then. J. M. M. Gerner, Muncy, Pa., 1888-1892. 3 vols. Bi-m.
- Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications. Title page of annual bound volume of next title.
- Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly. Columbus, July, 1887- . Q.; irreg., 1891-1897.
- Ohio History Teachers' Journal. Columbus, 1916- . (Part of Ohio State University Bulletin.)
- Old Elliot. Elliot, Me., Jan., 1897-Dec., 1909. 9 vols. M. (1897-1899); q. (none for 1900, 1904-1905).
- Old Guard. N. Y., 1863-1865. 3 vols. M.
- Old New York. W. W. Pasko, N. Y., Aug., 1889-Mar., 1891. 2 vols. M.
- "Old Northwest" Genealogical Quarterly. Columbus, Ohio, Jan., 1898-Oct., 1911; Jan., 1915- . Q. (None for 1912-1914.)
- Old Santa Fé. Santa Fé, July, 1913- . Q.
- Old Times. Yarmouth, Me., Jan., 1877-Oct., 1884. Q. (Succeeded by Wescus-togo Chronicle.)
- Olde Vlster. Kingston, N. Y., Jan., 1905-Dec., 1914. 10 vols. M.
- Olden Time. N. B. Graig, Pittsburgh, Jan., 1846-Dec., 1847. 2 vols. (Re-printed, Cincinnati, 1876.)
- Oregon Historical Society Quarterly. Portland, Mar., 1900- . Q.
- Oregon Native Son and Historical Magazine. Portland, May, 1899-Mar., 1901. 2 vols. (21 nos.) M. (United with Pacific Monthly, May, 1901.)
- Our Ancestors. (Genealogical Association of Pennsylvania and New Jersey.) Phila., July-Oct., 1882. Vol. 1, Nos. 1-2. Q.
- Our Country. N. Y., 1876-1878. 3 vols.
- Our Living and Our Dead. (North Carolina Branch, Southern Historical Society.) Raleigh, Sept., 1874-Mar., 1876. Vols. 1-4, No. 1. M.
- Patriot. (Daughters of Revolution.) N. Y., 1915- . Q.
- Patriotic Marylander. Balto., 1913-1916. 3 vols.
- Patriotic Review. Boston, Sept., 1900-Jan., 1904. Vols. 1-4, No. 3. M. (Irreg.)
- Penn Germania. Lebanon, Pa., Jan., 1912. M. (Title of Vol. 13, n. s. 1, 1912, of Pennsylvania German)
- Pennsylvania German. Jan., 1900-Dec., 1911. 12 vols. Q. (1903-1905); bi-m. (1906); m (1906- .). (Cont. as Penn Germania.)

- Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography. Phila., 1877- . Q
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- Philippine Historical Review. Manila, May, 1905-Apr., 1906. Vol. 1, Nos. 1-12. M.
- Pilgrim Notes and Queries. Boston, Mar., 1913- . M. (Except July, Aug.)
- Pioneer. Brownville, Me., May-Sept., 1911, Feb.-Apr., 1912. Vol. 1, Nos. 1-7. M. (Irreg.)
- Pioneer Record. (Territorial Pioneer Association.) Verdon, Auburn, Neb., Nov., 1893-Aug., 1897. Vol. 1, Nos. 2-4. (No No. 1.) Q. (1893-1896; m.
- Potter's American Monthly. Phila., June, 1875-Sept., 1882. Vols. 4-19, No. 3. (Continuation of American Historical Record, 1872-1874; after Vol. 9 ceased to be historical; merged into Our Continent, Oct., 1882.)
- Presbyterian Historical Society. See Journal of Presbyterian Historical Society.
- Pro Patria. Oneonta, N. Y., Mar. 19, 1891-Sept., 1891. Vol. 1, Nos. 1-10 (?). Semi-m (March-June); m.
- Putnam's Historical Magazine. Salem, May, 1892-Dec., 1898. Vols. 3-9 or n. s. Vols. 1-6, No. 3 of Salem Press-Record M. (Irreg.; succeeded by Genealogical Quarterly; absorbed Magazine of New England History, 1893. See Genealogical Magazine.)
- Putnam's Monthly Historical Magazine. (Title of above, May, 1892-Feb., 1897.)
- Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association. See Southwestern Historical Quarterly.
- Quarterly Publication of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio. See Historical and Philosophical Society.
- Quarterly Register of Current History. Vols. 1-3. Feb., 1891-Jan., 1893, of Cyclopedia Review of Current History.
- Recorder. (American-Irish Historical Society.) Boston, Sept., 1901-Apr., 1902. Vol. 1, Nos. 1-8. M.
- Records of the Past. Wash., Jan., 1902-Apr., 1914. 13 vols. M. (1902-1907).
- Register of Pennsylvania. S. Hazard, Phila., 1823-1831. 7 vols. (Continued as Hazard's Register, Vols. 8-16, 1832-1835.)
- Revista Historica de Filipinas. See Philippine Historical Review.
- Rhode Island Historical Magazine. Newport, R. I., July, 1880-Apr., 1887. 7 vols. Q. (Continuation of Newport Historical Magazine, 1880-1884.)
- Salem Press Historical and Genealogical Record. Salem, July, 1890-Apr., 1892. 2 vols. Q. (Continued by Putnam's Historical Magazine. See Genealogical Magazine.)
- Santa Fé Trail Magazine. Santa Fé. M.
- Somerset County Historical Quarterly. Somerville, N. J., Jan., 1912- . Q.
- South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine. Charleston, S. C., Jan., 1900- . Q.
- Southern Bivouac. Louisville, Sept., 1882-May, 1887. 6 vols. M.
- Southern Historical Magazine. Charleston, W. Va., Jan.-Aug., 1892. Vols. 1-2, No. 2. M.
- Southern Historical Monthly. Raleigh, N. C., Jan., 1876-Feb., 1877. Vol. 1, Nos. 1-2. Irreg.
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- Spirit of '76. New Haven, Conn., June, 1875-Mar., 1877. Vol 1, Nos. 1-12.
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- Texas History Teacher's Bulletin. Austin, Nov. 15, 1912- . Nov., Feb., and May issued as Bulletin of University of Texas.
- Texas Magazine. Austin, Dallas, May 5, 1896- . M. (None Feb-Mar., 1898.)
- Texas Magazine. Houston, Oct., 1909-July, 1913 8 vols. M.
- Texas State Historical Association Quarterly. Austin, July, 1897-Apr., 1912. 15 vols. (Continued as Southwestern Historical Quarterly. Vols. 16, 1912- .)
- Transallegheeny Historical Magazine. Morgantown, W. Va., Oct., 1901-Oct., 1902. Vols. 1-2, No. 1. Q.
- United States Catholic Historical Magazine. N. Y., 1887-1892. Vols. 1-4, No. 3.
- Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine. Salt Lake City, Jan., 1910- . Q.
- Vermont Antiquarian. Burlington, Vt., Sept., 1902-June 1905 3 vols. Q.
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- Vineland Historical Magazine. Vineland, N. J., Jan. 1916- . Q.
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- Virginia Magazine of History and Biography. Richmond. July, 1893- . Q.
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- The War. N. Y., 1812-1813 (1817); June 27, 1812-Sept. 6, 1814. Vols. 1-3, No. 12; Feb, 1817, Vol. 3. Nos. 13-15. W.
- Washington Historian. Tacoma, Sept., 1899-July, 1901. 2 vols. Q.
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- West Virginia Historical Magazine. Charleston, W. Va., Jan. 1901-Apr., 1905. Vols. 1-5, No. 2. Q.
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- Westcustogo Chronicle. Jan., 1885. Vol. 1, No. 1. (Continuation of Old Times, Yarmouth, Me.)
- William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine. Williamsburg, Va., July, 1892- . Q.
- William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Papers. (Title of above June 1892-April, 1894.)
- Winchester Record. Boston, 1885-1887. Vols. 1-3, No. 1.
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